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THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

VOL. II.—PART II.

CONTAINING

THE CHRONICLE OF FABIUS ETHELWERD.

ASSER'S ANNALS OF KING ALFRED.

THE BOOK OF HYDE.

THE CHRONICLES OF JOHN WALLINGFORD.

THE HISTORY OF INGULF.

GAIMAR.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS,

BY THE REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A.

OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DURHAM:

VICAR OF LEIGHTON BUZZARD.

Seeleys,

FLEET STREET AND HANOVER STREET.

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PREFACE TO ETHELWERD.

§ 1. Our remarks respecting the character and value of the Chronicle of Ethelwerd must be premised by an attempt to identify its author.

In this inquiry we naturally adopt as our basis the information respecting himself with which the author has furnished us.

§ 2. The "Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Ethelwerdus," as he styles himself at the beginning of his work, was of the royal family of England. Although the name which he bears is of very frequent occurrence in our early history, yet the position which our author occupied in its pedigree may be ascertained with tolerable precision if we can succeed in discovering who was the Matilda whom he addresses as a relative, and to whom he dedicates his Chronicle. The details with which he furnishes us respecting her are sufficiently definite to warrant the inquiry, in the hope that her identification (and through her, his) will be attended with no great difficulty.

§ 3. This Matilda, as Ethelwerd himself tells us (p. 408), was descended from king Alfred, through his grand-daughter Eadgytha, the wife of Otho I., the emperor of Germany. So far, all is clear; but at this part of the inquiry, two candidates, each bearing the name of Matilda, present themselves, and their claims, as has been already remarked, might appear at first sight to be nearly balanced. From a few incidental expressions, and from the general tone of the several dedications in which Ethelwerd addresses this lady, it might at first sight be inferred that she was at this time the inmate of some monastic establishment; we should be led therefore to terminate our inquiries by deciding that Matilda the daughter of the emperor Otho, who became abbess of Quedlinburg, and died in A.D. 999, was the individual here addressed by Ethelwerd.

§ 4. This theory, however, has to contend with difficulties which appear to be insuperable. This Matilda was not the daughter of Eadgytha, but was the issue of Otho's second marriage with Adelhaid; consequently she stood in no degree of relationship whatever with the royal family of England, nor did one drop of the blood of Alfred flow through her veins. And were this difficulty removed, the position which the abbess of Quedlinburg occupies in the pedigree, (and from which no ingenuity can displace her,) is inconsistent with the plain statement of Ethelwerd, which shows that his dedication is addressed to an individual who was one descent further removed from their common ancestor.

§ 5. Dismissing then the claims of this Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, and returning to Eadgytha, the daughter of Edward the

Elder, we find that by her husband Otho she had a son named Liudulf, whose daughter Matilda was born in A.D. 949, and was married to Obizzo, count of Milan.[1] She appears to be the individual mentioned by Ethelwerd. Of her it could be affirmed—which it could not be of her aunt, the abbess of Quedlinburg—that king Alfred was her grandfather's grandfather (p. 427). These details will be better understood by a reference to the Pedigree which follows this Preface.

§ 6. The position of Ethelwerd himself in the royal genealogy may now be ascertained without much difficulty. We are thus enabled, in the first place, to reject—on the one hand the theory[2] of those who identify him with either of his namesakes, the son of king Alfred, who died in A.D. 922, or the son of king Edward, who died two years afterwards,—and on the other hand, the attempt made by Pits, Vossius, bishop Nicholson and others, to extend his life to A.D. 1090, which becomes even more untenable. He tells us himself that king Ethelred (pp. 408, 427) was his grandfather's grandfather. In tracing this pedigree downwards with the object of connecting its extreme points, we find that Ethelred had two sons, Ethelhelm and Ethelwold. Of the marriage of the former we know nothing; but we learn from the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 901) that the latter had married a nun, and that he was slain in 905, when fighting on the side of the Danes, by whom he had been appointed king of Northumbria. Through him then we conjecture that the descent was carried on to the Ethelwerd who was killed, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in A.D. 1016; and in him we are inclined to recognise the author of the history now under our notice. The Pedigree[3] which has already been referred to, may here be consulted with advantage. Yet whatever be the genealogical difficulties which attend this part of our inquiry, they do not affect the point at issue, the period, namely, at which this work was composed; for without regard to the details which Ethelwerd has given us respecting himself, we can arrive at the conclusion upon independent grounds. We are enabled to fix the limits within which it must have been written, namely, between A.D. 975, the year at which it terminates, and 1011, the year in which Matilda died.[4]

§ 7. The chief value of the present work consists in this,—that it represents a copy of the Saxon Chronicle which no longer exists, and enables us to ascertain, with tolerable precision, what was the state of that important document as it existed towards the close of the tenth century. Assuming that Ethelwerd's version is a full

[1] Hence we perceive why Ethelwerd referred to her for information respecting a relative who resided near the Great St. Bernard,—information which (as he remarks) she could easily supply, in consequence of the local influence which she could exercise.

[2] See Leland, with whom Tanner appears to coincide, in the Bibliotheca of the latter of these authors, p. 268.

[3] In the investigation of the genealogical details connected with this portion of the inquiry, considerable assistance has been derived from the remarks of Lappenburg, i. xlvi. ed. 1845.

[4] Annales Quedlinburg. ad an. 1011, ap. Pertz, tom. v. p. 80.

rendering of his original, and not an abridged selection of extracts, it would appear that the copy which he used was much scantier in its details than those with which we are acquainted. It approximated upon the whole more closely to *A* (the copy preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge) than to any other existing text, omitting not only numerous details which occur in other copies, but also, like *A*, passing over in silence many consecutive years, of which full details are supplied by these manuscripts. Yet, although it corresponds so far, there are important points of variation between this lost manuscript and the Cambridge copy. Many years are totally blank in Ethelwerd's Chronicle, as to the events of which *A* is explicit; and when we descend to a minuter investigation, we find that, on the other hand, this lost manuscript contained details which find no record in any existing copy. A few of these might possibly be additions made by the translator himself to the text from which he was translating, either for the purpose of exhibiting his classical knowledge,[1] or derived from local information;[2] but with all these concessions, there still remains a large body of supplemental matter which clearly indicates the former existence of a distinct recension of the text with which we are at present acquainted only through the medium of Ethelwerd's labours. Illustrations sufficiently numerous and definite to establish the accuracy of this statement have been pointed out in the notes; and if a more critical investigation required their production, many others could be adduced.

§ 8. Subject to such omissions and additions as those which have been specified, there is (as has been already mentioned) a general correspondence between the Cambridge copy of the Saxon Chronicle and that which was employed by Ethelwerd, as far as A.D. 893; but at this point the similarity ends. Whether the period extending from that date to the close of the work, in 973, be original, or based upon some other text of those annals equally unknown to us, is not easy to decide. This much, however, may be deduced from the fact already mentioned, namely, that the year 893 is an important era in the literary history of the Saxon Chronicle; and it seems to confirm the conjecture already hazarded in the introductory remarks (§ 15) prefixed to the edition of that historical document contained in the present volume.

§ 9. Ethelwerd's Latin style is marked by all the worst peculiarities[3] of the worst period of Anglo-Saxon literature; it is generally obscure, and sometimes unintelligible. A list of his violations of the commonest principles of grammar is given by Hardy in his Introduction, p. 83. Some few of these may, perhaps, be attributed to the carelessness of the original scribe, the editor, or the printer.

[1] The additions, for instance, at p. 411 and at p. 414 respecting Cecrops and Tuscus.

[2] Such, for instance, as that Cerdices-ford was upon the river Avon (p. 412), that Eanulf was buried at Glastonbury (p. 425), that Adulf was buried at Derby and Burhred at Bury St. Edmund's (p. 426), and several other notes of the same character. This, although possible, is by no means certain.

[3] The peculiarities of his diction had already provoked the censures of William of Malmesbury in the Prologue prefixed to his History of the Kings of England.

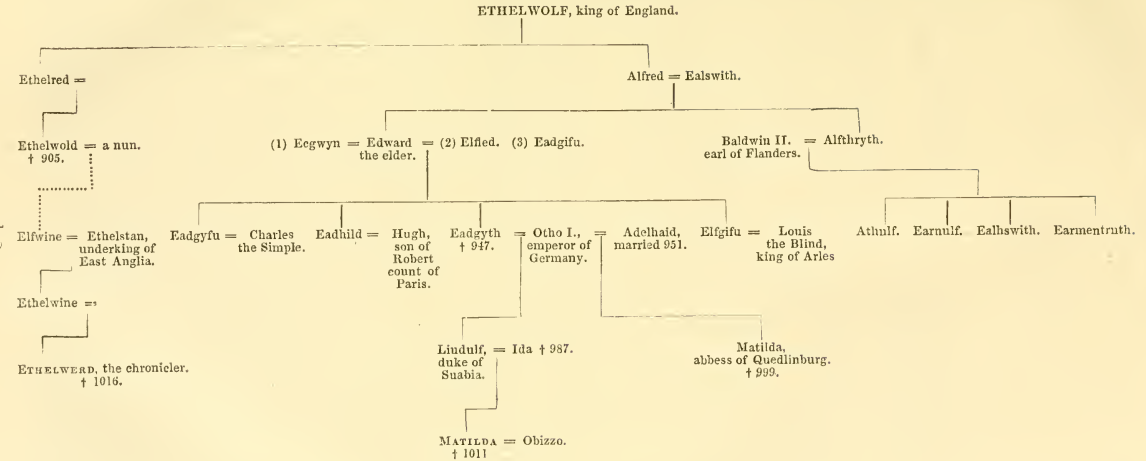
We are unable to correct these by manuscript authority, for the only copy[1] which had descended to modern times (the Cottonian MS. Otho, A. x.) entirely perished in the fire which consumed so large a portion of that valuable collection in the year 1731. Smith, in his catalogue of that library, describes it as being an early and exceedingly beautiful manuscript; and from the nature of some mistakes committed by the transcriber who copied it for Saville's edition, Hardy conjectures, upon very sound principles, that it was not later than the eleventh century.

§ 10. This work was first printed by Sir Henry Saville, forming part of his collection, entitled "Scriptores post Bedam," fol. Lond. 1596. The editor does not inform us from what manuscript his text was derived; but, in all probability, he used the Cottonian copy already referred to (§ 9). This edition was reprinted, with some additional mistakes, at Frankfort, in 1601. Our present translation is made from Petrie's edition, in which Saville's text is cleared from many of the errors by which it had hitherto been disfigured.

§ 11. The system of chronology adopted by Ethelwerd is perplexing and unsatisfactory. Instead of telling us in what year the events which he is narrating occurred, he satisfies himself with noting how many years had elapsed from the incident which he had last recorded. Saville attempted to rectify this faulty system, by adding a succession of dates in his margin; but these are so incorrect, that they involve us in still greater difficulty: and as they do not appear to have been introduced by him into his edition upon the authority of the manuscript, they have here been omitted.

[1] Leland had never seen a copy of this work, but Thomas Allen, of Gloucester Hall, mentions that in A.D. 1588 he had inspected one which he describes as having been written in very ancient characters. It is impossible to decide whether this was, or was not, the manuscript which afterwards found its way into the Cottonian Library. See Tanner, p. 268.

PEDIGREE OF ETHELWERD AND MATILDA.


ETHELWOLF, king of England.
Ethelred =
Alfred = Ealswith.
Ethelwold = a nun.
† 905.
(1) Ecgwyn = Edward the elder. = (2) Elfled. (3) Eadgifu.
Baldwin II. = Alfthryth.
earl of Flanders.
Elfwine = Ethelstan, underking of East Anglia.
Eadgyfu = Charles the Simple.
Eadhild = Hugh, son of Robert count of Paris.
Eadgyth † 947. = Otho I., emperor of Germany. =
Adelhaid, married 951.
Elfgifu = Louis the Blind, king of Arles
Athulf.
Earnulf.
Ealhswith.
Earmentruth.
Ethelwine =
ETHELWERD, the chronicler. † 1016.
Liudulf, duke of Suabia. = Ida † 987.
Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg. † 999.
MATILDA = Obizzo. † 1011

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PREFACE TO ASSER.

§ 1. The literary history and the historical value of "The Annals of the Exploits of Alfred the Great," have formed the subject of some recent critical inquiries.

In an Essay addressed to the Society of Antiquaries, and afterwards embodied in the Anglo-Saxon period of his Biographia Britannica Literaria, Mr. Wright declares his conviction (p. 411) that "the life of Alfred attributed to Asser cannot have been written before the end of the tenth century, and it was probably the work of a monk, who, with no great knowledge of history, collected some of the numerous traditions relating to king Alfred which were then current, and joined them with the legends in the life of St. Neot and the historical entries in the Saxon Chronicle; and, to give greater authenticity to his work, published it under the name of Asser." These sentiments Mr. Wright has repeated and attempted to enforce in his recently published preface to Dr. Pauli's Life of King Alfred.

§ 2. On the other hand, it is the united opinion of Lingard, Pertz, Lappenberg, Petrie, Hardy, Kemble, Thorpe, and Pauli, that this theory is untenable: and that though here some questions may arise which we cannot satisfactorily solve, and some difficulties present themselves which we are unable entirely to remove, yet on the whole the work is to be accepted by us as being what its title professes.[1]

§ 3. According to his own statements, Asser enjoyed abundant opportunities for becoming well informed respecting the actions and the motives of that eminent individual whose biography he had undertaken to record. The acquaintance, which seems to have originated about A.D. 884 (p. 466), ripened into confidential intercourse after a short period, and (with a few occasional interruptions) continued up to 893,[2] in which year Asser wrote the present

[1] We cannot follow Mr. Wright through all his objections, nor point out how they have been met by those who have joined issue with him upon this question; nor, indeed, is it necessary for our present purpose that we should. The reader who desires further information may find a short and clear sketch of the whole controversy in Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 420—428. He thus states the conclusion at which he has arrived: "On the whole, five of the difficulties suggested by Mr. Wright appear to me to be imaginary; the last is susceptible of the explanation just given, and therefore cannot be of sufficient weight to deprive Asser of his claim to a work which has gone under his name for eight centuries, and which bears indisputable evidence of having been written by a foreign scholar, high in the confidence and frequently resident in the court of king Alfred; such, in fact, as Asser represents himself to have been."

[2] Although Asser mentions this date, he gives no details respecting it, nor of several preceding years. It may here be remarked, that we dismiss at once as a palpable error the statement of Florence of Worcester, who tells us (p. 224) that in A.D. 883 Asser bishop of Sherborne died.

work. At this period the narrative ends, and ends abruptly, though not imperfectly. But as Alfred survived until A.D. 901, it may be asked, Why did not Asser (who did not die until eight or ten years after[1]) continue his work until the death of his patron? To this question we cannot give any satisfactory answer. We have no proof that the biography was ever extended beyond the year 893; on the contrary, there are many reasons for believing that (allowance being made for a few obvious interpolations[2]) we now possess the work as Asser left it. But, however much we may regret the omission, this very circumstance would appear to give additional interest to the portion of which we are possessed, since it invests it all the more closely with the interest which attaches to a contemporaneous narrative.

§ 4. The particulars respecting himself which Asser has recorded (p. 466), (and to which the reader is referred,) are all in harmony with the other personal details incidentally scattered through the narrative; and there occur a few minute coincidences which strengthen our confidence in its general credibility. Asser states that he was by birth a Briton, and he seems to have been intimately connected with the archbishopric of St. David's. Regarding then his work as the production of a Briton, and intended chiefly for the use of his British countrymen, we can understand why he gives the Latin explanation of Saxon proper names,[3] and employs expressions[4] which show that to him and his readers the phraseology of that nation was by no means familiar. Hence also his frequent use of British terms[5] as being more intelligible than their Saxon equivalent. It was probably in consequence of this British origin that king Alfred appointed him bishop over the Celtic inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall (p. 468), a circumstance to which we may possibly trace his more detailed account of some incidents which occurred within the limits of that district (pp. 467, 468), and which are known to us only from Asser.

§ 5. Asser does not excel as a biographer, and seems never to have realized to himself the honour to which he had attained in being selected to become the channel through which posterity should be made acquainted with the outer and inner life of

[1] His death is recorded under A.D. 908, by the Annales Cambriæ (Petrie, p. 836), and by the Chronicle of the Princes of Wales under 906 (Id. p. 847). According to the Saxon Chronicle he survived until A.D. 910. He attested charters dated A.D. 904 (Cod. Diplom. No. cccexxxvii. mlxxxii. mlxxxv.)

[2] These interpolations are from a work which passes under the name of the "Chronicon fani S. Neoti, sive Annales Johannis Asserii, ut nonnullis videtur." (Gale, i. 141.) The title is in a modern hand, and has been prefixed in consequence of several extracts from Asser's Life of Alfred having been incorporated in these Annals. As a passage from Abbo (who died A.D. 1004, see Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. 104) occurs, the work cannot be ascribed to Asser. The chief of these interpolations are pointed out in the notes.

[3] Thus "Aescesdune, which means in Latin, The hill of the Ash," p. 453.

[4] "The city called in Saxon Hrofeceaster," p. 461 . . . "the country of the Saxons dwelling on the right-hand, which is called in Saxon Suth-seaxum," p. 466.

[5] Nottingham is joined with its British name Tiggucobauc (p. 451); Exeter, in British Cair-Wise (p. 456); the district called by the Britons Durngueis, but by the Saxons Thornsæta (ib.); the river which the Britons term Abon (p. 457); the wood called Selwudu, but in British Coitmaur (p. 459); Cirencester, named Cairceri in the British language (460): to which other instances might be added.

"England's darling." Passages certainly here and there occur which are not devoid of elegance of expression—due allowance being made for the doubtful taste of the age in which he wrote; but their inspiration does not spring from the hero of the narrative, with whom they have not any immediate or necessary connexion. As a whole the work is disappointing; for, interesting and valuable as it is, it ought to have been more interesting and more valuable when we remember the advantages possessed by its author. It is deficient in conception as well as execution; there is an obvious want of artistic skill in its construction; and it presents a strange admixture of general history and biography.[1]

§ 6. The coincidence between the Saxon Chronicle and Asser is so striking that it cannot pass unnoticed. Whence did it arise? Did Asser copy from the Chronicle, or the compiler of the Chronicle from Asser, or are both derived from one common authority? It would appear that Asser had the Saxon Chronicle before him when he wrote, and so closely did he translate it that his Latin version preserves many of the peculiar idioms of his Saxon original. The copy which he used appears to have extended no further than A.D. 887, and corresponded more closely with the Cambridge manuscript A. than with any other existing text. Either accidentally or intentionally he has departed from its chronology in a few instances.

§ 7. No ancient copy of Asser has descended to our time; but we possess an edition which fairly represents the text of the lost Cottonian manuscript Otho, A. xii., which appears to have been written in the eleventh century, and from this text, as edited by Petrie, our translation has been made. Archbishop Parker, whose edition of Asser appeared in 1574, in speaking of the manuscript which he used, describes it as being of great antiquity,[2] and adds that he had deposited it in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. The only manuscript copy of this writer, however, which is now found in that noble collection is a modern transcript upon paper, not older than Parker's own time, and corresponding so closely with the Cottonian Otho A. xii., as to lead to the belief that it has been made from that source. When Camden reprinted this collection of historians in 1603, he made no mention of having altered the text; but when inquiry arose as to the authority upon which he had inserted into it the celebrated passage respecting the foundation of the University of Oxford, he evaded the inquiry, and it was not until 1622 that he stated to Twyne, the Oxford antiquary, that "he caused the whole history to be transcribed out of a manuscript copy which he had then in his hands, and which he took to have been written about the time of Richard the

[1] The first portion of the work, from A.D. 847, the year of Alfred's birth, to 887, is founded upon the Saxon Chronicle, from 887 to 893 is original matter, the result of Asser's own observation.

[2] Speaking of this manuscript, he expresses his belief that it was written during the life of king Alfred, and he tells us that his opinion was strengthened by noticing the exact resemblance between its style of writing and the copies of the Pastoralia which Alfred himself had caused to be transcribed and sent to various churches in England.

Second." None of his contemporaries were permitted to see this manuscript, nor is it known what became of it after his death. By the "whole history" it is presumed that he meant the whole of that portion which relates to Oxford; for the exact conformity which exists between his edition and Parker's, even to errors, is a sufficient proof that in all other respects it is a reprint. Thus, then, the only ancient copy respecting which we have any trustworthy information is the Cottonian manuscript Otho A. xii.

§ 8. The greater portion of Asser is incorporated into his history by Florence of Worcester, who nowhere mentions the author to whom he was under such important obligations.

The Life of Alfred has gone through many editions. Those of Parker and Camden have been already mentioned (§ 7). It was edited at Oxford (8vo, 1722) by Wise, who bestowed considerable pains upon it, but was so deficient in critical skill as to append to his otherwise creditable work a vindication of the paragraph interpolated by Camden.[1]

And, lastly, it is included in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica" of Petrie and Hardy (p. 467), from which text, as by far the most convenient, the version here given has been translated.

PREFACE TO THE BOOK OF HYDE.

§ 1. Although the Book of Hyde in many respects corresponds closely with Asser's Life of King Alfred, the influence of which is frequently perceptible, yet in some respects it is a collateral, if not an independent authority, and as such is entitled to our notice. Hitherto, however, it has not secured the attention which it deserves, and the Latin text, whence our translation has been made, is still unprinted.

§ 2. In forming our estimate of this document, we must not lose sight of the important fact, that it has descended to us in a condition which considerably detracts from its value. In its present form, it is a reconstruction[2] of earlier materials, which have been blended along with information of a comparatively recent period:[3] and it is not easy so to analyse the narrative as to assign to its component parts the degree of authority to which each is fairly entitled.

[1] "Apologia Asserii Camdeniani, sive Clausulæ de discordia inter Grimbaldum et veteres Scholasticos Oxonienses, A.D. 886, adversus quorundam doctissimorum virorum objectiones, vindicatio." This, however, is not without its value, since it places before the reader a summary of the arguments which can be adduced in favour of the genuineness of this clause. On the other hand, see the Appendix to Smith's Beda, No. xiv. (p. 721). "De schola a Sigberto Orientalium Anglorum rege instituta." These two essays exhaust the subject, if taken in connexion with Hardy's note in the Monumenta, p. 79.

[2] Thus the references at pp. 512 and 518 to earlier chapters, seem to imply that the present arrangement of the work is not that which it originally exhibited.

[3] It has been reduced to its present form after the 28 Edw. III., A.D. 1354: see p. 507.

Caution, therefore, is required in its use, especially when it contradicts statements which are not open to similar objections.

§ 3. It professes to have been compiled within the monastery of Hyde; and internal evidence warrants us in believing that this title is correct (see p. 484). Hence the origin of the details respecting king Alfred (p. 513, &c.) and his contemporaries, Fulco (p. 499), and Grimbald (p. 504); hence, too, the information regarding Newminster (pp. 484, 487), and St. Swithin (p. 494); all of which point at a Winchester original.

§ 4. The authorities which are quoted are Vigilantius, de Basilica Petri (pp. 485, 493), Ralph de Diceto (p. 486), the Florarium Historiale of Florentius (p. 488), Bonagratia de Villa Dei (p. 493), Ralph of Chester (pp. 496, 515), Girardus Cornubiensis (p. 515), Marianus Scotus (p. 515), and Henry of Huntingdon (p. 515). An extract occurs from Lantfrid's Life of Swithin (p. 494); reference is also made to the Life of St. Birin (p. 488), and to that of St. Cuthbert (p. 509). Beda is frequently cited. Several of these authorities are now unknown to us, excepting through this present history, and that of Rudborne, which has much in common with the Book of Hyde. The author appears to have derived some of his statements from tradition (pp. 487, 492, 496).

§ 5. The only manuscript copy with which we are at present acquainted is that contained in the Lansdowne MS. 717, a transcript (the original of which is not mentioned) made by John Stowe, the London antiquarian and topographer, in the month of August, 1572. It is upon paper, in small quarto size, and consists of fifty-one pages. Besides the historical matter here printed, Stowe's transcript contains copies of several charters granted to the monastery of Hyde, a translation of which it has not been thought necessary to append here. The whole is executed without much care, and in some places would be unintelligible unless we had the means of correcting it by collateral authorities.

§ 6. Although the Book of Hyde has not as yet been printed as a whole, yet copious extracts from it have been given in the "Annales Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ"[1] of Michael Alford, alias Griffith, from a manuscript, the place of deposit of which he does not mention; but which would appear to have differed in some few unimportant particulars from Stowe's copy.

[1] Fol. Leodii, 1663. He generally cites this work as the Annales Wintonienses, although he says that it was known as the "Liber de Hyda." (See A.D. 885, § 12; 900, § 3.) The passages which he has printed may be found in his Annales, as under:—A.D. 885, § 3, 4, 5, 7—12; A.D. 886, § 3—9, 19; A.D. 900, § 3, 7, 9—13, 16—18; A.D. 903, § 4, 7; A.D. 904, § 5—10. Harpsfield was also acquainted with this document.

PREFACE TO JOHN OF WALLINGFORD.

§ 1. During nineteen years, John of Wallingford, the reputed author of the following history, presided as its abbot over the monastery of St. Alban's, and died 17th July, 1214.[1] The account of his life given by Matthew Paris, although entering into minute details upon other particulars, furnishes us with no information as to the present work; nor can we gather any information from the work itself as to the person by whom, or the place where, or the time when, it was written. This abbot John is not mentioned as a chronicler by any of the monastic historians, nor does his name occur in the bibliographical memoranda preserved by the earlier writers upon our literary history. Such being the case, we are constrained to fall back upon the information furnished by Gale, its sole editor, and endeavour to ascertain the value of the authority upon which he affixed to this chronicle the title which it now bears.

§ 2. Gale's facts and inferences are based upon two authorities; the life of abbot John, by Matthew Paris, which (as has been already mentioned) does not help us in our inquiries, and the unique manuscript from which he transcribed the work now under our consideration. An examination of the contents of that volume throws insuperable difficulties in the way of our adoption of Gale's theory.

§ 3. The name of John of Wallingford does indeed occur in it upon several occasions, and the greater portion of the manuscript is in his own handwriting. The rubric prefixed to the chronicle printed by Gale, there translated, does not warrant him in ascribing it to any individual writer. The only historical treatise which can be appropriated to Wallingford, upon the authority of the original scribe, (that is, upon his own,) is a collection of extracts from various chronicles, chiefly from Henry of Huntingdon, extending to the reign of Henry the Third. The children of that monarch are thus enumerated:—Edward, Margaret, Edmund, Beatrix, and Catharine. The princess Catharine was born 25th Nov. A.D. 1253;[2] and as the work must have been penned after that date, we cannot refer it to a writer who died in 1214.[3] We conclude, therefore, that there

[1] Vitæ abbatum S. Albani, p. 112, ed. 1640.

[2] Matth. Paris, p. 879. She died 3d May, 1257, in her fifth year. (Id. p. 949.) As Wallingford takes no notice of such others of the royal family as died in their infancy, we may infer that this princess was alive when his Chronicle was finished; consequently that it was written between the end of 1253 and the middle of 1257.

[3] Having thus drawn a broad and distinct line of separation between the John of Wallingford who was alive in November, 1253, and the John of Wallingford who died in 1214, our direct interest in the former of these individuals ceases. There is, however, no difficulty in ascertaining who he was and when he lived. A rubric (fol 112), prefixed to a list of certain of the brethren, monks of St. Alban's, (which is contained in the same Cottonian manuscript, and is in his handwriting,) tells us that he was admitted into the order upon the day of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius (Oct. 9th), 1231; and we are at the same time presented (fol. 42, b.) with an exceedingly well drawn likeness of the historian—evidently a portrait—above which is an inscription, informing us that "Frater Johannes de

were in the monastery of St. Alban's two individuals of the name of John of Wallingford, one the abbot, who died in 1214, and the other the keeper of the infirmary, who died in 1258; and that, although the chronicle now printed was transcribed by the latter of these personages, its author is at present unknown.

§ 4. There are few histories more perplexing than the production of this unknown chronicler which we have here translated.[1] The tone of confidence with which he questions the statements of others (upon points of chronology as well as history), and advances his own conclusions, is calculated at first to secure deference to his authority. A more accurate investigation, however, shows us that the greater number of his assertions must be received with caution, unless supported by collateral evidence. Several of them have been pointed out in the foot-notes, but their number might be yet further extended. He borrows largely from the Legends of Guthlac, Kenelm, Botulf, Edmund, Neot, Cuthbert, Dunstan, and Edward.

§ 5. It has been already mentioned that Gale[2] included this Chronicle in his collection of early English historians. He informs us that he omitted portions of these extracts from the Lives of Saints; but these omissions of his are more frequent and more extensive than his language implies, and they extend to matter of a distinct and more important character.

PREFACE TO INGULF.

§ 1. An inquiry into the value of the history which passes under the name of Ingulf will be materially assisted if we endeavour to ascertain from independent authority some particulars respecting its reputed author. The information thus obtained will enable us to test the statements advanced in the following pages.

§ 2. Ordericus Vitalis happened to spend five weeks[3] at Croyland in 1112,[4] about three years after the death of Ingulf. Circumstances induced him to interest himself in the biography of that individual, and from him we learn the following particulars. He tells us that Ingulf was an Englishman by birth, that he had

Walingeford" had formerly been keeper of the infirmary. Beneath it occurs the following couplet:—

> "Tonsio longa comæ, nigra vestis, bota rotunda,
> Non faciunt monachum: sed mens a crimine munda."

This John de Wallingford died at Wymundham (a cell of St. Alban's), on the nineteenth of the kalends of September, 1258, according to an entry at the end of the volume.

[1] There are internal indications that this author, whoever he was, was an inmate of St. Alban's; hence the details concerning king Offa, its founder, and the possessions of that monastery (pp. 530, 531). This present Chronicle, or one which, in many respects, corresponded with it, was apparently before Walsingham, when he compiled his Ypodigma Neustriæ; but Walsingham nowhere refers to any chronicle bearing the name of John of Wallingford. The coincidences between these two historians end with p. 430, l. 30, of the Ypodigma, ed. Camden, 1603.

[2] Vol. i. p. 525.

[3] Hist. Eccl. ii. 268, ed. Le Prevost, Paris. 1840.

[4] Id. p. 287.

become the secretary of king William the Conqueror, while as yet he was duke of Normandy, and that he visited Jerusalem. On his return he took up his abode at Fontanelle, where he became a monk under abbot Gerbert. Upon the accession of William to the English throne, he removed Ingulf from Fontanelle, and placed him at Croyland as its abbot, where he was a great benefactor to the monastery, but experienced many trials. A fire which broke out destroyed a portion of the church, the out-buildings, the vestments, the books, and the other buildings. He translated the body of earl Waltheof from the cloister, and placed it in the church near the altar. He died on the 16th of the kalends of December, A.D. 1109.[1] No further particulars than these are known to us respecting Ingulf.

§ 3. All these incidents are mentioned in the history here printed (p. 671), where they are expanded[2] into a biographical narrative of some length. It happens, however, that when the additional details there given are more closely examined, serious difficulties arise. Thus, he would have us believe that when at Jerusalem he visited the patriarch Sophronius and the emperor Alexius, whereas the latter did not ascend the imperial throne until twenty years after the death of the former, nor until Ingulf had already been four years settled as abbot of Croyland. (See p. 672.) Other chronological impossibilities meet us at every turn. Remembering that Ingulf died A.D. 1109, we cannot reconcile that fact with his notice of Philip Augustus, a passage which could not have been written before A.D. 1166. (p. 684.) The whole work is suspicious. It contains copies of various Saxon charters, which he tells us he transcribed from the originals which he found at Croyland:—all of these are forgeries. He introduces a copy of a demise of land for a term of years, executed in A.D. 1013 (p. 648):—this form of legal instrument was not known for more than a century after the Norman Conquest. He speaks of having studied logic and read Tully and Aristotle at Oxford, a state of things unknown in the eleventh century. Many other inconsistencies and contradictions might be produced, were it necessary to enlarge upon this division of our inquiry.

§ 4. But passing by details, we have next to remark, that the groundwork of the whole narrative is open to suspicion. It is based upon information derived from five of the "sempects" (p. 725), who wrote the account of Croyland from its foundation, in A.D. 616, to its destruction by the Danes, in A.D. 966. The account which Ingulf gives of these brethren looks fabulous. Clarembald attained the age of 168 years, Swarling was 142, Aio could not have been less than 120, and Thurgar was 115 years old at his death (p. 638).

§ 5. Our difficulties are increased by the fact that no early[3]

[1] Hist. Eccl. ii. 285—287.

[2] In several instances besides the present, Ingulf has adopted the language of Ordericus. See pp. 282, 283, &c.

[3] The Arundel MS. 178, in the British Museum, is of Saville's own time, and corresponds with his text so closely as to lead us to believe that it is a transcript from the copy which he used.

manuscript of Ingulf is at present known to exist. Saville,[1] its first editor, gives no information as to the source whence he derived his text, nor as to the age of the copy which he used. We only know that it was not the Cottonian manuscript, nor that which belonged at a later period to Sir John Marsham; both of which contained passages unknown to Saville. Shortly after the publication of this first edition, Camden[2] refers to a manuscript which contained the continuation of Peter de Blois, possibly that which belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, and of which some fragments still remain.[3] In A.D. 1623 Selden speaks[4] of a manuscript as being at that time preserved at Croyland, and this he calls the autograph of Ingulf, but upon what authority he made this latter assertion is unknown. He certainly had not seen it, although he was anxious to do so. Selden also mentions another copy which at that time was about two hundred years old; this was probably the Cottonian manuscript. More fortunate in this respect than Selden, Sir Henry Spelman[5] obtained the use of the Croyland autograph, but from him we learn nothing further than that it was very ancient, and very carefully guarded. However that might have been the case in Spelman's days, the manuscript had departed from Croyland before Fell's[6] time, for he states that when he made inquiry respecting it (whether upon the spot or not, does not appear), it was not forthcoming.

§ 6. Fell (or Fulman), the next editor after Saville, corrected the text of the former edition by the help of a manuscript of which he had obtained the loan from Sir John Marsham; respecting which he gives us no further information than that it was "old." Of the fate of this copy we know nothing at present. Sir John Marsham seems to have lent it to Obadiah Walker, the well-known Master of University College, Oxford, although there is some uncertainty as to whether Marsham lent it, or Walker stole it.[7] It is not now to be found in the library of that College. On application being made to lord Romney in 1822 for Marsham's copy, he answered that he knew nothing of it, and supposed it might possibly have been destroyed by his father with many other papers.[8]

[1] "Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui," f. 484, fol. Lond. 1596. It is defective at the end, concluding with p. 692 of our edition.

[2] "Ingulfum ... cujus nunc exemplar inventum est emendatius et auctius, cum Petri Blessensis supplemento." Epistola Dedicatoria, prefixed to his reprint of Asser, &c., fol. Francof. 1603.

[3] This manuscript (Otho B. xiii.) was long supposed to have been destroyed in the Cottonian fire of 1731, but some fragments have recently been discovered, which I have had the opportunity of examining by the kindness of the officers of the department of manuscripts in the British Museum. Not a vestige of Ingulf remains; the recovered leaves are portions of the continuation only, and consequently they do not affect our present inquiry.

[4] See the notes appended to his edition of Eadmer, p. 172, fol. Lond. 1623.

[5] Concilia, i. 313.

[6] Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum, vol. i. Præf.

[7] Bishop Gibson's Letter to Dr. Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, dated in July, 1694, warrants the statement made above. See Gough's additions to the History of Croyland, p. 283.

[8] General Introduction to the Monumenta by Petrie and Hardy, p. 11. Wright says (Biographia Brit. Norman Period, p. 31,) that "the MS. used by Gale (Fulman)

§ 7. The difficulties which we have here mentioned attracted the attention of the learned Dr. Hickes, who, after having discussed the question with much acuteness, arrives at the conclusion that the History of Croyland is a spurious production, and that Ingulf cannot have been its author.[1] Following up this suggestion, the writer of an Essay upon Anglo-Saxon history, which appeared in the Quarterly Review,[2] and which is generally attributed to Sir Francis Palgrave, examines the subject at yet greater length; and by an accumulation of evidence places the spuriousness of Ingulf beyond a reasonable doubt.

§ 8. It will naturally be asked, "If this work cannot be ascribed to Ingulf, when, where, and by whom was it written?" Here we can only speculate. It is apparently a production of the fourteenth century, and would seem to have been written by a monk of Croyland, with the view perhaps of forwarding the interests of that foundation in some of the numerous law-suits in which its inmates were at that time engaged.[3] The extract which has already been given from Ordericus Vitalis formed the outline of the biographical portion of the narrative, and this was expanded into its present form by a writer who probably had before him some written materials, the substance of which he has here incorporated. He has fallen into anachronisms and contradictions which could not escape detection when subjected to modern criticism, but he has shown himself by no means deficient in invention and description. It is interesting as a work of fiction, but on the whole valueless as an historical document.

PREFACE TO GEOFFREY GAIMAR.

§ 1. The information which we possess respecting Geoffrey Gaimar[4] is exceedingly scanty, and is entirely derived from the few notices respecting himself which are to be gleaned from his own narrative. They are connected with circumstances, however, which enable us to approximate to the time when he lived, and the locality in which this historical poem was written.

§ 2. Gaimar appears to have been attached to the household[5] of

is said to exist in the library at Holkham;" but he does not state his authority for this surmise."

[1] He frequently expresses this conviction; as for instance when he says,—"Quæ cum aliis alibi a nobis animadversis, faciunt ut tantum non credam, aut Ingulfum falsarium et chartarum corruptorem fuisse, aut cœnobium Croylandense Historiam Croylandensem ejus nomine honestatam in indocto sæculo orbi obtrusisse. Præfatio in Thesaur. Ling. Vett. p. xxix. fol. Oxon. 1703.

[2] Vol. xxxiv. No. lxvii. p. 289.

[3] Frequent notices of these occur in the Chronicon Petroburgense, printed by the Camden Society, 4to. Lond. 1849.

[4] Gaimar frequently mentions himself in the course of his poem, but always in the third person. See pp. 764, 776, 809, 810.

[5] It might be suggested, only as a conjecture, that possibly our Geoffrey Gaimar

a certain Ralph Fitz Gilbert, who was upon terms of intimacy with Walter Espec of Helmsley, in Yorkshire. As to the latter of these individuals there is no difficulty, for we know that he died in 1153,[1] and was buried at the monastery of Rievalx—which he himself had founded—and in which he had two years previously assumed the garb of a monk. Ralph Fitz Gilbert, occupying a less prominent place in history, is not so easily discovered;[2] but there appears to be good evidence for identifying him with the "Radulphus Filius Gilberti," who attested the charter granted by Richard de Luvetot to the Cistercian monastery of Kirkstead, in Lincolnshire,[3] and who was alive A.D. 1163, in the June of which year he appended his name to a charter to the same monastery.[4] His son was a liberal benefactor to the same foundation,[5] which he endowed with lands situated in the same county.

§ 3. Assuming, therefore, as these data warrant, that Gaimar lived and that his poem was composed about the middle of the twelfth century, we are able to bring into harmony with this conclusion the few incidental notices which he has preserved respecting his contemporaries. He speaks[6] of Nicolas de Trailli; this individual was one of the sons of Albreda,[7] the second sister of the Walter Espec already mentioned, and witnessed his uncle's foundation charter, as well of Rievalx abbey,[8] in 1132, as of Warden in 1135.[9] "The queen of Louvaine"[10] is also mentioned, doubtless Adelaide de Louvaine, the second wife of Henry the First, whom he married in A.D. 1121, and who died in 1151. When Gaimar wrote,[11] David was king of Scotland; the reign of that monarch extended from 1124 to 1153. These coincidences seem to warrant us in fixing upon the year 1140 as the time about which this poem was written.

§ 4. We have already seen that Geoffrey Gaimar was connected with a family whose principal residence was in Lincolnshire; this may serve to explain his allusion to the book of Wassingburc,[12] and other peculiarities which, without the key thus afforded us, might be inexplicable. Hence, we can see a reason for the prominence which he assigns to the legend of Havelock[13] (p. 730); hence his frequent allusions to early Danish settlers (pp. 729, 739),—Lincolnshire being the district in which they principally obtained a

is the "Galfridus Capellanus" whose name occurs as a witness to charters granted to Kirkstead by William de Dentune and Robert Fitz Hugh (Dugd. Monast. i. 807), and who attested the foundation charter of Rievalx abbey, founded by Walter Espec in A.D. 1132 (Id. i. 729).

[1] Dugd. Baronage, i. 591; and Monast. i. 728.

[2] In the Preface to his edition of Gaimar, Wright describes this Ralph Fitz Gilbert as "a powerful baron of the north in the time of king Stephen;" but at p. 224, when speaking of him and his wife Constance, he remarks that "we know nothing further of them."

[3] Dugd. Monast. i. 808. [4] Id. p. 809. [5] Id. p. 810.

[6] In this present volume, p. 809.

[7] Dugd. Baronage, i. 543; Monast. ii. 105.

[8] Dugd. Monast. i. 729. [9] Id. i. 784. [10] P. 810. [11] P. 786.

[12] Washingborough, near the city of Lincoln, in which the monks of Kirkstede had property. See Dugd. Monast. i. 811.

[13] Peter Langtoft, also a Lincolnshire writer, mentions Haveloke and thus expresses his surprise that his history is not better known:—

footing; hence, too, the occurrence of philological[1] peculiarities (p. 742) which point at a Scandinavian origin; and hence, lastly, the additional information which he furnishes upon the historical events which took place within this district (pp. 792, 796, &c.), with the localities of which he seems to have been familiar (pp. 747, 793).

§ 5. Gaimar's history is founded upon the Saxon Chronicle, to which he frequently refers under the names of "the Chronicles" (p. 740), "the History" (p. 752), "the Old History" (p. 759), and "the Winchester History" (p. 755). Of the origin and composition of this document, he has preserved an interesting account (pp. 757, 771). The copy used by Gaimar corresponded more closely, in its general features, with the Peterborough recension, (marked *E.* in our list of the MSS. of that work), than with any other of our existing manuscripts; it also had much in common with *D.* In several important points, however, as well of history, chronology, and arrangement, it differed from both of these documents. In the use which he made of this authority Gaimar fell into many mistakes. He frequently misread it, and upon several occasions he entirely misunderstood its import, (see pp. 744, 745, 749, 755, 757, 765, &c.)

§ 6. Blended, however, with the facts which can be traced to existing copies of the Saxon Chronicle, are many which cannot be referred to any one of these authorities. Some of these additions probably found a place in the Saxon text employed by Gaimar, while others appear to have been derived from local information, or the traditions[2] which were current in Lincolnshire in the middle of the twelfth century. The more important of these are the stories of of Havelock (p. 730), and of Buern the Buzecarl (p. 760), the history of the marriage of Edgar and Alfthrythe (p. 772), the assassination of king Edward the martyr (p. 777), the intended single combat (in which we recognise the Scandinavian "holm-gang,") between Cnut and Edmund Ironside (p. 781), the fortunes of the children of the latter of these kings (p. 784), and the law proceedings against earl Godwin (p. 788). The shorter additions to, or deviations from the text of our copies of the Saxon Chronicle, having for the most part been pointed out in the notes at the bottom of the pages, any further detail seems here to be unnecessary.

I haf grete ferly that I fynd no man
That has writen in story how Havelok this lond wan;
Noither Gildas, no Bede, no Henry of Huntynton,
No William of Malmesbiri, ne Pers of Bridlynton
Writes not in ther bokes of no kyng Athelwold,
Ne Goldeburgh his douhtere, ne Havelok not of told,
Whilk tyme the were kynges, long or now late,
Thei make no menyng whan, no in what date.—i. 25, ed. Hearne.

[1] Latham remarks, that in Lincolnshire the Danish admixture is at its maximum, and that the traditions and physiognomy of the inhabitants are peculiarly Danish. See his history of "The English Language," p. 554, ed. 1850.

[2] Brompton (or rather the Chronicle which passes under his name) appears to have been acquainted with the poem of Gaimar, from which he has borrowed many of those floating traditions, of which, until the publication of the present history, his Chronicle was the only record.

§ 7. These remarks apply chiefly to the period anterior to the Norman Conquest. After that era in our history the points of resemblance between Gaimar and the Saxon Chronicle are less obvious. The narrative now frequently corresponds with those of William of Malmesbury and Ordericus Vitalis; yet in his details Gaimar differs so decidedly from these historians as to lead us to the conclusion that he must have employed some independent authority. The history of the reign of William Rufus, although preserving information peculiar to Gaimar, is yet marked by errors which detract from its value and weaken our confidence in its general accuracy. The author appears to have intended to write a history of the reign of king Henry the First[1] (though upon this point his language is by no means clear): if this design was carried into execution we have to regret that no copy of that work is now known to us.

§ 8. We are possessed of four copies of Gaimar's French text. They are the following:—

A. The Royal MS. (13 A. xxi.) in the British Museum, written in the early part of the thirteenth century.

B. A manuscript in the library of the dean and chapter of Durham (c. iv. 27), written in the thirteenth century, which, according to Wright (Preface, p. 11), appears to be the oldest and philologically the best.

C. A manuscript in the library of the dean and chapter of Lincoln (H. 18), also of the thirteenth century.

D. A manuscript in the Herald's College (No. 14), of the fourteentn century.

The portion which reaches to the Norman Conquest in 1066, and the concluding lines, in which Gaimar specifies the sources which he employed in the compilation of his history, have been printed by Petrie in his Materials for the History of Britain (pp. 764—829). All the manuscripts specified above were employed in forming the text of this edition, the basis of which is the Museum copy. Another edition, continued to the death of William Rufus, was subsequently printed by Wright, among the publications of the Camden Society (8vo, Lond. 1850). In the present translation[2] both of these editions have been employed. A few of Mr. Petrie's notes have been borrowed, and to these the initial letter of his name has been prefixed.

[1] He says that he was led to think of undertaking this work from noticing the defects in the life of Henry the First, which had been written by a Norman poet named David. Of this writer we know nothing, except the little here preserved by Gaimar (p. 810).

[2] From the peculiarity of Gaimar's style, this portion of our work has been attended with considerable difficulty; and although no pains have been spared, it is by no means clear that the meaning of the author has been successfully rendered.

Leighton Buzzard,
4th April, 1854.

THE

CHRONICLE OF FABIUS ETHELWERD.

THE CHRONICLE OF FABIUS ETHELWERD,

FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLD TO THE YEAR DCCCCLXXV.

Fabius Ethelwerd the patrician, consul and quæstor, wishes perpetual health in Christ to his kinswoman Mahtilda.

Ethelwerd the patrician desires health in the Lord to the most eloquent Mahtilda,[1] a true handmaid of Christ.

I have received your letter, which I longed for, my dearest relative, and not only have I read its contents, and mentally embraced them, but I have also hidden them in the treasury of my heart. I frequently entreat the favour of the Most High God that He would preserve you in safety during this present life, and after your departure from the body conduct you to the eternal mansions. As I once before briefly hinted to you by letter, concerning the knowledge of our common ancestry and family, and their migrations, I now, by God's assistance, intend to treat it more clearly, by taking up the yearly course of events from the very beginning of the world, that the reader may behold it at a glance, and the pleasure of the hearer in comprehending it may be increased. Besides this, you will more readily find in the following pages an account of the arrival of our ancestors in Britain from Germany, with their numerous wars, the frequent slaughter of their chiefs, and the imminent dangers to which their fleets were exposed from the roughness of the ocean. Hence, in my present letter, I shall enlarge with great plainness on our modern pedigree, and the movements of our relatives, informing you who they were, and how and whence they came, as far as my memory serves me, and

[1] There are two individuals of the name of Matilda whose claims to this dedication might appear to be nearly equally balanced. Otho the Great married as his first wife Edith, the daughter of Edward the Elder, king of England. From this marriage sprung Liudulf, duke of Suabia, who had a daughter named Matilda, the wife of Obizzo, count of Milan. (See Anderson's Genealog. Tables, pp. 452, 659.) Mr. Petrie remarks that "the fact that no other Matilda, or Earnulf, is found in their respective genealogical lines, renders it almost certain that it is this Matilda, daughter of Liudulf, duke of Suabia, to whom Aethelward dedicated his work." There is, however, another claimant. The same table in Anderson's Genealogies (No. cexvii.), states that by his second wife Adelheida, Otho had a daughter named Matilda, who became abbess of Quedlinburg; and this is confirmed by authorities cited by Struvius, (Corpus Hist. Germ. i. 300, ed. Drest. 1755,) and by the Art de Vérif. les Dates, ii. 12. The tone of this letter of Ethelwerd's, as well as other portions of his work, might seem to lead to the preference being given to the claims of this latter Matilda. But see the Preface, §§ 3—5.

as my parents have informed me. For instance, king Aelfred, from whom we both derive our origin, was the son of king Athulf.[1] He was the father of five sons; from one of whom, king Ethered,[2] I appear to be descended, and you from king Aelfred, another of the sons of the above-mentioned king Athulf. King Aelfred sent his daughter Aelfthrythe into Germany, to become the wife of Baldwin,[3] and they had two sons, Athulf and Earnulf, and two daughters, Ealshwid and Earmentruth. From Aelfryde your neighbour count Earnulf[4] is descended. Besides this, the daughter of king Eadwerd, the son of the above-named king Aelfred, was named Eadgyfu, and she was sent by your maternal aunt into Gaul, to be married to king Charles[5] the younger. Eadhild was also sent to be married to Hugo,[6] the son of Brodbyrht;[7] and king Aedeftan[8] sent two other daughters for the same object to Oddo,[9] that he might choose which of them he pleased for a wife; and he preferred Eadgyde, from whom you derive your lineage. He also married the other to a certain king[10] near the mountains of Jupiter,[11] of whose family I have no knowledge, partly through the great distance, and partly through the disorders of the times; but it is your duty to send me information concerning these events, not only from our family connexion, but from the power with which you are favoured, should no obstacle prevent it.

May you ever be propitious to me
Through each revolving hour.

HERE ENDS THE PROLOGUE.

Here begins the First Book.

The world had its origin at the beginning of all things. For on the first day God created the angels in the splendour of light. On the second day He formed the heavens under the name of "firmament;" on the third day, by the word "division," He gave shape to the earth and waters; by creating the heavenly luminaries on the fourth day, the marine animals on the fifth, and the terrestrial

[1] More commonly written Ethelwolf. [2] He was the predecessor of Alfred.

[3] This Baldwin, earl of Flanders, died A.D. 918 or 919, leaving issue by Aelfthrythe. See Anderson's Gen Tables, p. 594. From this marriage was descended in the sixth degree Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror.

[4] Apparently Arnulf II. earl of Flanders, who succeeded his grandfather in 964, and died in 988. See Anderson, as above.

[5] Charles the Simple; concerning this alliance see Limiers, Hist. Genealog. de France, p. 27.

[6] This Hugo, duke of France and of Burgundy, (the son of Robert II. king of France, who was killed 15th June, 923,) succeeded to the throne of France in 936, and was married about 927. See Limiers, Hist. Genealog. p. 40.

[7] An error for Hrodbyrht. [8] Read, Aethelstan.

[9] Otho, afterwards emperor of Germany, who died A.D. 974. See Anderson, p. 350.

[10] According to Petrie, this was Louis the Blind, emperor, and king of Arles.

[11] The great St. Bernard. See Leandri Alberti descriptio totius Italiæ, p. 706, ed. fol. Colon. 1567.

animals, with man, on the sixth day. He created man after his own image and likeness, and called him Adam; that is, Earthly; from whose origin we are endeavouring to draw up a very brief yet complete narrative of events. Although in writing history we may easily be lost through its numerous windings, yet it does not seem to me too laborious an office to take care to guide my pen according to the course of my preceding remarks. Therefore, from Adam, the first man, to Noah's deluge, the number of years which elapsed was two thousand two hundred and forty-two. From the deluge to the time of Abram nine hundred and eighty years passed away; from the birth of Abraham to the time of Moses, and the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, five hundred and five years elapsed; and from the time of Moses to the rise of Solomon, and the building of the holy city, Jerusalem, four hundred and seventy-eight years occurred. And from that wonderful foundation of the city of our Lord to the birth of the Saviour, the number of years reached one thousand and twenty-two: and the whole number of years from the beginning of the world to the first advent of Christ is five thousand four hundred and ninety-five.[1] Hence, thirty years after his wonderful nativity, He was baptized in the river Jordan, and washed away the sins of the whole world by his blood: then He chose twelve disciples, in which number Paul was not yet included. Three years afterwards, on the testimony of holy Scripture, He was crucified on Calvary. After about the space of a year, Stephen became the first martyr, in imitation of Christ, and then followed the conversion of Paul. Then, in the following year, Peter fulfils the duty of a true rock, in the episcopacy of the church at Antioch; and after the lapse of nine years he discharges the office of pontiff at Rome. Then, after two years, Claudius Cæsar, with troops of Romans, leads his army against the Britons, invades their rich fields, reduces their kings to slavery, and becomes everywhere successful, as far as the Orkneys and "Ultima Thule," though the Picts and Scots resist his yoke.

Again, after the sixteenth year had passed away, James, our Lord's brother, who was also the first bishop of the church at Jerusalem, suffers gloriously for Christ. Then, after a year, the evangelist Mark departs from the world. In another six years, following in regular order, Peter and Paul are martyred for Christ, both constant, and both flourishing in the divine ministry. In the course of this very year, John the evangelist, in the isle of Patmos, put forth the book of the Apocalypse, that is, of Revelation, which had been given to him from heaven, that he might open divine mysteries to the world. After the completion of the period of fifteen years, he rested in peace, sixteen stadia from the city of Ephesus; and in the same year Simon the apostle is suspended. This completes the number of one hundred years from the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Two years afterwards, Clement departs by martyrdom suffered for Christ:—blessed pope! In the eighth year afterwards,

[1] It may suffice, once for all, to state, that the chronology of Ethelwerd is frequently very faulty; in this instance his numeration is incorrect.

Ignatius, a worthy bishop of Christ, follows the example of his sufferings; and in the fifty-sixth year after him, Eleutherius is raised to the apostolic seat at Rome, and for fifteen years he constantly persevered in his glorious preaching to the Christian people, and his holy doctrine went forth, not only through the cities subject to him, but from the rising to the setting sun. For the same most blessed servant of Christ visited even Lucius, king of this island, both by message and by letter; instructing in the faith and in catholic baptism the monarch who then possessed the chief power in Britain, and who yielded so far as to own the great probability of his becoming a Christian, which he afterwards, in fact, did. His successor, Severus, after a reign of twenty-three years, exercised the supreme power at Rome: he then formed a trench straight across the aforesaid island, from sea to sea, and he also constructed a wall, with turrets and battlements, on the inner side, to prevent, if possible, any injury to the Britons which might arise from the army of the barbarians. Moreover, after the course of one hundred and ninety-two years, Maximus Cæsar received the kingdom, who was born in Britain. He first subdues the Gauls, routs the Tuscans, and subjects the kingdoms of Italy and Spain to the yoke. Therefore, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, mighty Rome is destroyed by the Goths, in the eleven hundred and forty-sixth year after its foundation. From that time, the empire of the Romans ceased in the island of Britain, and in many other lands which they had hitherto retained under the yoke of slavery.

While they held this island for four hundred and eighty-five years, reckoning from the time of Caius Julius Cæsar, they constructed, with wonderful skill, cities and encampments, as well as bridges and highways, which are visible even at the present day. But while the inhabitants of Britain were dwelling securely within that trench whose course we have mentioned, as well as its construction by Severus Cæsar, in consequence of its strength, two nations rose up against them, namely, the Picts from the north, and the Scots from the west. They raised an army, and ravaged their possessions, and thus for many years inflicted innumerable miseries upon them. When they are no longer able to endure their sufferings, they send messengers to Rome, with anxiety of mind, and with mournful epistles. . . . . .[1] The army returned to Rome with victory. When the Picts and Scots heard that the army opposed to them had returned home, they manifested no slight rejoicing. Again they take up arms, and, as wolves invade the unprotected sheepfold, so they ravage the northern portion of the island, as far as the trench of Severus. The Britons mount the wall, and use their weapons of defence; but neither nature nor fortune had conferred upon them success in war. Then this cunning tribe of Scots, knowing what to do before an overhanging wall, as well as in the deep recesses of a wood, construct iron prongs of the right length, by mechanical art, and dragging down those who stand upon the wall, eagerly destroy them, and thus become conquerors both outside and within, and acquire at once

[1] At this point there is an omission in the narrative.

both booty and possession. Thus this last slaughter became worse than any of the former ones. Then the years from our Lord's incarnation were completed up to the number four hundred and forty-nine.

As soon as the Britons saw themselves overcome on all sides, and that there was no further hope of assistance from the Romans, they took counsel as to future proceedings, with wretched lamentations; for they had heard of the nation of the Saxons as, in those days, very active in expeditions of piracy on every maritime coast from the river Rhine to the district of the Danes, now commonly called Danmarc, and also strong in every kind of armament. Hence they send messengers to this people, with immense presents, seeking their assistance, and promising a peaceful alliance. What want of foresight in these slothful Britons!—for this event produced nothing but perpetual slavery, the very stepmother of every disaster.

Then Uurthern, who at that time was esteemed as supreme monarch among them, gave them the following advice, in which all the nobles acquiesced; and they came to the conclusion that they should send for aid from Germany. Two young chiefs, Hengest and Horsa, had already arrived at pre-eminence: these were grandsons of Woddan, king of the barbarians. The Pagans offered sacrifices to this king when deceased, and honoured him with unspeakable dignity, as if he were a god, for the sake of his victories, or valour and manner of living, since human nature believes in what it sees oftener than in anything else. The young men, therefore, previously mentioned, are sent forth in reply to the petition of the king and the senate, adorned with weapons, having embarked in three vessels equipped with all the apparatus of war. Thus the anchor is cast into the sea, and the vessels stand in for our shores. And they are soon sent against the Scotch by way of trying their strength: at length the youths without delay buckle on their armour and engage in battle with the foreigners; hero is mingled with hero; German and Scot perish alike in the fray; the slaughter on either side is most pitiable, although the Saxons come off victorious. Then by permission of the previously-mentioned king, they enjoy an honourable triumph, and privately send home their slaves to report to their countrymen both the fruitfulness of the soil and the want of spirit in the timid people. These lose no time in acting upon the message, and send to their kinsmen a large fleet with an army. They are at once magnificently received by the British king, and unite with the inhabitants in mutual hospitality. The Britons promise them peace, with rewards and honours worthy of their alliance, so long as they themselves remain undisturbed by the dread of their enemies under the protection of the Saxons, paying them immense wages for their services in war, and for the prosperity which they enjoyed through their means.

Enough has hitherto been said of the alliance and promise of the Britons; we must now treat of their discord and disaster; for, on observing the shrewdness of the new people, they partly feared and partly despised them: they break the treaty, they decline the further honour of their company, and rather endeavour to expel them

from their coasts. As soon as this plan had been resolved upon, it is made known to all: the treaty is openly violated; the Britons perish in their appeal to arms, and the Saxons become masters of the soil. Again they send to Germany—not secretly as before, but by an open embassy, after the manner of conquerors. When they demand additional supplies, a vast multitude is sent over from all parts of Germany; they engage in war against the Britons, driving them from their territories with great slaughter, and being themselves always victorious. At last the Britons submit to the yoke, and pay tribute with their offspring. Wherefore these adventurers are said to have come from the three provinces of Germany which are esteemed superior to the rest, that is, from Saxony, Anglia, and Jutland. The inhabitants of Kent derive their origin from the Jutes; and also the Wight-men, who received their name from inhabiting the Isle of Wight, which lies close to Britain.

For the following tribes came from Saxony, which now bears the common name of Eald-sexe, meaning Old Saxony; those now called by the Angles, East-sexan, Sut-sexan, and West-sexan, that is, using the Latin phrase, Eastern, Southern, and Western Saxons. From the province of Anglia came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and the whole race of the Northumbrians. Moreover,[1] Old Anglia is situated between the Saxons and the Jutes, having its capital town in the Saxon language called Sleswic, but in the Danish, Haithaby, and on this account Britain is now called Anglia, receiving the name of its conquerors; for their leaders before mentioned came first into Britain from thence, namely Hengest and Horsa, sons of Wyrhtelsi.[2] Their grandfather was Wicta, and their great-grandfather, Wither,[3] and his father was Wothen, who was a king of a multitude of barbarians. [4]And these northern unbelievers are oppressed by such superstition that they worship him as a god to this very day, namely, the Danes, the Northmen, and the Suevi, of whom Lucan says,

> Let Elbe and Rhine's unconquer'd springs send forth
> The yellow Suevi from the furthest north.[5]

That invasion, then, of the above-mentioned tribes is reported to have greatly increased; and it was far too sudden for the inhabitants, since by degrees it abolished the name of the land, and of those who had invited the invaders with gifts. These demand additional pay; the Britons refuse; they take up arms; the discord becomes extreme, and, as we have already said, the invaders drive the inhabitants from their homes into a few narrow promontories, and remain possessors of the island to the present day from sea to sea.

In the ninth year after the overthrow of Rome by the Goths, the Romans who were left in Britain, being unable to endure the numerous threats of these nations, hide their treasure in pits, in anticipation of some future good fortune which never occurred to them. They take a portion with them, assemble on the sea-shore, set sail with a favourable breeze, and land as exiles on the shores of Gaul.

[1] The passage from this point to the word "conquerors" does not occur in the Saxon Chronicle or Florence. [2] Read, Uuyhtgils. [3] Read, Uechta.
[4] This sentence also is an addition. [5] Rowe's Lucan, ii. 51.

In the twelfth year afterwards, bishop Paladius is sent by the blessed pope Celestinus to herald the gospel of Christ to the Scots.

When nineteen years were completed, Mauritius and Valentinus received the empire of the Romans, in whose time Hengest and Horsa were first called in to assist the Britons, by Wurthgern their king, at a place commonly called Hipwines-Fleot, but they afterwards rebelled and became their enemies, as we said before. Then the number of years was completed from the wonderful incarnation of our Saviour Jesus, to the amount of four hundred and forty-nine. In the sixth year afterwards, Hengest and Horsa engaged in battle with Wirthgern on the plain of Egelesthrip. Here Horsa is slain, and Hengest took the kingdom. But after two years Hengest and his son Aesc renewed the contest against the Britons, and slew in one day four thousand of them. Then the Britons left Cantium, which is now called Kent, and sought refuge in the city of London. About eight years afterwards, the same chiefs renewed their quarrels with the Britons, and a great slaughter took place on that day: twelve of the leading warriors of the Britons fell near a place called Wippedes-Fleot. A Saxon soldier named Wipped fell there, and for that reason the place obtained this name; [1]as the Thesean sea from Theseus, and the Ægean from Ægeus, who was drowned in it. When another eight years had elapsed, Hengest, with his son Aesc, took up arms against the Britons a second time, and after slaying their army they became victorious, and carried off an immense booty. In the fourth year after this, Aelle arrived in Britain from Germany with his three sons, at a place called Cymenes-ora, and pursued the Britons to a place called Aldredes-leage.[2] After eight years more, the same chiefs attack the Britons, near a place called Mercredes-burnan-stede. Then, after the completion of three years, Aesc, the son of Hengest, began to reign in Kent. After a period of three years, Aelle and Cissa besieged a town named Andredes-ceaster, and slew every inhabitant, from the greatest to the least, and left not a single survivor. After a lapse of three years, Cerdic, and Cinric his son, with five ships, reached Britain, at the port called Cerdices-ora, engaged with the Britons on the same day, and at last became completely their masters. [3]In the sixth year after their arrival, they had gone round the whole western portion of Britain, which is now called West-sexe. At the end of the year, Port also arrived in Britain with his son Beda: in the seventh year after whose arrival, Cerdic, with his son Cinric, slay Natanleod, a British king, together with five thousand men. After another six years, Stuf and Wuthgar landed in Britain, at Cerdices-ora, and suddenly make an assault on the Britons, and become conquerors after putting them to flight: and now the number of about fifty-six years is completed, from the first landing of Hengest and Horsa on this island. Then, after a space of five years, Cerdic and Cinric attack the Britons at

[1] This clause is an addition. [2] Read, Andredes-leage.
[3] This sentence does not occur either the Saxon Chronicle or Florence.

a place named Cerdic's-ford, [1]on the river Avene, and in that very year they openly began to reign, and after exercising their sovereignty for about eight years, they renew their contests with the Britons. After the lapse of another three years, they took the Isle of Wight, whose situation we have previously pointed out, slaying only a few Britons. Four years pass on, and then Cerdic, with his son Cinric, deliver over this isle into the power of their two kinsmen, Stufe and Wihtgare. In the course of this year, Cerdic died, and Cinric his son succeeded to his kingdom, and reigned twenty-seven years. After he had reigned four years, the sun was eclipsed from the first hour of the day, to the third. Again, after two years, the sun was eclipsed for half an hour after nine o'clock, so that the stars were everywhere visible throughout the firmament.

Lastly, in the seventh year afterwards, Ida began to reign in the province called Northumberland, whose ancestors derived their power and dominion from Wothen. Then, after five years had elapsed, Cinric waged war against the Britons, near a town named Seara-burh, where he put them to flight and destroyed them in great numbers. After another four years, the same chief, with Ceaulin, renewed the war against the Britons, at a place named Beran-byrig. Another four years elapse, and then Ceaulin began to reign over the western part of Britain, now commonly called West Saxony. Aelle the Iffing is also sent to his kindred in Northumberland, whose family may be traced up to its celebrated chief, Wothen. Finally, after a space of five years, Columba, the servant of Christ, came from Ireland to Britain to preach God's word to the Picts: and three years after his arrival, Ceaulin and Cutha stirred up a civil war against Aethelbyrht, and after conquering him, pursued him into Kent, and slew two of his chief men, Oslaf and Cnybba, at Wbbandune. Then, after another period of three years, Cuthulf renewed the war against the Britons at Bedanford, and took four royal towns, namely, Ligan-burh, Egles-burh, Bensingtun, and Ignesham. Then, after a lapse of six years, Cuthwine and Ceaulin engage in battle against the Britons, and slay their three kings, Comelg, Condidan, and Fearmelg, at a place named Deorhamme, and take three of their most famous cities, Gleaucestre, Cirncestre, and Bathancestre. An interval of seven years elapsed, and then Ceaulin and Cutha wage war against the Britons, at a place called Fethan-leage: Cutha falls: while Ceaulin took many towns and acquired immense booty. Besides this, eight years afterwards, a great destruction took place on both sides, at a spot called Wodens-byrg, where Ceaulin was put to flight. He died in the year following, and the kings who succeeded to his throne were Cuichelm, Tridda, and Aethelfrith.

[1] The words "on the river Avene" are not found in the Saxon Chronicle or Florence. Ethelwerd here refers to Charford on the Avon, in Hampshire. See Camd. Brit. col. 134.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Here begins the Prologue of the Second Book.

It was quite unnecessary, my dearest relative, to begin with a preface of contents when laying before you this little book; since I have hitherto guided my pen through manifold windings from the most general origin of our race; and now, passing rapidly over those extracts from history, both sacred and profane, which are deeply impressed upon the memories of many, I leave higher things to the prudent reader. It is now my object to direct my pen to what peculiarly belongs to our family branch; and although a young maiden is not reckoned a famous member of any house, yet she affords no small aid to more important members. Hence I exhort you in the Lord not to despise my words as bitter to the taste, but rather may they render you especially thankful to the heavenly King, if they seem to you at last agreeable to the palate.

HERE ENDS THE PROLOGUE.

Here begins the Second Book.

Chap. I.—Concerning the Arrival of Augustine, sent by the blessed Pope Gregory.

As God's providence, looking forward in his love upon all things from eternity, is accustomed to rule not by compulsion, but by powerful intuition, being itself always immovable, and disposing the elements in various ways according to its own Word, and urging the human race to come to the knowledge of truth by the death of God's only-begotten Son, by whose blood the four quarters of the world are freed from guilt; so now it dispels the darkness of our western shores by means of his servant. For, on a certain occasion, some men were standing near the place where the blessed pope Gregory was residing and sowing the seed of Christ's gospel: they were of beautiful countenance, and spoke a language unknown to the holy man, who admired the loveliness of their appearance, and earnestly asked them "Of what nation are ye?" Then the young men with downcast looks confess themselves to be Angles. "Are ye worshippers of Christ," says the holy man, "or infidels?" "We are not Christians," say they, "for no one as yet has opened our ears in this respect." Then the blessed man looked up and said, "Who lays a foundation of reeds when stones are close at hand?" "No prudent man," they say. "Ye have replied correctly," adds he; and taking them home, he leads them to his chamber, instructs them in the divine word, and after admitting them to Christian baptism, he becomes very much disposed to return with them to their native country. When the Romans heard of this intention, they objected, and could not allow their own shepherd to be so far removed from them. Hence the most blessed pope Gregory, seeing the resist-

ance of the people, chose one of his disciples fully instructed in the divine word, named Augustine. He strengthened him by divine admonitions, and sent him with the above-mentioned natives, and a multitude of his brethren with him, on whose arrival the Angles receive the faith and erect temples. And through the prayers of the holy bishop Augustine, our Saviour Jesus Christ displayed numberless miracles to the faithful. And up to the present day, no trifling miracles are performed at his tomb, by the assistance of our Lord himself.

Chap. II.—Concerning King Aethelbyrht and his Baptism.

Augustine, then, as previously mentioned, arrived while Aethelbyrht was exercising his sway over Kent, to whom Aethelbyrht yielded with all his household, and was baptized after receiving the faith. He is also the first king among the race of the Angles who received the word of Christ. Finally, Aethelbyrht was the son of Eormen-ric, whose grandfather was Ochta, who also bore the name of Esc: on which account the kings of Kent afterwards received the name of Esc-ings, that is, sons of Esc, just as the Romans were so called from Romulus, and the Cecropidæ from Cecrops, and the Tuscans from Tuscus. For Esc was the father of Hengest, and he was the first consul and leader of the tribe of the Angles from Germany, whose father was Wihtgels, his grandfather Wicta, his great-grandfather Wither, and his father Wothen, who was also a king of many nations, and whom some Pagans now worship as a god. The number of years which had elapsed from the incarnation of our Lord was five hundred and ninety-six.[1]

Chap. III.—Concerning Ceolf,[2] king of the West Saxons, and his continual warfare.

[A.D. 597.] The course of a single year having been completed, Ceolf received the kingdom of the West Angles, whose lineage was derived directly from Wothen; and so great was his ferocity that he is reported to have been constantly at war with either his own tribe, or the Britons, or the Picts, or the Scots.

Chap. IV.—Concerning Augustine's Pall of Apostleship, which is sent by Pope Gregory.

[A.D. 601.] After the fourth year of the reign of Ceolf, pope Gregory sends the pall of apostleship to Augustine.

Chap. V.—Concerning the Faith of the East Saxons, and of the Departure of the blessed Pope Gregory.

[A.D. 604.] When three years had elapsed, the East Angles received baptism in the reign of king Sigebyrht. But two years

[1] The arrival of St. Augustine in Britain happened in the year 597

[2] Or Ceolwulf.

afterwards the blessed pope Gregory departed this life, in the tenth year after that in which he had sent baptism to the Angles by Augustine, the servant of Christ. The number of years from the origin of the world was now completed to the amount of five thousand eight hundred.

CHAP. VI.—CONGERNING THE REIGN OF KING CINIGELS, AND HIS WAR, AND ALSO THE ARRIVAL OF BISHOP BYRIN, AND THE BAPTISM OF THE KING HIMSELF, AND THE FAITH OF THE EAST SAXONS,[1] AND THE BAPTISM OF CUTHRID.

[A.D. 611.] CINIGELS next received the kingdom of the West Angles; then, he with Cuichelm attacked the Britons at a place called Beamdune, and having overcome them they slew two thousand and forty of them. Fourteen years after this, Cinigels and Cuichelm made war with Penda, near a town usually called Cirencester; and six years after this event, bishop Byrin came to the West Angles, preaching to them the gospel of Christ. And the number of years from their arrival in Britain from Germany was now about one hundred and twenty. At that time Cinigels was baptized by the holy bishop Byrin at the town now called Dorchester. He also baptized Cuthrid about four years afterwards in the same neighbourhood, whom he also treated as his son in the faith.

CHAP. VII.—CONCERNING THE RULE OF CENWALH AND HIS ACTIONS.

[A.D. 648.] THEN after the completion of nine years, Cenwalh delivered to his relative Cuthrid three thousand of his hides of land, lying near a hill commonly called Escesdune. Then after a space of four years he waged a civil war at a spot termed Bradanforda, near the river Afene. Again, after three years, king Penda died, and the Mercians received the baptism of Christ. Another three years having passed away, kings Cenwalh[2] and Pionna renew the struggle with the Britons, and pursue them to a place named Pederydan. Again, when three years had elapsed, Cenwalh waged war near a town named Posentes-Byrg, and led captive [3]Vulfhere, the son of Penda, after overcoming his army at Escesdune. Three years after this the sun was eclipsed. Again, at the conclusion of six years, Osweo, king of the Northumbrians, died, and Ecgferth succeeded him. Then after the lapse of a single year, a great destruction took place among the birds, [4]so that a very foul odour rose up from both the sea and the dry land, arising from small as well as large birds. At the completion of twelve months, Cenwalh, king of the West Angles, died, and his wife Sexburh succeeded to his kingdom, and ruled twelve months. Afterwards Escwine succeeded to the kingdom for two years, whose descent is derived from Cerdic.

[1] Read, West Saxons.

[2] Ethelwerd here misunderstands and mistranslates the Saxon Chronicle. See A.D. 628.

[3] Here again our author is in error. See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 661.

[4] The conclusion of this sentence does not occur in either Florence or the Chronicle.

CHAP. VIII.—CONCERNING VULFHERE AND CENUULH,[1] AND THE SYNOD OF THE BLESSED FATHER THEODORE.

[A.D. 670.] THEN after a year, Vulfhere the son of Penda, and Cenwalh, engaged in mutual warfare at a place called Bedan-heafde. And after the lapse of three years a comet star appeared. A synod took place at Heth-lege, under the presidency of the holy archbishop Theodore, because he desired to instruct them in divine things after the space of two years had elapsed. Also in the course of this year died Hild, the handmaiden of Christ, abbess of the monastery at Streones-healh.

CHAP. IX.—CONCERNING KING CENTWINE AND HIS WARS.

[A.D. 678.] THEN after two years, king Centwine pursued the Britons from their boundaries to the sea, and after he had reigned two years Ine became king of the West Angles. And the number of years which had elapsed since Cerdic his ancestor in the sixth degree acquired the west of Britain from the natives, is one hundred and eighty-eight.

CHAP. X.—CONCERNING THE CONVERSION OF CEADWALLA TO THE FAITH OF CHRIST.

[A.D. 688.] IN the course of this very year, Cedwalla set out for Rome, and there received the baptism and the faith of Christ, and after he was baptized the pope of that year gave him the name of Peter. When about six years were completed the inhabitants of Kent had good reason to remember their conduct towards king Ine in consuming his relative by fire, for which they had to pay thirty thousand marks of gold, each containing the number of sixteen pieces.

CHAP. XI.—CONCERNING THE ACTS OF AETHELRED, KING OF MERCIA.

[A.D. 704.] THEN after the lapse of ten years Ethelred, son of Penda, king of the Mercians, assumed the monastic habit, after a reign of less than thirty years. Then after twelve months Ealdferth, king of the Northumbrians, died. Then the number of years from the foundation of the world amounted to five thousand nine hundred, written thus:—D M DCCCC. Then after another four years, the blessed bishop Aldelm died. His works, displaying remarkable skill, are much read, and his bishopric extended over the province called Sealundscire.

CHAP. XII.—CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF INE, AND HIS ACTIONS.

[A.D. 710.] THEN after a year kings Nunna and Ine waged war with king Vuthgircte;[2] and also Beorhtfrid, an ealdorman, fought with the Picts. After four years, Guthlac, a servant of Christ,

[1] Here, and in the chapter itself, read Escuuine.

[2] Here Ethelbert has treated the Saxon words "with Gerente" as if they were one proper name. Read, "against Gerente."

died. Then after another year, Ine and Ceolred engaged against the armies opposed to them at Vuothnes-beorhge. Then after seven years Ina slays Cinewulf, and after six months he engages in battle against the South Angles.

Chap. XIII.—Concerning Aethelheard, the king.

[A.D. 728.] After the sixth year had been completed, [Ine] set out for Rome, and Aethelheard received the kingdom of the West Angles, and in the first year of his reign he commenced a war against the etheling Osweo.[1] During the next year a comet star appeared, and the holy bishop[2] Ecgbyrht died. Two years elapse, and then Osric, king of the Northumbrians, is slain, and Ceolf[3] succeeded to his kingdom.

Chap. XIV.—Concerning the Actions of King Aethelbald.

[A.D. 733.] Two years after these events, king Aethelbald took possession of a royal town which is called Sumurtun. In the same year the sun was eclipsed; and after the space of another year, the moon appeared as if stained with drops of blood; and during this presage Tatwine and Beda departed this life.

Chap. XV.—Concerning the Rule of Eadbyrht, and his actions.

[A.D. 738.] At length, after four years, Eadbyrht succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and his brother Ecgbyrht discharged the office of archbishop: and now they both rest under the roof of the same porch, in the city of York.

Chap. XVI.—Concerning the Sovereignty of King Cuthred.

[A.D. 750.] Twelve years elapsed, and then king Cuthred commenced a war against earl Ethelhun, in consequence of some suspicion of treason; and then again, after two years, he takes up arms against Athelbald the king, in a place called Beorgforda. Also after a year, as he had been accustomed to fill up the measure of his ferocity, he took up arms against the Britons, and died after a year.

Chap. XVII.—Concerning the Acts of King Sigebyrht, and his sovereignty.

[A.D. 755.] Next, Sigebyrht received the sovereignty of the West Angles. Then, after the passing away of a year from Sigebyrht's first taking the kingdom, Cynulf invaded his realm and wrested it from him, and openly drew with him the wise men of all the western country, on account of the unrighteous conduct of the

[1] Read, Oswald.
[2] Read, priest.
[3] More commonly called Ceolwulf.

above-mentioned king; nor was any portion of his possessions left to him except the single province called Hamtunscire. He did not live there for any length of time; for being excited by some former affront, he slew a certain chief man [Cumbra], and then Cynulf forcibly drove him into the pathless wood of Andred. And here he remained, wandering about from one dense thicket to another, until he was slain, at a place named Pryfetes-floda, by a swineherd, who thus avenged the blood of earl Cumbra.

CHAP. XVIII.—CONCERNING THE RULE OF CENULF, AND HIS WAR, AND HIS ACTIONS.

[A.D. 784.] SUCH events as these having previously occurred, Cynulf often engaged in no slight battles with the Britons; for after he had reigned thirty-one years, he endeavoured to expel from his territories a certain etheling, whose name was Cyneheard, the brother of Sigebyrht, of whose actions we have just treated. He was afterwards besieged by that etheling; for he received information that the king was paying a visit to a lady at a place named Merantune. Although the king had but few attendants, and those unconscious of danger, his enemies surround the house secretly, with armed men; and when he understood the extent of his peril, he leapt out of the door and boldly defended himself against their weapons. Then he rushed upon the etheling with a determined mind, and wounded him with numerous blows; his companions were not forgetful of the king's threats, for they raised their weapons and slew him. Then the king's soldiers who happened to be in attendance heard the broil, and each according as he was ready made a rush, by the force of habit. They go to see the fray, and the etheling, observing their fury, strives to soothe them by promises of rewards and tempting honours. They prefer death after their master; they listen to no promises; one and all fall instantly on the foe, but none escapes alive. A single British hostage survived, and he was severely wounded. At the next day's dawn, the event became known to the royal troops who had remained behind; they set out in a compact band; Osric his ealdorman, and Vugferd his thane, were with them: they found the etheling in the very courtyard where their lord was lying lifeless. The doors are besieged on both sides, the one party from within and the other from without; the etheling begs a truce, promises great things, through his anxiety to be raised to the kingdom. The followers of the king spurn all these offers, and are the more earnest in seeking to separate their relatives from the party of the etheling; they reject their entreaties, and answer their friends firmly, in such words as these: "No love for our relatives can be as great as that for our lord: we are totally unable to follow his murderer with open countenance." Then they strive very earnestly with them, and urge them with mournful lamentations to obey, and depart with life and safety. Their opponents reply: "We also used similar admonitions when we besought our relatives who were allies of the king, but they would not listen to

us." Again the king's friends add as follows: "Besides this, ye shall remain unhurt if ye will only depart; nor shall any vengeance be inflicted upon you, on behalf of those who died with the king." They make no reply, but silently insist on war: shield clashes against shield; their arms are secured to their bucklers; parents fall by the hands of their nearest relations; the gates are broken; one rushes in after another, and a miserable contest ensues. Alas! they slay the etheling, and all his companions were destroyed before his eyes except one, and he was the godson of earl Osric, and had received so many wounds that he was scarcely half-alive.

Thus Cenulf reigned thirty-one years, and his body lies entombed at Winchester, while the above-mentioned etheling rests in the church commonly called Axanminster. The paternal pedigree of both leads up to Cerdic. In the same year died Aethelbald, king of the Mercians, in a place named Seccandune, and his body rests in the minster of Hreopandune. Beornred succeeded to his kingdom, who died himself a short time afterwards.

Chap. XIX.—Concerning the Rule of King Offa, and his actions.

[A.D. 756.] Then in the course of a year, Offa succeeded to the kingdom, a remarkable man, the son of Tingfred.[1] His grandfather was Eanulf, his great grandfather Osmod, his fourth ancestor Nibba, his fifth Icel, his sixth Eomer, his seventh Angeltheu, his eighth Offa, his ninth Wermund, his tenth Whtleg, and his eleventh Wothen. After the completion of seventeen years from the period when Cynulf seized the kingdom from Sigebyrhte, there appeared in the sky the sign of the cross of our Lord after sunset, and in the same year a civil war was carried on between the inhabitants of Kent and of Mercia, in a place named Cittanforda;[2] and in those days monstrous serpents were seen by the South Angles who inhabit Suthsexa. When four years had elapsed, Cynewlf and Offa engaged in battle near a town called Bensingtun, and Offa took possession of it. Then at the end of two years, the Gauls and Saxons fight many battles with each other; and after four years Cyneheard slays king Cynewlf, and is himself also slain there.

Chap. XX.—Concerning the Acts of Byrhtric, king of the West Saxons.

[A.D. 786.] Then in the same year, Byrhtric received the kingdom of the West Angles, whose ancestry reaches to Cerdic. At the conclusion of three years he married Eadburh, the daughter of Offa.

[1] See the pedigree of Offa in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 755.
[2] An error for Ottanford; namely, Otford, in Kent.

HERE ENDS THE SECOND BOOK.

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE OF THE THIRD BOOK.

YOU may naturally infer, from my having formerly presented my pages to you, that I should declare the contents of this my third book, although unimportant. Hence I exhort you, dearest treasure of my heart, not to grow weary of my present work through the length of time occupied in reading it. Since I devote it entirely to you, whatever the length to which my mind measures its space, so much the nearer to you does it draw forth my affectionate regards.

HERE ENDS THE PROLOGUE.

HERE THIS BOOK BEGINS.

DURING the reign of the most pious king Byrhtric over the territories of the West Angles, the people, spreading abroad in innocency, gave their labour in calm tranquillity to cultivate the furrows of their neglected fields, and the burden-bearing limbs of the oxen submitted their necks to the nearest yoke with pleasure. A sudden arrival of the Danes occurred, with but a small fleet consisting of only three ships; this was their first descent. When the news was brought, the king's sheriff, [1]happening to be staying at a town called Dorchester, leapt upon his horse and rode to the port with but few attendants, thinking them to be merchants rather than enemies; and then issuing his commands he ordered them to be driven to the king's town; but he and his attendants were slain; [2] and the name of this sheriff was Beaduheard. Then the number of years from the arrival of Hengest and Horsa in Britain, to the period of Byrhtric's marriage with the daughter of king Offa, was three hundred and thirty-four. In the fifth year after this, Offa, the king of Mercia, ordered the head of king Ethelbyrht[3] to be cut off; and he died two years afterwards, and Ecgferth his son succeeded to the throne, and died the same year. Also the blessed pope Adrian died, and Aethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by his own people.

CHAP. I.—CONCERNING CEOLF,[4] KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND CONCERNING HIS WAR.

[A.D. 796.] THEN after two years, Ceolf, king of Mercia, devastated Kent and the province called Merscuuari, and Prend their king was taken, and having loaded him with chains they led him as far as Merce. After a year, therefore, the most savage Roman people, moved by madness, cut off the tongue of the blessed pope

[1] The information contained in this clause does not occur in the Saxon Chronicle, nor in Florence.

[2] This passage also is new.

[3] He was king of East Anglia.

[4] Read, Cenwulf; although Ceolwulf is the reading of some copies of the Saxon Chronicle.

Leo, put out his eyes, and drive him from the apostolic seat. But suddenly, by the assistance of Christ, who is always wonderful in his works, sight was restored to him, and his tongue received again its full power of speech, and he again held the apostolic see as before. Then after the lapse of three years king Byrhtric died.

Chap. II.—Concerning the Rule of Ecgbyrht, and his actions.

Ecgbyrht, therefore, commenced his reign over the West Angles; but on that very day Ethelmund, an ealdorman, passing through a certain village called Hwice, wished to cross the river at a ford called Cynemaeres-forda; and there the ealdorman Wextan met him with troops of the people of the province of the Uuilsaeta. They engage in battle on the spot; both fall, but the Uuilseta are victorious. At the time when king Ecgbyrht received the kingdom, the full number of years from the origin of the world was five thousand nine hundred and ninety-five; from the incarnation of our Lord, eight hundred; and from the arrival of Hengest and Horsa in Britain, three hundred and fifty; and from the rule of Cerdic, who subdued the western part of Britain, and was the tenth progenitor of king Ecgbyrht, three hundred; and from the arrival of Augustine (who had been sent by the blessed pope Gregory to baptize the nation of the Angles), two hundred and four years; and father Gregory died in the tenth year after that mission. After Ecgbyrht had discharged his duties for five years, Cuthred, king of Kent, died; and in the seventh year Charles, king of the Franks, departed this life; and after the completion of the second year, Leo, the blessed pope, passed from glory to glory. Then after five years, Cynulf, king of the Mercians, died, whose successor was Ceolf;[1] and after two years the kingdom was snatched away from him. Then when a year had passed, a great synod was held at a place called Clofes-ho, and there two ealdormen, Burghelm and Muca, are slain.[2] Then after a year war is renewed against the Britons in the province of Defna, at a place called Gaful-forda. In the same year, king Ecgbyrht engaged in war with Beornulf, king of Mercia, at Ellendune, and Ecgbyrht was the conqueror; but a great slaughter occurred on both sides; [3]and Hun, a chief man of the province of Sumorsaeta, is slain there, and now rests in the city of Winchester. Then king Ecgbyrht sent his son Aethulf with an army into Kent, together with his bishop Aelhstan, and Vulfheard a nobleman; and this army overcame king Baldred, and drove him northwards over the river Thames. Then the men of Kent afterwards submitted to these conquerors, as well as the provinces of Surrey and Sussex, with the Middle and Southern Angles. For in the course of this year the king of the East Angles, with the wisest men of his realm, visits king Ecgbyrht for the sake

[1] Read, Ceolwulf.

[2] Ethelwerd is wrong in affirming that they were killed at Clovesho.

[3] The conclusion of this sentence occurs neither in the Saxon Chronicle nor in Florence.

of peace and protection, through fear of the Mercians. Then in the course of the same year, the aforesaid East Angles took up arms against Beornulf, king of Mercia, and slew him,[1] and five of his chief men, after overcoming his army. His successor was Wihtlaf. Then after a space of two years, the moon was eclipsed on Christmas night, [A.D. 828.] And during this year king Ecgbyrht reduced under his own power the whole kingdom of Mercia which lies on the southern side of the river Humber; and he was the eighth king who enjoyed the supreme power in Britain. For the first was Aelle, king of the South Angles, who possessed as large a subject territory as Ecgbyrht. The second was Ceaulin, king of the West Angles. The third, Aethelbyrht, king of Kent. The fourth, Raedwald, king of the East Angles. The fifth, Eadwine, king of the Northumbrians. The sixth, Oswald. The seventh, Osweo, the brother of Oswald; and after him Ecgbyrht (of whom we have made mention above) was the eighth. He next led his army against the Northumbrians, who submissively bowed their necks to him. Then after the passing away of a year, Wihlaf recovered his kingdom. At this very period king Ecgbyrht led an army against the Northern Britons, and after subduing them all, he returned in peace. Then after four years the pagans overran the country at a place named Sceapige. Next, after the space of a year, king Ecgbyrht waged war with a pagan fleet, numbering thirty-five ships, at the place Carrum, when the Danes were victorious.

[A.D. 836.] Then after three years, a large fleet of them arrived among the West Britons, and without delay the armies of the Danes and Britons unite, and turn their forces together against Ecgbyrht, king of the Angles. When the king heard of this event, he called his troops together, and attacked the united people at Hengestes-dune, and put them both to flight. Also during the revolving circle of the same year, died the most potent monarch Ecgbyrht.

Chap. III.—Concerning the Sway of Athulf,[2] and his actions.

[A.D. 837.] Moreover, after the death of Ecgbyrht, Athulf succeeded to his father's throne, and gave to his son Ethestan the kingdoms of Kent, and Essex, and Sussex, and Surrey; that is, the eastern, southern, and middle portion of his dominions. After a year, Wulfheard the nobleman attacked a pagan fleet, near the town of Hamtune, and after slaying many of the crew, became conqueror. There were thirty-three vessels in the fleet, and after these exploits the ealdorman himself died in peace. In the same year Ethelm the ealdorman, in alliance with the inhabitants of Dorsetshire, made war upon the pagan army, at a place called Port,[3] and

[1] Compare the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 825, by which it appears that the text of Ethelwerd is here defective, and the chronology disturbed in consequence.

[2] More commonly called Ethelwulf.

[3] The correction of Ethelwerd's Latin text, by reading (as above) "Port" for "post," is sanctioned by a comparison with the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 837.

pursued them afterwards for some time, but the Danes became victorious, and destroyed the nobleman and his companions. Again, after a year, Herebyrht the nobleman is slain by the Danes, in the country of the Merscwari; and during the same year a great slaughter was perpetrated by their army in the district of Lindsey, in the county of Kent, and among the East Angles. In like manner, after a year, a similar slaughter occurred in the city of London, and in Quintonwic,[1] and Hrofe-ceastre. After the lapse of a year, king Athulf commenced a war against the Danes, at a place called Carrum, by whom he is overcome, and they obtained the mastery over the place. After the completion of three years, Eanulf the nobleman, who presided over the county of Somerset, and Ealhstan the bishop, and Osric the nobleman of Dorsetshire, united in battle against the pagan army, at a place previously mentioned, named Pedredan-mutha, and after conquering the Danish forces, they became victors. Also, in the same year, Aethelstan the king, and Ealhere, the nobleman, waged war against the forces of the aforesaid nation, in the county of Kent, near a town called Sandwic: they slay a great multitude of them, and take captive their routed troops and nine ships. Seven years afterwards, Ceorl, the nobleman of Devonshire, engages in battle with the Pagans, at Wigan-beorge; they slay many Danes, and gain a complete victory. In the course of this year, these barbarians wintered for the first time on the Isle of Thanet, which is situated not far from Britain, having very fruitful, though not large cornfields. Before the completion of that year, a very large fleet of Pagans arrived, consisting of three hundred and fifty ships, at the mouth of the river Thames, commonly called Thames-mouth, and destroyed the cities of Canterbury and London, and put Beornulf,[2] king of Mercia, to flight, after defeating his army. They returned after the battle across the river Thames, towards the south, through the province of Surrey, and there king Athulf, with the West Angles, met them in battle; immense numbers fall on both sides, nor have we ever heard of a more severe engagement than on that day. These events happened near the wood called Aclea. Three years after this, king Burhred asked assistance of king Aethelwlf, to subdue the north Britons: he granted the request, and when the army was assembled he passed across the kingdom of the Mercians to attack the Britons, and when he had subdued them, he exacted a tribute. In this year, also, king Aethelwlf sent his son Aelfred to Rome, in the days of our lord pope Leo, who consecrated him king, and acted as his godfather, just as at the present time we are accustomed to receive little children from the bishop's hand, and to designate them as our own. In the same year many battles were fought against the Pagans in the Isle of Thanet; great slaughter occurred on both sides, and many were drowned in the sea. After Easter, in that year, king Athulf gave his daughter in marriage to king Burhred.

[A.D. 855.] Again, after a year, the Pagans wintered in Sheppey. In the same year king Athulf gave a tenth of all his property as the

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 839.

[2] Read, Beorhtwulf.

Lord's portion, and established the same practice throughout the whole of his dominions. This year he set out for Rome with great pomp, and remained there twelve months. On returning home to his country, Charles, king of the Franks, gave him his daughter in marriage, whom he brought home with him. King Athulf died a year after his return, and his body rests in the city of Winchester. Now the above-mentioned king was the son of king Ecgbyrht, his grandfather being Ealhmund, his great-grandfather, Eafa. The father of his great-grandfather was Eoppa, whose father was Ingild, the brother of Ine, king of the West Angles, who died at Rome. These aforesaid kings all derived their lineage from king Cenred. Cenred was the son of Ceolwald, sprung from Cuthwine, the son of Ceaulin, the son of Cynric, the son of Cerdic, who was the first possessor of the western portion of Britain, after the armies of the inhabitants had been overcome. Elesa was his father, the son of Esla, the son of Gewis, the son of Wig, and his father was Freawine, whose direct ancestors were as follow:—viz. Frithogar, Brond, Balder, Wothen, Frithowald, Frealaf, Frithowlf, Fin, Godwlfe, Geat, Tetwa, Beo, Scyld, and Scef. [1]This Scef, the nineteenth progenitor, came with a single ship to an island of the ocean, called Scani, clad in armour, although but a mere boy, and quite unknown to the people of the land; yet he was well received by them, and they guarded him as if he belonged to them, with much diligence, and afterwards chose him for their king; king Athulf is directly descended from him. The fifty-fifth year from the commencement of king Ecgbyrht's reign was thus completed.

[1] The whole of this sentence is an addition to the Saxon Chronicle and Florence.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

I MUST now guide my pen towards my fourth book, after finishing the humble pages of my three former ones; for the profit to be derived from it will be greater, and the origin of our family will be more clearly pointed out. And although, my dearest and best beloved sister, I may seem to burden you by sending so much to read, yet do not judge me too harshly; but as my writings spring from love to you, may you read them with similar feelings. And may God, who is praised in Trinity and Unity, preserve yourself and your companions under the shadow of his own wings. Amen.

THE END OF THE PROLOGUE.

Chap. I.—Of the Reigns of the Sons of King Athule,[1] namely, Ethelbald and Ethelbyrht.

In the meantime, after the death of king Athulf, his sons ascended the throne, namely, Ethelbald ruled over the West Angles, and Aethelbyrht over Kent, as well as over the East, South, and Middle Angles. After the completion of five years, king Ethelbald died, and his brother Aethelbyrht succeeded to his authority, in addition to his own. In his days a very large fleet of pagans landed, and destroyed the royal city of Winchester. Their progress was arrested by Osric, nobleman of the province of Hamtun-scire, and Athulf, nobleman of the province of Bearruc-scire. In the battle which ensued, these leaders put the Pagans to flight, and gained the victory. Four years after the death of king Aethelbald, the Pagans make a firm stand in the Isle of Thanet, and promise peace to the men of Kent. They are ignorant of the future, and prepare money to purchase it; but the Danes break their agreement, sally forth privately by night, and lay waste the whole of the eastern coast of Kent. After the lapse of a year, king Aethelbyrht also died, and his body rests peacefully in the minster at Scireburne.

Chap. II.—Of the Reign of King Ethered.

[A.D. 866.] Then Ethered succeeded to the kingdom, after the death of his brother Ethelbyrht. During the same year, the fleets of the tyrant Igware[2] reached the land of the Angles from the north, and wintered among the East Angles. They pile their arms there, mount their horses, and make peace with the inhabitants. Then, after a year, that army left the eastern coast, and crossed the river Humber, and advanced into the province of North-umbria, as far as the city Evoraca, now called Eoferwic. There happened at that time to be a serious civil dissension between the inhabitants of that district, for they were so infuriated that they expelled their king Osbyrht from his rightful seat; and with fixed determination they unite in choosing some obscure person for their king, and after some delay they turn their attention to the necessity of taking up arms against the advancing foe. They collect numerous troops; they perceive the enemy already halting within their trenches; they excite each other's rage by turns; they take up arms, and, alas! a destructive slaughter occurs on both sides, and both their kings fall on the spot. The survivors on each side make peace with the hostile army. [3]During the same year died Eanulf, nobleman of the province of Somerset; and also bishop Ealhstan, after occupying his bishopric for fifty years in the diocese of Scireburne. There his body now rests; and that of the above-named nobleman, in the monastery at Glastingabyrig.

[A.D. 868.] Then, after another year, the army of the Pagans,

[1] More generally written, Ethelwulf.

[2] Neither the name of this individual nor his place of burial is recorded in any copy of the Saxon Chronicle which we possess.

[3] This first clause of the sentence is new to us.

whose arrival we have just mentioned, fixed their camp at Snotingaham, and wintered there; and Burhred, king of Mercia, with his counsellors, consented to their continuing there without being molested; but at the end of a year, this army removed to York, and there again pitched their camp during the winter season.

[A.D. 870.] After remaining a year they removed, passed through Mercia to the possessions of the East Angles, and took up their abode for the winter there, at Theotforda. Against these troops king Eadmund carried on a war for a short time, but they slew him there, [1]and his body lies entombed at a spot called Beadorices-wyrthe. The barbarians indeed gained the victory, but at the expense of their king's life, for [2]Iwar, their monarch, died during the same year; archbishop Ceolnoth also went the same way, and was buried in the city of Canterbury. In the course of the next year, the above-mentioned army of the barbarians marched to Readingon, and this most impious crew were eagerly desirous of attacking the West Saxons, so that three days after their arrival, their two chiefs career pompously about on horseback, although naturally ignorant of the art of riding, and, forgetful of their fleet, gallop over the fields and through the woods, for the sake either of exploring the country or of obtaining for themselves a lasting reputation. But Adulf the chief man was a match for them; and although his band was small, yet brave souls were enclosed in hardy breasts: they direct their weapons, they turn the foe, and rejoice in abundant booty. At length, four days after this encounter, king Ethered arrives with an army; an indescribable battle rages fiercely between them; first one side, then the other, presses forward with their spears in unbroken rank; the noble Athulf falls, who had so lately obtained the victory, and at last the barbarians remain masters. [3]The body of the aforesaid ealdorman is removed by stealth, and carried into the province of Mercia, to a place called Northworthige, but in the language of the Danes, Deoraby. Again, four days afterwards, king Aethered, with his brother Aelfred, took up arms against the whole pagan forces at Aescesdune; a very fearful slaughter occurred on both sides, but king Ethered at last won the palm of victory. It is now my duty to declare the names of their chiefs who were slain there. Berse,[4] their king, Sihtrix the elder, their consul, the younger Sihtrix also, Osbearn, Fraena, and Haradd,[5] consuls, and, [6]so to speak, all the noblest of the barbarian youth fell there, and neither before nor since has such destruction been heard of during the whole period of the Saxon occupation of Britain. Meanwhile, after fourteen days, their courage was renewed, and a battle was fought at a place called Basingon; their arms are soon mingled; the barbarians began by degrees to maintain their ground against their adversaries; each side indulges in the hope of success; the royal troops are deceived; their far-seeing

[1] An addition to the Saxon Chronicle and Florence. Bury St. Edmunds is the modern name of this place.

[2] This information is peculiar to Ethelwerd.

[3] This passage is a supplement to the information which we possess from the authorities so frequently cited.

[4] More generally called, Bachseg.

[5] An error for Harald.

[6] To the end of the sentence is new.

foes hold the rougher ground, and gain a victory without its spoils. Again, after two months, the above-mentioned king Aethered, with his brother Aelfred, renews the engagement at Merantune against the whole force of the barbarians, and a multitude is slain on both sides. The barbarians obtain the palm of victory; there bishop Heahmund falls, pierced by a sword, [1]and his corpse lies buried at Caegineshamme. In this battle, many others also either fell or were put to flight, concerning whom it would be tedious to speak more at length in this mere summary of events. Lastly, in the year following the aforesaid contest, after Easter, [15th April, 871,] king Ethered, from whose lineage I am sprung, departed this life.

And now, my beloved cousin Mahtilda, I will begin to consolidate my subject more clearly for you, in the order I lately laid down; and as a ship, having sailed in a lengthened course over the agitated waves, at last reaches the port which she had diligently explored, so we, like sailors, now enter our haven. As I formerly intimated to you in my first brief epistle, and likewise in the short preface to this my little book, so again, without intrusion, I venture to remind you that, although I interrupt the course of my narrative, I am not moved by necessity, but by anxiety for your affection. I now, therefore, transmit for your perusal a fuller account of our ancestry from its earliest period, while I am equally anxious to enjoy the sincerity of your affection towards me.

At this point, then, I will leave whatever is obscure, and commence my narrative with the sons of Athulf. There were five brothers: the first was Ethelstan, who shared the kingdom with his father; the second was Ethelbald, king of the West Angles; the third, Ethelbyrht, king of Kent; the fourth, Ethered, who after the death of Ethelbyrht succeeded to his kingdom, and was my grandfather's grandfather; the fifth was Elfred, the successor to the whole sovereignty after all the others, and he was also your grandfather's grandfather. Wherefore, my much loved cousin Mahtilda, I inform you of these facts as I have received them from ancient tradition, and I have written the history of our family in a very brief style down to these two kings, from whom we derive our origin. To you, therefore, I dedicate this work, being impelled by the most pleasing love of relationship. If others receive my labours with disdain, let us judge them unworthy of our feast; but if it be otherwise, we advise all men to choose what is set before them with charity. Let us return, therefore, to that point of the narrative at which we broke off—the death of the aforesaid king Ethered. He reigned five years, and lies buried in the monastery called Winburne.

Chap. III.—Concerning the Reign of King Aelfred.

[A.D. 871.] After these events, Aelfred obtained the dominion over all the provinces of Britain, when his brothers were dead, as he was the last of the sons of Athulf. An innumerable army came

[1] Ethelwerd's information is not derived from the Saxon Chronicle. He probably means Keynsham.

during the summer to Readingon, and eagerly engaged with the army of the West Angles; and those who had been for a long time ravaging the country there came to their aid. The army of the Angles was at that time but small, [1]in consequence of the king's absence, who was then attending his brother's obsequies; and although their ranks were not filled up, yet their courage was firm within their breasts; and rejoicing in the contest, they drive their enemies to a distance; but at length, being oppressed with fatigue, they desist from the battle. The barbarians then obtain but a barren field of victory; they afterwards spread themselves, and with threats of pillage ravage the country. During the period of their most hateful tyranny, three battles were fought by the Angles, besides the contests previously mentioned, and eleven of their consuls, whom they call "eorls," perished, and one of their kings. Lastly, in the same year, the West Angles make peace with them. And the number of years which elapsed to the encamping of this barbarian army before Reading, and to the death of king Aethred and the succession of his brother Aelfred, from the period when their grandfather Ecgbyrht obtained the sole dominion, was seventy-one; and forty-seven years elapsed from the period at which the civil wars were carried on by the Mercians and West Angles at a place called Ellendune, when king Ecgbyrht received the honour of victory. Then twenty-six years elapsed from the battle fought at Pedredan, and twenty years from the contest which occurred at the wood of Aclea; and finally, five years from the arrival of the Pagans in the territories of the East Angles; and then, without any long delay, we come to their arrival at Reading.

After the space of a year from their reaching Reading, they fixed their camp in the neighbourhood of the city of London. But the Mercians enter into a treaty with them, and pay tribute. After a year, the barbarians change their settlement to the vicinity of the city Lindisse [Lindsey], in a place named Turcessige, and the Mercians renew their treaty of peace with them. After the lapse of a single year, the barbarians remove their camp to Hreopandune, and drive king Burhred from his dominions beyond the ocean. It is calculated that twenty-two years elapsed from his first taking possession of his father's kingdoms. They next violate the peace, and lay waste the lands of the Mercians. The above-mentioned king did not cast away his hope in Christ, but deliberately undertook a journey to Rome, and died there: and his body, enclosed in a worthy mausoleum, lies in the temple of the holy Mother of Christ, which is now usually called the School of the Angles. At this time, Ceolf [2] held the kingdom of the Mercians.

[A.D. 875.] Again, after another year, the barbarians divide the kingdom into two lots: Healfdene, the barbarian leader, took one part, that, namely, of the Northumbrians: he selected for his winter quarters the neighbourhood of the river Tyne, and laid waste the surrounding country in every direction. They made frequent attacks on the Picts and inhabitants of Cumberland. Oscytel also, and

[1] This clause of the sentence is an addition.
[2] More commonly Ceolwulf.

Guthrum, and Annuth,[1] three of their kings, with an immense army, remove from Hripandune to a place called Grantan-bricge, and stay there twelve months. Moreover, in the summer of the same year, king Aelfred put to sea with his naval armament, and the barbarian fleet met him, with seven tall vessels; a battle ensues, the Danes are put to flight, and one of their ships is captured by the king. In truth, after a year, the tyrant Healfdene subdued all the Northumbrians, and obtained the sovereignty. And in the course of this year, the army which had been at Cambridge[2] united its forces with those of the western army, which they had never previously done, near the town called Werham, and laid waste the greater part of that province. The king also ratified a treaty of peace with them, and paid them tribute. But they give him hostages, chosen men, who seemed to their kings the worthiest in the army, and they make oath to him on their sacred bracelets, which they had never done to the rulers of other regions, that they would quickly leave their boundaries. But they violate the peace, and break their agreement; and in the following year they visit the province of Devonshire, with an extensive body of troops, and pitch their camp for the winter at the city of Exeter. Finally, their fleets spread their sails to the wind, and put to sea; but a violent storm arose, and no small portion of them, namely, a hundred of their very best ships, sank near a rock called Swanawic. The barbarians renew the peace, with a fraudulent intention, and more hostages than were demanded were given, for they promised to withdraw their forces from the territories of the illustrious king Aelfred, and they did so. After ravaging the kingdom of Mercia, they drive out all the freemen; and after a changeable course,[3] they erect their huts at the town of Gloucester. Therefore, in the course of this year, this vile rabble broke their treaty with the West Angles, although it had been ratified by a firm oath; and they take up their winter quarters at Cippanhamme. But their cavalry rode over the necks of many of the people, so that the inhabitants had no place of safety from their tyranny, and all turned their minds quickly away from them. Then, with impious insolence, they drive many across the sea to the shores of Gaul. King Aelfred, in truth, was at this time more straitened than became him. Aethelnoth[4] also, duke of the province of Sumorsetun, delayed with a small band in a certain wood; and they built a stronghold of some sort on the isle of Aethelingaige, which is situated in a marsh, as may be seen. But the above-mentioned king, together with the whole province of Somerset, never ceased to engage in daily contests with the barbarians; and no others assisted him, except those servants who were provisioned at the king's expense. In the same year Healfdene arrived, the [5]brother of the tyrant Igwar, with thirty[6] galleys, on the territories

[1] Called Amund by Asser, and Anwend in the Saxon Chronicle.
[2] Ethelwerd here is supplemental to the Saxon Chronicle.
[3] Not in the Saxon Chronicle or Florence.
[4] The name of this individual is recorded only by Ethelwerd.
[5] The text must be here corrected by the aid of the Saxon Chronicle.
[6] Other authorities say twenty-three.

of the West Angles, and [1]besieged Odda, duke of the province of Devon, in a certain castle, and lighted up the flames of war within and without. The king of the barbarians perished, and eight hundred men with him. The Danes at last obtain the victory. Meanwhile, after Easter in that year, king Aelfred hazarded a battle against the army which lay at Chippenham, at a place called Ethandune, but they obtain the honour of victory. But after the issue of the engagement, the barbarians promise peace, beg a truce, do not refuse hostages, and bind themselves by an oath: their king also submitted to the rite of baptism, and king Aelfred, as sponsor, received him from the laver in the marshy isle of Alney. [2]Duke Aethelnoth likewise purified the same king after his baptism, at a place called Wedmor, and there king Aelfred loaded him with magnificent honours. Then, after a year from the period when the pagan army had set out from the city of Gloucester, it reached the town of Cirencester, and remained there during the winter season. In the course of this year the sun was eclipsed. In the year following this solar eclipse, the aforesaid army left Cirencester for the country of the East Angles: there they pitched their camp, and reduced all the inhabitants under their yoke. Fourteen years had now been completed since the barbarians had first wintered in the aforesaid fields, and had been provided with horses. Moreover, in the same year, after all the aforesaid country had been subjected to them, they set sail for Gaul, and stationed themselves at a place called Ghent, being the very same troops who had formerly pitched their camp at Fullanhamme. After a year, they attempted to proceed further; but the armies of the Franks assault them so vigorously that they gain the victory, while the barbarians are put to flight. After the lapse of a year, the above-named army passed into the higher districts of the river Maese, and established their camp at Escelum.[3] In the same year king Aelfred put out to sea, and met with four of their ships; two of them he overcame and destroyed, and the remaining two laid down their arms and surrendered. In the following year, the above-named army set out for the districts above the Scald, at a place called Cundath [Condé], and there fixed their winter quarters. After the expiration of a single year, a violent slaughter committed by the aforesaid army breaks out on the higher districts of the Sunna [Somme], near the town of Embenum [Amiens], and there they pitched their camp for the winter. Then, after a year, they divide themselves, and spread over the country in two parts, the one occupying Lofenum [Louvain], and the other Rochester, and they besieged both these towns. They also construct for themselves other smaller camps. The original inhabitants are subdued by defeat, till king Aelfred arrives with his western band. [4]This foul plague is at length overcome: they seek reinforcements: the king commanded Sarauara to be led

[1] Not in the Saxon Chronicle or Florence.

[2] Ethelwerd here supplies a few additional particulars.

[3] Now Ascloha, fourteen miles from the Rhine, on the river Maese.

[4] At this point the narrative of Ethelwerd becomes faulty and confused. See the Saxon Chronicle, under the years 885, 894, 897.

to the coast, with no small number of horses; they retire to their own stations. Some of them retreat beyond the sea. In the course of the present year they renew their treaty by giving hostages to the Angles, and twice in the year they divide the spoil obtained by fraud in the densely wooded district close to the southern borders of the river Thames. The filthy crew which then held within its power the East Angles, furnish their supplies, and then they suddenly seek an outward course towards Beamfleote. There the united bands divide with ill-omened movements: some remain, and some depart beyond the sea. In the same year, therefore, the above-named king Aelfred sends a fleet into the borders of the East Angles; and immediately on their arrival, sixteen ships met them at Stufemutha;[1] these are ravaged, and their captains are slain with the sword; then the rest of the piratical fleet meets that of Aelfred: they ply their oars, they remove their sails, their arms glitter on the constrained waves, and at length the barbarians achieve a victory. In the same year died Charles the Magnificent, king of the Franks, being cut off by death before the completion of one year: after him followed his own brother, who then ruled over the western coasts of Gaul. Both were sons of Hloduvig, who had formerly exercised the sole sovereignty: the close of his life took place during the aforesaid eclipse of the sun, and he was the son of the great king Charles, whose daughter Athulf, king of the Angles, had married. In the progress of that year, an assault was made by the barbarian fleet, with no small force, filling the shores of the Old Saxons: two battles were fought about the same time, and the Saxons were victorious: Frieslanders also were present at the engagement. In the same year, Charles the younger succeeded to the sovereignty of all the western parts of Gaul, extending as far as the Tyrrhenian sea, and, if I may say so, to all the dominions of his great-grandfather, except the province of Lidwicon.[2] His father was Hlodwius, brother of Charles the Middle, whose daughter Athulf, king of the Angles, had married. And these two were sons of Hlodwius, and he was the son of Charlemagne, and he was the son of Pepin. In the same year the blessed pope Martinus[3] departed, who gave liberty to the school of the Angles which now exists at Rome by the foresight of king Aelfred, and he sent as a present a part of the thrice blessed cross of Christ, in whom the salvation of the world shines forth. In the course of the same year, the aforesaid pestilential horde break their agreement, and assail king Aelfred with their weapons. Then, after a year, they seek the lower parts of Gaul, and settle themselves permanently near the river Signa (Seine) for the winter. Meanwhile, the city of London is fortified by king Aelfred—a man whom the cruelty of civil discord could never subdue by either ingenuity or assault: all men hailed him as their deliverer, especially the Saxons, with the exception however of the barbarians, and those who were then held as captives under their power. Also, after

[1] Stourmouth, in Kent. The reading of the text corresponds with that of the MSS. A. C. and G. of the Saxon Chronicle.

[2] That is, Armorica, or Bretagne. [3] Read, Marinus.

his armament there was strengthened, Aethred is appointed leader by the aforesaid king, as the guardian of the citadel. Now the army, which at that time was ravaging Gaul, cut its way through the bridge of the citadel of Paris, and laid waste the whole country of the Seine, as far as the Maeterne [Marne], and upwards towards its source, as far as Catsig [Chezy], and there they thrice fixed their winter quarters. In the same year, also, died Charles, king of the Franks, and his nephew Earnulf succeeded to his kingdom, seven weeks before the death of his uncle. Then his kingdom was divided into five parts, and as many kings reigned over them; but all things were transacted by the permission of Earnulf, and they promised to be under his power and subject to his dominion, as none of them, like him, were sprung from the paternal stock. And he lived, after this division of the kingdom, on the eastern part of the river Rhine. Hrodulfus obtained the middle portion, Odda the western, and Beorngar, with Witha, held the kingdom of the Lombards, from the division of the Mountain of Jupiter.[1] There they commenced civil wars: one people quarrelled with another; the lands of all parties were often ravaged, and there was neither hope nor prosperity among them. Moreover, in the same year in which the barbarians settled on the bridge at Paris, Aethelhelm the nobleman received no small part of the alms from the diocese of the Angles, paid by the king for the people, and went to Rome with it. In the same year died queen Ethelswith.[2] Archbishop Aethered also departed in the course of that year, and Athelbald, ealdorman of Kent. Then, during the lapse of another year, the abbat Byrnhelm carried to Rome the alms for the people, and chiefly those of the Western Angles and of king Aelfred. Then Guthrum, king of the Northern Angles, delivered up his soul to Orcus: he had assumed the name of Ethelstan, at the laver of baptism, from his godfather, king Aelfred; and his residence was chiefly among the East Angles, since he had there held the first station. In the same year, the above-mentioned army removed from the river Seine to a place commonly called Sandlaudan,[3] which is situated between the Bretons and the Franks; then the Bretons met them in open fight, and obtained the reward of victory, and followed them up along the windings of a certain river, and not a few of them are there drowned in its waters.

[A.D. 891.] Then, after the space of a year, some troops of the before-mentioned army visit the eastern parts of France: king Earnulf met them, and an engagement of cavalry ensued before the fleets arrived by water. A band of eastern Franks came up there, and Saxons, and Bavarians; then the Pagans spread their sails for flight. In the same year, three chosen men of Hibernian race are drawn from home by fervent faith; they privately make a boat by sewing ox-hides together; they supply themselves with provisions for a week, they are under sail for seven days and nights, and are carried along to the coast of Cornwall. Here they leave their boat, which had been guided, not by their weapons, nor by the strength of their

[1] That is, the mount St. Bernard.
[2] She was the sister of king Alfred. [3] St. Lo.

arms, but rather by the will of Him who rules all things. They reach king Aelfred, who, with his council, rejoices at their arrival. [1]They next bend their footsteps towards Rome, as the teachers of Christ are frequently accustomed to do. Their minds next lead them to desire to reach Jerusalem. At length the more eminent of them departs on the way, and one of the brothers perceives himself left in charge of the reliques of his intimate companion; and also many miracles were wrought, the whole of which it would [not] be possible to recount in this brief narrative. For the other returns home, shaking off the dust from his feet, and brings back the names of the absentees thus :—Dufslan, the first; Macbeathath, the second; Magilmumen, the third, flourishing in the arts, skilled in letters, and a distinguished teacher among the Irish. Also, in the same year, after Easter, during the Rogation-week, a comet appeared, which some think to be an omen of the rude times already passed away, but the most approved explanation of the philosophers seems to be, that comets foretel future events, as experience has shown in many ways. Then, after the lapse of a year, from the time when barbarians waged war against king Earnulf, they reach Bononia [Boulogne], and there build a fleet. They set sail and arrive in England, and pass in their vessels up the mouth of the river Limne, to Poldre [Appledore], in the eastern part of Kent ; and there they destroy an ancient fort, because there was but a small band of rustics within it ; and there they fix their winter quarters. In the course of this year, Haesten arrives with no small fleet on the banks of the river Thames, and they found a citadel at a place called Middletune, on the coast of Kent, and there they establish their camp for the winter. Then the number of years from the glorious Nativity of our Saviour amounted to eight hundred and ninety-three.

[A.D. 894.] [2]After the Easter of that year [31st March], the army which came from Gaul is set in motion, and marches through the fastnesses of an immense wood, commonly called Andredes-vuda, and they extend to the East Angles, and proceed by degrees to devastate the neighbouring provinces of Hamtun-scire and Bearruc-scire. These events were reported to the etheling, Eadwerd, son of king Aelfred, who was then occupied among the Southern Angles. After this they come in contact with the Western Angles, who oppose them with violent threats and dense array at Fearnhamme : there is no delay: the Saxon youth leap upon the foe : being freed by the coming of the prince, they seize their arms and exult : like sheep under the protection of their shepherd, they enjoy their accustomed booty: the tyrant is wounded there ; with joy they drive his squalid troops across the river Thames in a northerly direction. Meanwhile, the Danes are held besieged in Thornige island. King Aethered afforded aid to the prince by

[1] Compare the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 891, to the narrative of which some particulars are here added.

[2] Up to this point Ethelwerd's narrative corresponds with the Saxon Chronicle; but a marked deviation here commences, and is perceptible through the remainder of his history.

setting out from the city of London. The barbarians pray for both peace and a treaty, hostages are given, they promise to depart entirely from the kingdom of the before-mentioned king, and both their deeds and their words are fulfilled at the same time. Finally, they set out for the territories of the East Angles, and at that period the army which remained was under the government of Eadmund, formerly king and saint, and their ships fly round to them with a prosperous breeze from the mouth of the Limne to Meresige, a place in Kent. In the course of the same year, Haesten breaks away with his savage troops from Beamfleote, and cruelly depopulates the whole country of Mercia, until they came to the boundaries of Britain. The army, which was then in the eastern districts, and that of the Northumbrians also, furnished them with supplies. The famous leader, Aethelm, pursues them with his squadron of cavalry, and Aethelnoth, another leader, pursues them behind with an army of the West Angles. King Aethered, lord of the Mercians, also comes up and presses upon them with great impetuosity. Battle is joined on both sides: the youth of either party engage in the contest: the Angles at length obtain the victory. These exploits are said by ancient writers to have happened at Buttingtune.[1] Besides, the efforts of the Danes are found to be insufficient: again they confirm peace, they do not deny hostages, they promise to depart from that district. In the same year, Danaasuda in Beamfleote was destroyed by the determined will of the people of the place, and they divide the treasure among themselves. After these events, Sigeferth, a pirate, is carried along the shores of Northumbria in his daring fleet, and ravages the coast twice, and then bends his course to his own settlements. After the completion of two years, an immense fleet came from Bononia [Boulogne], and reached Limne, a town of the Angles. The noble Aethelnoth then sets out from the western parts of the Angles, and goes forth from the city of York against the enemy, who lay waste no small tracts of country in the kingdom of Mercia, on the western side of Stanforda, that is, between the bank of the river Uueolod,[2] and the thick wood, usually called Ceof-tefne.[3]

[A.D. 896.] In the course of a single year, died Guthfrid, king of the Northumbrians, on the birthday of Saint Bartholomew, the Apostle of Christ, [24th Aug.,] and his body lies entombed at York, in the chief church there. Meanwhile, four years afterwards, from the death of the above-mentioned king, a very great and dangerous feud arose among the Angles, since the foul Danish troops still remained among the Northumbrians. Finally, in the same year, the magnanimous Aelfred, king of the Saxons, departed from the world; the immoveable pillar of the West Saxons, a man full of justice, bold in arms, learned in speech, and imbued, above all other things, with divine knowledge. For he had translated into

[1] Probably Buttington, on the river Severn, in Montgomeryshire. See Camden's Brit. col. 781.

[2] The river Welland, in Northamptonshire.

[3] Does our author mean Kesteven, a division in Lincolnshire? Such at least was Camden's opinion, col. 554, who refers to this passage of Ethelwerd.

his own language out of Latin, with rhetorical skilfulness, an unknown number of volumes, of such varied contents, and in so excellent a manner, that not only to the learned, but also to the casual hearer, the sorrowful book of Boethius seemed in some sense brought again to life. This king died on the seventh day before the feast of All Saints [26th Oct.], and his body rests in peace in the city of Winchester. O reader, pray as follows:—

"O Christ our Redeemer, save his soul."

Chap. IV.—Concerning the Rule of King Eadwerd, and his war.

[A.D. 900.] The successor to the monarchy was Eadwerd, the son of the above-mentioned king. He was [1]crowned with the royal crown, after election by the nobles, on Whit-Sunday, in the one hundredth year after his great-grandfather Ecgbyrht had obtained his present dominions. In the same year Athelbald, in the city of London, received the bishopric of the city of York. And the number of years from the coming of Christ, when He assumed our human nature, was now completed to the amount of nine hundred. After the passing away of two years, a battle took place at Holme,[2] situated in the east, and a slaughter quickly occurred, five days after the feast of Holy Mary:[3] they lock their shields, brandish their swords, and hurl their lances swiftly with both hands. There perish the noblemen Sigewlf and Sighelm, and the greater part of the Kentish nobility; and Haruc,[4] the barbarian king, there descended to Orcus. Also two princes of the Angles, in the flower of their youth, there leave their accustomed breezes, and try a foreign region under the waves of Acheron, and a large number of their nobles fell on both sides. The barbarians become the conquerors, and exult on the field of their triumph. Lastly, after three years, the number of years completed from the foundation of the world was six thousand one hundred. After a space of three years, archbishop Plegmund, in the city of Winchester, consecrated a lofty tower,[5] which had lately been placed there in honour of Mary the Mother of God. In the course of the same year the above-mentioned pontiff carried alms to Rome, for the people and for Eadwerd the king. After another year, the barbarians break their compact with king Eadwerd, and also with Aethered, who then governed Northumbria and Mercia; the lands of the Mercians are laid waste on all sides, by the aforesaid tempestuous hosts, as far as the river Afne [Avon], which forms the boundary between the West Angles and the Mercians. They pass thence towards the west to the river Severn, and obtain no small booty by their ravages. They next withdraw homewards, rejoicing in the richness of their spoils, and pass over a bridge in regular order,

[1] There is some obscurity as to the year of Alfred's death, and this affects the date of the coronation of his successor, which must be referred either to 31st May, 901, or 16th May, 902.

[2] Probably Holmsdale, in Surrey.

[3] It is uncertain to which of the festivals of the Blessed Virgin reference is here made.

[4] More commonly written Eohric, or Eric.

[5] Apparently the church of Newminster, at Winchester. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 903.

on the eastern bank of the Severn, which is usually called Cantbriege.[1] The troops of the Mercians and West Angles suddenly meet them in battle array: an engagement ensues without delay, and the Angles obtain the palm of victory on the plain of Wodnesfelda. The Danish army fled, being overwhelmed by darts. These events are recorded as occurring on the 5th day of August; and their three kings fell there in this tumultuous contest, so to speak, namely, Healfdene, Eywysl,[2] and Igwar. They left their rule which they had hitherto exercised, and hastened to the court of the infernal king, and many of their mighty chiefs and nobles with them. Now after a year, Aethered, the surviving ealdorman of the Mercians, departed this life, and was peaceably buried in the city of Gloucester. After the lapse of two years, Athulf died in Northumbria, who was at that time commander of the town called Bebbanburgh. After another year, a large fleet of the Angles arrives at the banks of the Severn and enters the mouth of that river, but no important battle is fought there during that year. At length the greater part of that army reach Hybernia, formerly called Britannis by the great Julius Cæsar. Meanwhile, after the lapse of a year,[3] the Nativity of Christ fell on the Lord's day: the tranquillity of that winter was so great, that no man can remember anything like it, either before or since. When three years were completed, Aethelfled, the king's sister, departed this life, and her body lies buried at Gloucester. After another nine years, died Eadwerd, king of the Angles. This was his end, while his name and his persevering resistance to his foes ceased together.

Chap. V.—Concerning the Reign of Aethestan, his war, and his actions.

[A.D. 926.] The year in which the most stalwart king Aethestan[4] gained the crown of sovereignty, was the nine hundred and twenty-sixth from the glorious incarnation of our Saviour. Then after thirteen years so severe a battle was fought against the barbarians at Brunandune, that even at the present time it is commonly called "the great fight:" then the hosts of the barbarians were everywhere subdued, and could no longer remain masters, and were driven beyond the sea. The Picts and Scots also bend their necks; the lands of Britain are united together; there is peace everywhere, and abundance of all things: and no fleet ever approached these shores again without entering into treaty with the Angles. In the course of two years the venerated sovereign Aethestan departed this life.

Chap. VI.—Concerning the Sway of King Eadmund.

[A.D. 948.] After him Eadmund succeeded to the deserted kingdom. When seven years had elapsed, bishop Wlfstan and the principal man of the Mercians expelled certain deserters, named

[1] Cambridge in Gloucestershire is probably the spot here alluded to, as is conjectured by Camden, Brit. col. 276.
[2] Read, Eowyls.
[3] This occurred in the year 914.
[4] Generally called Athelstan.

Ragnald and Anlaf, from the city of York, and delivered them to the power of the aforesaid king. In the same year died queen Elfgyvu, the wife of king Eadmund, who was afterwards canonized. At her tomb, by the assistance of God, even at the present day numberless miracles are performed, at the monastery commonly called Sceftes-byrig. During the same revolution of time, king Eadmund died, on the festival of Augustine the Less, who was the apostle of the Angles. He held the sovereignty for six years and a half.

Chap. VII.—Concerning the Rule of King Eadred.

[A.D. 946.] The successor to the last king was Eadred, his brother, to whom all the Northumbrians were subject: the Scots also confirm their allegiance by oath and immutable fidelity. Not long after these transactions, he also departs in peace, on the birth-day of Clement, [23d Nov.,] the blessed pope and martyr. He held the chief power for nine years and a half.

Chap. VIII.—Concerning King Eadwig.

[A.D. 957.] His successor in the kingdom was Eadwig, who on account of his very superior beauty was called by the common people the second Pankalus, meaning all-beautiful. He was much beloved, and held his kingdom four years.

Chap. IX.—Concerning the Reign of King Edgar.

[A.D. 959.] Lastly, Edgar is crowned, an admirable king. He held his kingdom for a measured period of sixteen years and twice seven days, without interruption. The masters of the Greek nation have used their word for week; after whom the Latins now use the word for sevenfold. Now, O Muses, touch my poem with your reed, and call it your own, and hasten forward my obscure (bark) with your prosperous gales; and open calm fountains wherever your poet has stood. In the meantime the king takes possession of the kingdom in his citadel, which in former years was called by the name of "Acmanniseastre,"[1] and also by others "Bath," in consequence of the boiling waves; which citadel the soft-speaking Moses formerly consecrated with honour, on the day of Pentecost, through love for his Lord: and the people also arrived in numberless crowds, as well as those who, "shaven and shorn," wear a crown round the brow of the head. Moreover, the whole number of years from the birth of our Lord and Saviour then reached nine hundred and seventy-three.

The mighty offspring of king Eadmund, by hastily increasing the number twenty-nine, recalling former ages to his mind, and adding, perhaps, the new inventions of recent times—while the number of thirty units is yet flowing on—is crowned king.

In this time, the kingdom was justly content under his govern-

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 973.

ment for sixteen years, as he at all times afforded himself the composer of the elements.

Afterwards he rendered up his breath to its Author, by a leap from the earth; and while fading away from it, he beheld the countenance of the Mighty Thunderer.

At length, when light failed him, in the month called July by Cæsar—a name which is now in common use, Eadgar, the celebrated king of the Angles, passed away.

* * * * *
* * * * *

During the course of the eighth day of this year, the noble monarch of Britain, sprung from the Saxon stock, king Eadgar, left his lifeless body; whom in the Latin tongue they call a Glorious Spear.

HERE ENDS HAPPILY THE FOURTH BOOK OF FABIUS ETHELWERD, PATRICIAN AND QUÆSTOR.

ANNALS OF THE EXPLOITS OF ALFRED THE GREAT,

BY ASSER, OF ST. DAVID'S.

ANNALS OF THE EXPLOITS OF ALFRED THE GREAT, FROM A.D. 849 TO A.D. 887.

BY ASSER, OF ST. DAVID'S.

Asser, the humblest of the servants of God, wishes prosperity in a thousand ways in answer to prayer, for both this life and the next, to Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, my most venerated and most pious master, the ruler of all the Christians of the island of Britain.

[A.D. 849.] Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, was born in the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and forty-nine, at the royal vill called Wanating [Wantage], in the county called Berroc-scire [Berkshire]. This county derives its name from the wood Berroc, where the box-tree flourishes most abundantly. His genealogy[1] is traced in the following series. King Aelfred was the son of king Aethelwulf, who was the son of Ecgberth, the son of Ealhmund, the son of Eafa, the son of Eowwa, the son of Ingild. Ingild and Ine, the celebrated king of the West Saxons, were two brothers; Ine travelled to Rome, and there ending this present life with honour, entered upon his reign with Christ in the heavenly country. These brothers were sons of Coenred, the son of Ceolwalde, the son of Cudam [Cutha], the son of Cuthwine, the son of Ceaulin. He was the son of Cynric, the son of Creoda, the son of Cerdic, the son of Elesa, the son of Gewis, from whom the Britons call all that race[2] Gegwis. He was the son of Brond, the son of Belde [Beldeg], the son of Woden, the son of Frithowalde, the son of Frealaf, the son of Frithuwulf, the son of Fingodwulf, the son of Geata. The Pagans long worshipped this Geata as a god. The poet Sedulius mentions him in the following manner in a metrical paschal poem:—

"While heathen poets are eager to sound aloud their own fictions with bombastic measures and with tragic pomp, or with some skill in singing to the contemptible Geata, renew the savage contagion of licentiousness, and celebrate the monuments of their crimes, and with ill-omened rites commit many falsehoods to writing, why should I—who am accustomed to sing the Psalms of David on a ten-stringed lyre, and to join reverently in the sacred

[1] Compare the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 855. [2] That, namely, of the West Saxons.

chorus, and to hymn celestial strains in soothing words—keep silence respecting the illustrious miracles of Christ the Saviour?"

This Geata was the son of Caetwa, the son of Beaw, the son of Sceldwea, the son of Heremod, the son of Itermod, the son of Hathra, the son of Huala, the son of Bedwig, the son of Sem,[1] the son of Noe, the son of Lamech, the son of Mathusalem, the son of Enoch, the son of Malaleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

The name of Aelfred's mother was Osburgh, a very religious woman, noble alike by birth and nature. She was the daughter of Oslac, the famous cup-bearer of king Aethelwulf; and this Oslac was a Goth by birth, being descended from the Goths and Jutes, and of the family of Stuf and Wihtzur, both brothers and earls. They had received the chief power over the Isle of Wight from their uncle king Cerdic and his son Cynric their cousin, and they slew the few British inhabitants of that island whom they found there, at a place named Gwihtgara-burhg [Carisbrooke]; for the other inhabitants of that island had either been previously slain, or had fled as exiles.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and fifty-one, and in the third of king Aelfred's age, Ceorl, earl of Devonshire, fought with the Devonshire men against the Pagans at a place called Wicgam-beorg [Wembury]; and the Christians obtained the victory. And in the same year the Pagans wintered in the isle called Scheapieg [Sheppey], which means Sheep-isle; it is situated in the river Thames between Essex and Kent, but is nearer to Kent than to Essex; a very beautiful monastery[2] has been built on it.

During the same year also, a large army of Pagans, with three hundred and fifty ships, arrived at the mouth of the river Thames, and ravaged Dorubernia [Canterbury], the chief city of Kent, and the city of London, which is situated on the north bank of the river Thames, on the confines of Essex and Middlesex; but yet this city belongs properly to Essex; and they put to flight Beorhtulf, king of Mercia, who had come forth to oppose them with all his army.

After these events, the previously mentioned pagan forces advanced into Surrey, a district which is situated on the southern bank of the river Thames, to the west of Kent. Then Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, and his son Aethelbald, contended with them for a very long period with all their troops, at a place called Ac-lea [Ockley], which means Oak-lea. There a lengthened engagement took place, displaying great courage and spirit on both sides, till the greatest portion of the pagan multitude was utterly routed and slain; so that we never heard of their being so cut to pieces, either before or since, in any region, in a single day; and the Christians claimed the victory with honour, and remained masters of the field of death. In the same year also, king Aethelstan, son of king Aethelwulf, and earl Ealhere, destroyed a large

[1] Otherwise Sceaf. See Kemble's Beowulf, vol. ii., preface, p. iii.
[2] Namely, Minster.

force of the Pagans in Kent, at a place called Sandwic, and took nine of their ships; the rest escaped by flight.

In the eight hundred and fifty-third year of the incarnation of our Lord, and the eleventh[1] of the age of king Aelfred, Burgred, king of Mercia, sent messengers to beseech Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, to send him help, and to assist him in subduing the midland Britons, who dwelt between Mercia and the western sea, and who were making extraordinary struggles against his authority. Then king Aethelwulf, as soon as he had received the embassy, hastened to move his army, and invaded Britannia [Wales] with king Burghred; and as soon as he entered that country he ravaged it, and after reducing it to subjection to Burghred, he returned home.

In the same year, king Aethelwulf sent his previously named son Aelfred to Rome, honourably escorted with a large number of both nobles and commoners. At that time, Pope Leo [IV.] presided over the apostolic see, who anointed the aforesaid infant Aelfred as king, and confirmed his authority by receiving him as his adopted son. During the same year, earl Ealhere, with the men of Kent, and Huda, with those of Surrey, carried on war boldly and vigorously against a pagan army, in the island named in the Saxon language Tenet [Thanet], and in the British tongue Ruim. The Christians at first gained the victory, but the battle was prolonged for a considerable time, and very many on each side were slain, and drowned by being plunged in the water, and both the earls perished there. In the same year also, after Easter [2d April], Aethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, gave his daughter in marriage to Burgred, king of Mercia, in the royal vill named Chippenhamme, and celebrated the nuptials with kingly pomp.

In the eight hundred and fifty-fifth year of our Lord's incarnation, and in the seventh of the above-named king, [2]Eadmund, the most glorious monarch of the East Angles, began to reign on the 25th of December, being Christmas day, in the fourteenth year of his age. In this year also, Lothaire, the Roman emperor, died, being the son of the most pious Lewis Augustus. In the same year, at the beginning of the reign of the emperor Charles the Third, son of Lewis the Second, a large pagan armament spent the whole winter in the aforesaid Isle of Scepige [Sheppey].

In the same year, the aforesaid venerable king Aethelwulf released a tenth part of all his realm from all royal service and tribute, and by a perpetual deed of gift consecrated it to God One and Threefold, in the cross of Christ, for the redemption of his own soul, and of his predecessors. And in the same year he reached Rome, with great honour, and taking with him the above-mentioned Aelfred his son, on a second visit there, because he loved him more than his other sons, he tarried there a whole year. After this period he returned to his own country, bringing with him as a bride Juthitta [Judith], daughter of Charles, the king of the Franks.

[1] So the text of Asser in the Cotton MS. and the editions; but we should read, the fifth.

[2] This passage, as far as the word "second," is wanting in A. B. C. and Florence, and is interpolated from the Annals.

In the meantime, while king Aethelwulf was abroad for a short period beyond the sea, an infamous event occurred in the western part of Selwood, contrary to all christian morality. For king Aethelbald, [1]the son of king Aethelwulf, and Ealhstan, bishop of the church of Sherborne, with Eanwulf, earl of the district of Summurtun [Somerset], are reported to have united in a conspiracy, that king Aethelwulf, on his return from Rome, should never be again received as the sovereign. Very many ascribe this crime, unheard of in all former ages, to the bishop and the earl alone, from whose counsels the plan is reported to have originated. Many, however, attribute it solely to the insolence of the prince,[2] because he was pertinacious in this proposal and in many other perversities, according to the testimony of certain persons, the correctness of which was proved by the following event.

[A.D. 856.] For as king Aethelwulf was returning from Rome, his son aforesaid, with all his counsellors, or rather conspirators, endeavoured to perpetrate the crime of repelling the king from his own dominions, but neither did God permit it, nor did the nobles of all Saxony consent to it. For lest a war between father and son should cause immediate danger to Saxony, nay, that the whole nation should not engage in civil war, and intestine massacres grow daily more cruel and outrageous, the unspeakable clemency of the father, with the consent of all the nobility, submitted to the division of the hitherto united kingdom between father and son. The territories on the east were allotted to the father, and those on the west were apportioned to the son; for where, in strict justice, the father ought to have reigned, those dominions were assigned to the iniquitous and obstinate son; for the western portion of Saxony is always esteemed of more importance than the eastern.

When king Aethelwulf arrived from Rome, the whole of that nation manifested such becoming joy at the arrival of the old man, that, if he had allowed them, they would have expelled his rebellious son Aethelbald, with all his counsellors, from all share in the government. But he, as we have said, acting with remarkable clemency and with judicious prudence, forbade this to be done, lest it should endanger the safety of the kingdom. He also commanded Judith, the daughter of king Charles, whom he had received from her father, to sit by his side on his royal throne; and this was done without any hostility or objection from his nobles, even to the end of his life, in defiance of the perverse custom of that nation. For the nation of the West Saxons does not permit a queen to sit beside the king, nor does it allow even the appellation of "queen," but simply of the king's consort; which hostility, nay which infamy, the old inhabitants of that land report to have arisen from the self-willed and malevolent conduct of a certain queen of the same nation. She acted in all things so utterly at variance with her lord and all the people, that she not only deserved to be herself hurled down from the royal throne, but she entailed upon all who followed her the same pestilential infection; for the

[1] The words, "the son of king Aethelwulf," do not occur in A. B. or Florence.
[2] B. and C. here add the name of Ethelbald.

astounding depravity of that queen caused all the inhabitants of the land to conspire together, that they would never permit any king to reign over them who should determine to place a queen on a queenly throne by his side.

And because, as I suppose, many are entirely ignorant of the first origin of this perverse and detestable custom in Saxony, so contrary to the practice of all the Teutonic nations, I think it right to explain the matter a little more at length, as I have often heard it related to me by my truthful master, Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, as he also had heard it from many truth-speaking men, who recorded the fact without the slightest scruple.

[A.D. 755—794.] There was in Mercia, in recent times, a certain powerful king named Offa, dreaded by all neighbouring kings, and through all the regions around him, who constructed the great rampart [1] between Britain [Wales] and Mercia, from sea to sea. Beorhtric, king of the West Saxons, married his daughter Eadburgh. As soon as she had obtained the king's affections, and with them nearly the supreme control of the realm, she began to play the tyrant like her father, execrating every man whom Beorhtric loved, and doing all things hateful to both God and man. She accused before the king all whom she possibly could, and thus craftily deprived them of either life or power; and if she could not obtain her object from the king, she destroyed them by poison. It was a known fact that she acted thus towards a young man who was a great favourite with the king; for when she could not succeed in her accusations, she removed him by poison. It is also related that the aforesaid king Beorhtric ignorantly partook of this poison: she had not intended to set it before the king, but the young man; but the king tasted it first, and so they both perished.

[A.D. 800.] After the death of king Beorhtric, she could not remain any longer among the [2]West Saxons; but sailing beyond the sea, she arrived at the dominions of the great and most famous Charles,[3] king of the Franks. As she stood before his throne and offered many presents to the king, Charles said to her, "Choose, Eadburgh, whom you prefer—either me, or my son who stands with me on the throne." Then she, answering foolishly, and without deliberation, said, "As you grant me my choice, I choose your son, because he is younger than yourself." Then Charles replied with a smile of derision, "Had you chosen me, you should have had my son; but because you preferred him, you shall not have either of us."

He granted her, however, a large convent of nuns, and having laid aside her secular dress and assumed that of a religious order, she discharged the duties of abbess for a few years. For as she is reported to have conducted herself in defiance of reason in her own country, so she is proved to have acted still more outrageously among strangers; for having disgraced herself by a connexion with a man of her own nation, after being openly convicted, she was expelled from the convent by command of king Charles, and spent

[1] This still bears the name of Offa's dyke. See Camd. Brit. col. 697, 698.

[2] The word "West" is an addition from the Annals, and is not acknowledged by A. B.C. or Florence.

[3] Namely, Charlemagne.

the remainder of her life in poverty, misery, and licentiousness; so that at last, accompanied by a single slave, as we have heard from many who saw her, she died in wretchedness at Pavia, after begging her bread from day to day.

King Aethulwulf, then, lived two years after his return from Rome, during which, among many other useful pursuits of this present life, in the prospect of his going the way of all flesh, that his sons might not engage in unseemly disputes after their father's death, he commanded a will, or rather, a letter of instructions, to be written, in which he ordered his kingdom to be divided between his two eldest sons; his private inheritance between his sons, his daughter, and his other relatives; and the sums of money which he left behind, were apportioned between his sons, his nobles, and the welfare of his soul. We have determined to narrate a few instances of this prudent consideration, to induce posterity to imitate it, and especially in reference to those matters which are understood to belong chiefly to the necessities of the soul; for it is unnecessary to insert in this work the cases which concern merely human arrangements, lest by our tediousness we should fatigue both our readers and our hearers. For the benefit of his soul, then, respecting which from the early flower of his youth he was ever solicitous, he ordered that, throughout his hereditary dominions, one poor man in ten, either a native or a foreigner, should always be provided with food, drink, and clothing by his successors, even to the final day of judgment; assuming that the country should continue to be inhabited by both men and cattle, and should not become a desert. He also ordered a large sum of money to be carried to Rome every year, amounting to three hundred mancuses, for the good of his soul; which was to be divided as follows: namely, a hundred mancuses in honour of St. Peter, specially to buy oil, to fill the lamps of the church of that apostle on Easter eve, and likewise at the cock-crow; and a hundred mancuses in honour of St. Paul, on the same condition of procuring oil for the church of the apostle St. Paul, to fill the lamps on Easter eve, and also at the cock-crow; and also a hundred mancuses for the universal apostolic pontiff.

[A.D. 858.] When king Aethelwulf was dead and buried at Stemruga,[1] his son Aethelbald, contrary to the command of God and to the dignity of Christians, and also in opposition to the custom of all Pagans,[2] ascended his father's couch, and married Judith, the daughter of Charles, king of the Franks, exposing himself to great infamy from all who heard of it: and he held the reins of government over the West Saxons during two years and a half, spent in licentiousness, after his father's death.

[3]In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and fifty-six, in the [4]eighth of Aelfred's age, being the second of the emperor

[1] A faulty reading, given by Camden in his edition, from Parker's copy of Asser; the correct form is probably Steaninga. Florence says that he was buried at Winchester. A. and B. omit this clause.

[2] See 1 Cor. v. 1.

[3] The whole of this paragraph, borrowed from the Annals, is unknown to A. B. and Florence.

[4] A variation given by Wise from one of the Cotton MSS. which he used, here

Charles the Third, and the eighteenth of king Aethelwulf's reign over the West Saxons, Humbert, bishop of the East Angles, anointed with oil and consecrated as king the most glorious Eadmund, with much rejoicing and very great honour, at a royal vill called Burva,[1] which was at that time the residence of the court; he was in the fifteenth year of his age, and it was on a Friday, the twenty-fourth moon, and also Christmas-day.[2]

During the eight hundred and sixtieth year of our Lord's incarnation, and the twelfth of king Aelfred's age, Aethelbald, [3] king of the West Saxons, died, and was buried at Scireburna [Sherborne]; and his brother Aethelberht joined to his dominions, with perfect justice, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. In his days, a large army of Pagans arriving from the sea, attacked and devastated the city of Winchester. As they were returning to their vessels, laden with much booty, Osric, earl of Hampshire, with his followers, and earl Aethelwulf, with the men of Berkshire, resisted them vigorously; and an engagement taking place, the Pagans were entirely and completely slaughtered, and when unable to maintain their ground any longer, they fled like women, and the Christians exulted in a complete triumph. Thus Aethelberht governed his kingdom for five years in peace, and obtained the love and respect of his subjects, who sincerely lamented him at his death: he lies honourably interred at Scireburna [Sherborne], near his brother.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and sixty-four,[4] the Pagans wintered in the isle of Thanet, and entered into a firm agreement with the men of Kent, who promised them money if they would observe the treaty; but the Pagans, with the cunning of foxes, secretly broke loose from their camp by night, violated their engagements, and spurning the promise of money, laid waste the whole of the eastern coast of Kent, knowing they could gain more by plunder than by peace.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and sixty-six, being the eighteenth of king Aelfred's age, Aethelred, brother of Aethelbert, king of the West Saxons, took the reins of government [5]for five years; and the same year a large fleet of Pagans arriving in Britain from the Danube,[6] wintered in the dominions of the East Saxons, called in their language, Eastengle; and there the greater part of their army became cavalry.

And now, to use nautical language, I will no longer commit my vessel to the winds and the waves, and, putting out to sea, steer a roundabout course through the massacres of war and the enumeration of years, but I must return to the object which first stirred me

reads "tenth," in which it is supported by the editions B. and C. There is some obscurity, however, as to the source whence Wise derived this various reading; he cites only the copy Otho A. xii., and he informs us that in that manuscript the whole clause was omitted.

[1] Supposed to be Bury, in Suffolk.

[2] In A.D. 856, Christmas-day fell upon a Sunday.

[3] The words, "king of the West Saxons," do not occur in either A. B. C. or Florence.

[4] A.D. 865, according to the Saxon Chronicle.

[5] These three words, indicating the duration of Aethelred's reign, do not occur in A. B. or C., or in Florence or the Annals.

[6] Probably Denmark is here meant.

up to this undertaking. I must now treat, as far as I have obtained information, of the infancy and boyhood of my venerated master, Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, as briefly and as fully as I possibly can.

He was favoured with the love of his father and mother, and of all around him, beyond all his brothers, and was brought up entirely at the king's court. As he advanced through the periods of infancy and boyhood, his appearance became more agreeable than his brothers', while he was more graceful in look, in manners, and address. From his very cradle, the inbred nobility of his mind inspired him with the desire for wisdom and noble bearing above all the pursuits of this present life; but alas! by the shameful neglect of his relatives and guardians, he remained ignorant of letters till the twelfth year of his age, or even more; but as he listened with earnest attention to the Saxon poems which others often repeated in his presence, both by day and night, he retained them in his tenacious memory. He practised with industrious perseverance the whole art of hunting; nor were his labours in vain, for he attained the utmost skill and success; a result in this pursuit, as experience has proved in all others, which is to be attributed to the gift of God.

On one occasion, his mother[-in-law] showed him and his brothers a book of Saxon poems which she held in her hand, and said: "I will make a present of this book to whichever of you will learn to read it soonest." Being excited by this offer, or rather by a divine inspiration, and attracted by the beauty of the first letter of the volume, he answered his mother as follows, anticipating his brothers, who were his seniors in age, but not in grace: "Will you really give that book to one of us? And will you give it to him who shall first understand and repeat it to you?" She, laughing and rejoicing, repeated her promise, saying, "Yes, I will;" then he immediately took the book out of her hand, went to his master and he read it, and then the boy brought it back to his mother, and said it by heart.

After this he learnt "The daily Course," meaning "the celebration of the hours," and afterwards certain psalms and many prayers collected together in a book which he always carried about with him in his bosom, as we ourselves have seen, day and night, and which he constantly used to assist his prayers amidst the numerous duties of this present life; but I grieve to mention that he could not gratify his earnest desire for improvement in the liberal arts, because, as he used to tell me, there were no good scholars at that time in all the dominions of the West Saxons. He repeatedly asserted, with frequent lamentations and bitter regrets, that this was among the chief hindrances and difficulties of his life. At the age when he had both leisure and capacity for learning, he was destitute of teachers; but when he became older he was incessantly subject to many diseases utterly unknown to the physicians of this island, and he was occupied by the internal and external duties of sovereignty, and harassed by the ravages of the Pagans both by sea and land, so that his teachers and scribes were so much disturbed as to leave him no time for reading. But yet amidst the obstacles of his daily life from infancy even to the

present time, and I believe until the day of his death, he preserves the same insatiable desire for knowledge, which does not cease even at the present moment.

[A.D. 867.] In the eight hundred and sixty-seventh year of our Lord, the nineteenth of king Aelfred's age, the aforesaid pagan force removed from the East Angles to the city of York, which is situated on the north bank of the river Humber.

At that period a furious strife, prompted by diabolic passions, arose among the Northumbrians, according to the usual fate of a people who have incurred the vengeance of God. For at that time, as we have stated, the Northumbrians had expelled their lawful king Osbyrht from his realm, and had adopted instead a certain tyrant named Aella, not of the royal lineage; but when the Pagans arrived, by the divine counsels and by the agreement of the nobility for the common good, that discord was in some degree abated. Osbyrht and Aella joined their forces and approached the city of York with a united army; the Pagans fled as they advanced, and endeavoured to defend themselves within the walls of the city. The Christians perceiving their flight and terror, determine to break down the wall and to pursue them within the city. In this they succeeded; for at that time the city was not surrounded with firm and substantial walls; and when the Christians, according to their proposal, had effected a breach, a number of them entered the town with the Pagans, who, being compelled by the direst necessity, rushed out with fury against them, slew them, routed them and massacred them on all sides both within and without the city. A very large portion of the people of Northumbria were utterly cut off in that contest, [1]together with both their kings and many nobles, and the remnant who escaped made peace with the Pagans.

In the same year, Ealhstan, bishop of the church of Sherborne, went the way of all mankind, after having ruled his see with honour for fifty years, and was buried in peace at Sherborne.

In the eight hundred and sixty-eighth year of our Lord's incarnation, and the twentieth of king Aelfred's age, a severe famine[2] occurred. Then the aforesaid revered king Aelfred, at that time occupying but a secondary rank, sought and obtained in marriage a Mercian lady[3] of noble birth, the daughter of Aethelred, earl of the Gaini,[4] whose surname was Mucil.[5] The mother of this lady was named Eadburh, of the royal family of Mercia, whom we frequently have seen with our own eyes, on many occasions, before her death. She was a venerable lady, and after the decease of her husband she lived a widow in perfect chastity till the day of her own death.

In the same year the above-mentioned pagan army leaving the Northumbrians came to Mercia, and drew near Scnotengaham [Nottingham], the British name for which is Tigguocobauc,

[1] Here the texts vary; some omitting to mention the kings, some the nobles.

[2] A. B. and Florence do not notice this famine; it is interpolated from the Annals.

[3] Namely, Ethelswitha, who died A.D. 903.

[4] Traces of the existence of this tribe are perhaps to be recognised in the name of Gainford and Gainsborough.

[5] So named from his lofty stature.

signifying A house of caves; and there they wintered during the year. As soon as they arrived there, Burhred, king of the Mercians, and all his nobles sent messengers to Aethered, king of the West Saxons, and to his brother Aelfred, earnestly beseeching them to come to their help and fight against the said army of the Pagans. They easily obtained their request, for those brothers, acting instantly on their promise, assembled an immense army from all parts of their kingdom, arrived in Mercia and reached Nottingham, eager for an engagement; and when the Pagans, defending themselves within the citadel, refused to fight, and the Christians were not able to throw down the wall, a peace ensued between the Mercians and the Pagans, and the two brothers Aethelred and Aelfred returned home with their troops.

[A.D. 869.] In the year of our Lord eight hundred and sixty-nine, being the twenty-first of king Aelfred, a great famine[1] arose, causing a mortality among mankind and a pestilence among cattle. And the aforesaid pagan forces, falling back again upon Northumbria, reached the city of York and remained there a whole year.

[A.D. 870.] In the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy, being the twenty-second of king Aelfred, the above-mentioned pagan army passed through Mercia to the East Angles, and wintered at a place called Theodford [Thetford].

In the same year, Eadmund, king of the East Angles, contended furiously against that army; but, sad to say, the Pagans had cause for boasting, for he was slain with a great portion of his troops, and his enemies triumphed on the spot and subdued the whole of that region within their grasp. During the same year Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, went the way of all flesh, and was buried in peace in that city.

[A.D. 871.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and seventy-one, and in the twenty-third of king Aelfred's age, the army of the Pagans, of hateful memory, leaving the East Angles and approaching the dominions of the West Saxons, came to the royal town named Rædiga [Reading], situated on the south bank of the river Thames in the district called Bearroc-scire, and on the third day after their arrival there, their leaders with a great part of their force sallied forth for plunder: others made a rampart between the two rivers, the Thames and the Cyneta [Kennet], on the right side of that same royal town. There Aethelwulf, earl of Berkshire, met them with his followers at a place called Englafeld.[2] They fought with spirit on both sides, till, after a vigorous resistance, one of the pagan chiefs was slain, and the greater part of the army cut to pieces; the rest escaped, and the Christians obtaining the victory, became masters of the field.

Four days after these transactions, Aethered, king of the West Saxons, and his brother Aelfred, united their forces, and ap-

[1] An interpolation here occurs from the Annals. A. B. and Florence do not mention either the famine or the pestilence.

[2] Englefield Green, near Windsor.

[3] This clause, "king of the West Saxons," is unknown to A. B. C. and Florence.

proached Reading with their combined armies, and when they had come to the gate of the citadel they cut down and massacred all the Pagans whom they found on the outside. But the Pagans were qually active; they rushed like wolves out of all the gates and pursued the war with all their force, and thus the battle was long and bloody on both sides; but alas! the Christians at length turned their backs, and the Pagans enjoyed the triumph of victory, and the aforesaid earl Aethelwulf was slain among the rest.

The Christians, roused by sorrow and shame, again, after four days, engage heartily and eagerly with the above-mentioned army in a place called Aescesdun,[1] which means in Latin The hill of the ash; but the Pagans divided themselves into two bodies, and prepared fortifications on an equal scale; for they had two kings and many chiefs, and so they placed the middle of their army under the two kings, and the rest under all their chiefs. The Christians, perceiving this, divided their forces into two bodies in like manner, and also adopted the same tactics. Then Aelfred marched up to the battle-field quickly and promptly with his followers, as we have heard it related by truth-telling eye-witnesses. His brother king Aethered, too, remained at prayer in his tent, hearing mass, distinctly affirming that he would not depart alive before the priest had finished the service, being unwilling to desert the divine for human protection. And so he did. And this faith of the christian king prevailed much with the Lord, as will be more openly declared in the following events.

The Christians then had decreed that king Aethered and his forces should take up their position against the two pagan kings, and that his brother Aelfred should know that it was his duty to engage in battle with his division against all the pagan chiefs. When these points were clearly arranged, and the king delayed long at his prayers, the Pagans, being fully prepared, arrived hastily at the place of conflict, and then Aelfred, although second in command, when he could no longer sustain the assault of the foe, unless he either retreated from the fight or rushed on against his assailants before the arrival of his brother, led the christian troops against their opponents with the courage of a wild boar, according to the original proposal. Without waiting for his brother's arrival, directed by the divine counsel, and relying on God's assistance, he drew up his men in a dense body and advanced his standards at once against the foe. And now I may as well intimate to those who are not acquainted with it, that the field of conflict was not equally favourable for both sides; for the Pagans had preoccupied the higher ground, and the Christians drew up their line on the lower. There was also a single tree there, a low thorn, which we ourselves have also seen. The hostile armies clustered around this tree with endless clamour, the one party as wicked invaders, the other ready to contend for their lives, their homes, and their country. When both parties had struggled for some time with remarkable courage

[1] There is some little uncertainty as to this locality. There is an Aston in Buckinghamshire, which may possibly be the spot designated, more especially as the battle would appear to have been at some distance from Reading.

and fierceness, the Pagans, through the divine justice, were unable to sustain the assault of the Christians any longer, and after the slaughter of the greatest part of their forces, they fled disgracefully. On this spot one of their two kings and five of their chiefs perished, and also many thousands of their troops, for the slain were dispersed far and wide over the whole breadth of the plain of Ascendun.

There fell there king Baegseeg, and the earls Sidroc the elder and younger, and the earls Obsbern, and Fraena, and Hareld; and the whole pagan army continued its flight during the night and the day following, until they arrived at the citadel from which they had sallied, and the Christians followed them until the night, and slew them in every direction.

Fourteen days after these transactions, king Aethered and his brother Aelfred united their followers and advanced towards Basengas [Basing], to oppose the Pagans, who assembled from all parts; and after a long resistance they became triumphant, and after this contest an additional force of Pagans arrived from beyond the sea, and joined their comrades.

After Easter, in the same year [15th April], the aforesaid king Aethered went the way of all flesh [24th April], after governing his kingdom with much success for five years, and conducting it safely and honourably through many troubles, and being buried in Winburna [Wimborne] minster, awaits the advent of the Lord, and the first resurrection with the just. (Luke xiv. 14.)

During the same year, the above-mentioned Aelfred, (who up to that time, while his brothers were living, had only held a secondary rank,) undertook the government of the whole realm, immediately after his brother's death. The divine permission concurred in this with the full consent of all the inhabitants of the realm. If he had thought it right, he might easily have obtained the general consent during his aforesaid brother's life; for in wisdom and moral culture he excelled all his brethren, and especially in warlike character, and in the victorious result of his battles. And when one month had elapsed after he had commenced his reign with much unwillingness, (for he did not think he should be so supported by divine aid, and that he could ever bear up alone against the ferocity of the Pagans, for even while his brothers were living, he had sustained great losses, through their numbers,) he fought a very severe battle against the whole force of the Pagans, on a hill called Wiltun, on the south bank of the river Guilou,[1] which gives its name to the surrounding country. His numbers were but few and unequal to theirs, and after both parties had fought through a great part of the day with hostility and spirit, the Pagans, evidently conscious of their own danger, and unable to bear any longer the assaults of their foes, turned their backs and fled. But, shameful to tell! they deceived their over-sanguine pursuers, returned to the battle, and claimed the victory in triumph. And it need not seem at all surprising that the Christians had but a small number of combatants; for the Saxon population had been worn down by eight battles in a single year against the Pagans; in which eight

[1] The river Willy, whence Wiltshire derives its name. See Camd. Brit. col. 99.

engagements one pagan king and nine chieftains, with numberless troops, had perished in the carnage. Besides this, there were endless skirmishes both by day and by night, in which Aelfred was often engaged, and all his earls and their followers, and all they who were in attendance upon the king were constantly and earnestly occupied by the Pagans. How many thousands of the pagan expedition perished in these frequent sallies, is known only to God; and all these, in addition to those who perished in the eight above-mentioned battles. In the same year, then, the Saxons entered into a treaty with the Pagans, on condition of their leaving their country, which they really fulfilled.

[A.D. 872.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and seventy-two, and the twenty-third of king Aelfred's age, the aforesaid pagan army approached London, and wintered there. The Mercians then made a treaty with them.

[A.D. 873.] In the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy-three, being the twenty-fourth of king Aelfred's age, the above-mentioned army, leaving London, arrived at the Northumbrian territory, and wintered there, in the district called Lindesig [Lindsey], and there again the Mercians made peace with them.

[A.D. 874.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and seventy-four, being the twenty-fifth of king Aelfred's age, the above-mentioned army, leaving Lindsey, entered Mercia, and wintered in a place called Hreopedune [Repton]. They also compelled Burghred, king of the Mercians, to desert his dominions, and to cross the sea and reach Rome, against his will, in the twenty-second year of his reign. He did not live long after he arrived there, and when dead he was honourably buried in the Saxon School, in the church of St. Mary, where he awaits the advent of the Lord, and the first resurrection with the just. The Pagans also, after his expulsion, reduced the whole kingdom of the Mercians under their sway; they committed it to the custody of a very unwise servant of the king, named Ceolwulf, on this wretched condition, that he should peacefully restore it again at any period when they might wish it. He gave them hostages on this condition, and swore that he would by no means contradict their wishes, but be obedient to them in all things.

[A.D. 875.] In the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy-five, and the twenty-sixth of king Aelfred's age, the above-mentioned army, leaving Repton, divided itself into two parties; the one party went with Healfdene into Northumbria, and there wintered near the river Tyne. It reduced under its power the whole region of Northumbria, and laid waste the territories of the Picts and the Stratduttenses.[1] The other party, under three pagan kings, Gothrum, Osscytil, and Amund, arrived at a place called Grantebrycge [Cambridge], and wintered there.

In the same year, king Aelfred fought a naval battle against six pagan vessels, and took one of them, while the rest escaped.

[A.D. 876.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and seventy-six, the twenty-seventh of king Aelfred's life, the

[1] The Strathclyde Britons.

afore-mentioned pagan force, leaving Cambridge by night, entered a town named Werham [Wareham], where there is a monastery of holy virgins between the two rivers Fraw and Terente,[1] in a district called by the Britons Durngueis, but by the Saxons Thornsæta,[2] situated in a very secure position, except on the western side, where it is near the open country. King Aelfred entered into a solemn covenant with this army, on the condition that they would depart from him, while they gave him such hostages as he chose. They also swore an oath on all the reliques in which he trusted most after the Lord, on which, (or upon their own bracelets,[3]) he had never wished any other tribe to swear, that they would immediately leave his realm. But acting falsely, according to their usual custom, and regarding neither their oath, the hostages, nor their promise, they broke the treaty one night, and slew all the cavalry around the king: and then turning [4]towards Devonshire, to another place, termed in Saxon, Eaxan-ceastre [Exeter], but in British, Cair-wisc, and in Latin, the city of Exe, situated on the east bank of the river Wisc, they suddenly directed their course towards the southern sea, which divides Britain from Gaul, and wintered there.[5]

In the course of the same year, Halfdene, king of that district, partitioned the whole of Northumbria between himself and his followers, and cultivated that province with his army.

[6]In the same year, Rollo and his men penetrated into Normandy. This same Rollo, the Norman duke, when wintering in ancient Britain or England, relying on the strength of his troops, enjoyed one night a vision, revealing to him the certainty of the future. See more of this Rollo in the Annals.[7]

[A.D. 877.] During the year eight hundred and seventy-seven, on the approach of autumn, a part of the Pagans returned to Exeter, and a part retired to Mercia for plunder. The number of these perverse marauders increased every day, so that if thirty thousand of them had been slain at a single stroke, double the number would have succeeded them. Then king Aelfred ordered boats and galleys, (that is, long vessels,) to be built throughout the realm, to engage the advancing foe in naval combat: and on these he placed expert seamen to guard the approach by sea. Then he himself hastened to Exeter, where the Pagans were wintering, and besieged them while shut up within that city; he also commanded his sailors to intercept the enemies' supplies by sea. His sailors next had to encounter a hundred and twenty of their vessels laden with armed soldiers, who came to help their comrades on shore; as soon as

[1] The Frome and the Trent. [2] Dorsetshire.

[3] This reference to the oath upon the armilla does not occur in A. B. C. or Florence. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 876.

[4] The words "towards Devonshire" do not occur in B. or Florence, who give a different turn to the sentence, by stating that the Danes advanced towards the sea.

[5] Here Florence has some additional information as to Alfred's proceedings.

[6] The whole of this paragraph is an interpolation from the Annals, and is unknown to A. B. and Florence.

[7] Parker has admitted the account of the vision of Rollo into his text; but Wise and Petrie reject it.

the king's servants discòvered them to be filled with pagan troops, they leaped to their arms and attacked them valiantly; but these barbarous tribes, who had already almost suffered shipwreck during their month's exposure to the waves, vainly attempted to resist them; their bands were torn to pieces in a moment, at a place named Gravewic,[1] and they all perished together by drowning.

[2]In the same year, the pagan army, deserting Wareham, partly on horseback, and partly by sea, arrived at a place named Suanavine,[3] where a hundred and twenty of their ships perished, while king Aelfred pursued their cavalry as far as Exeter, where he received hostages, and a promise upon oath, that they would depart directly.

[4]In the month of August, of the same year, that army reached Mercia, and assigned a portion of that territory to Ceolwulf, a very unwise servant of the king, and divided another portion among themselves.

[A.D. 878.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and seventy-eight, being the twenty-seventh of king Aelfred's age,[5] the army so often mentioned before, leaving Exeter, reached the royal vill of Chippenham, situated in Wiltun-scire, towards the west, on the east bank of the river which the Britons term Abon [Avon], and wintered there. They compelled many of the inhabitants to migrate beyond the sea through want and fear, and they reduced that country almost entirely under their dominion.

At the same time Aelfred, the king[6] of the West Saxons, so often mentioned before, with a few of his nobles and some of his soldiers and vassals, passed a restless life in much anxiety among the woodland and marshy tracts of the county of Somerset. They had nothing for their use but what they obtained either openly or craftily from the Pagans and from those Christians who had submitted to their rule, by constant assaults;[7] and, as we read in the life of the holy father St. Neot, he was long concealed in the dwelling of one of his own cowherds.

It happened one day that the country-woman, the wife of this cowherd, was baking some cakes for food, while the king was sitting before the fire, and repairing his bow and arrows and instruments of war. When the unlucky woman saw that the cakes which she had placed on the fire were burning, she ran up in great haste and removed them, and scolded our invincible king after this fashion:—"Look, man, the cakes are burning, and you do not take the

[1] Apparently a misreading for Suaneuuic, that is, Swanwich, in Dorsetshire. See the Saxon Chronicle.

[2] This clause is an interpolation from the Annals, and its substance has already been given above.

[3] See note [1] above.

[4] Compare Florence at this point.

[5] It may be sufficient to state, once for all, that Asser generally errs in the age which he assigns to Alfred, making him generally one year younger than he really was. Here the mistake is more important, for at this time he was thirty years old.

[6] In A. and Florence he is not described as king of Wessex.

[7] The following passage does not occur in Florence, or the MSS. B. and C. Wise informs us that the ancient Cottonian MS. was mutilated from the beginning of the next paragraph to the end of the second. The intermediate passage, to be referred to some anonymous life of St. Neot, is here interpolated from the Annals.

trouble to turn them; when the time for eating them comes, then you are active enough." This unlucky woman little thought her guest was king Aelfred, who had fought so many battles against the Pagans, and had gained so many victories.

The Lord not only deigned to confer victories over his enemies, and prosperity in adversity, on this glorious king: but also the same benignant God permitted him to be harassed by his foes, afflicted by adversity, and constantly depressed by the powerlessness of his party, to teach him that [1]there is but one Lord of all, to whom every knee should bow, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings; who removes the powerful from their seat, and exalts the humble; and who sometimes desires that his faithful ones, when placed on the pinnacle of prosperity, should experience the scourge of affliction, that when cast down they may not despair of God's mercy, and when exalted they may not grow proud through the honour, but may acknowledge the true Source of all their enjoyments. We believe that these calamities fell deservedly enough upon this king; because at the beginning of his reign, when as yet a young man, he manifested the volatility of youth, and when his subjects came to him and laid their necessities before him, and when some who were oppressed by his power implored his aid and protection, he refused to listen to them and to redress their grievances, treating them as if they were beneath his notice. On this account the most blessed St. Neot, while yet alive, who was his relation, was much dissatisfied with him, and being filled with the prophetic spirit, he predicted that much adversity would arise from this cause; but the king slighted this most pious reproof of the man of God, and entirely rejected his prophecy, although perfectly correct. Because, therefore, whatever sin a man commits must be punished in some way, either here or in future, the true and righteous Judge was unwilling that this folly of the king should go unpunished in this world, in order that He might spare him in the awful day of judgment. For this reason the above-mentioned Aelfred often fell into such great distresses that none of his subjects knew either where he was or what had happened to him.

In the same year the brother of Hynguar and Healfdene, with twenty-three ships, sailed from the region of Demetia,[2] in which they had wintered; and after the massacre of many Christians, arrived at Domnania [Devon], where, in the midst of his wickedness, he met with a miserable end, being slain by the servants of the king, with twelve hundred others, before the castle of Cynuit;[3] for many servants of the king, with their troops, had shut themselves up within this stronghold, for the sake of safety. When the Pagans perceived that this fortress was altogether unprepared, and without fortifications, except such as were erected after our fashion, they did not attempt to assault it, because the situation of the place rendered it completely secure on all sides except the east, as we have ourselves seen it. So they began to blockade it, thinking their opponents

[1] Eph. iv. 6; Isa. xlv. 23; Prov. xxi. 1; Luke i. 52. [2] South Wales.
[3] Camden, in his Britannia, col. 47, identifies this with Kinuith Castle, on the river Tau, in Devonshire.

would soon be compelled to surrender, through want both of food and water, for there was no spring near the fortress. But it did not turn out as they expected; for the Christians, before they were prepared to suffer from the sudden want of all necessaries, judging it much better, through the divine instigation, to choose either death or victory, rushed out upon the Pagans suddenly in the morning, and from the first cut down the greatest part of their enemies, with their king, allowing but few to escape to their ships. [1]And there they obtained no small amount of booty, and among it a standard which they call Reafan; for they say that three sisters of Hungar and Habba, daughters of Lodebroch, wove that standard and prepared it within the space of a single day: they also say, that in every battle in which that flag was carried in front, if they were to obtain the victory, there appeared in the middle of it the figure of a live raven as it flies; but if they were doomed to suffer defeat, it would hang down without the slightest motion; and facts often proved the truth of this assertion.

In the same year, after Easter [23d March], king Aelfred, with a few attendants, formed a citadel in a place called Aethelingaeg,[2] and from this citadel he made ceaseless assaults upon the Pagans, with the nobles and vassals of Somersetshire; and again, in the seventh week after Easter, he rode to Aecgbryht's-stone,[3] which is in the eastern part of the wood called Selwdu,[4] the Latin name for which is Silva Magna, and the British, Coitmaur: and there all the inhabitants of Somersetshire and Wiltshire met him, with all the Hampshire men who had not set sail beyond the sea for fear of the Pagans. When they saw their king really alive after such severe distresses, they received him, as they ought to have done, with rapturous joy, and encamped there for a single night. On the dawn of the day following the king removed his camp, and arrived at a place called Aecglea,[5] and there he spent a single night. Early the following morning he removed his standard to a place named Ethandun,[6] and there contended in close phalanx against all the pagan forces, and persevered with great courage, till he gained the victory, by divine assistance, defeating them with great slaughter, and pursuing them as they fled, even to their strongholds. Having instantly massacred all the men, he seized upon all the booty which he found outside of their stronghold; namely, men, horses, and cattle, and pitched his camp before their gates, with all his forces: and when he had remained there fourteen days, the Pagans were so

[1] The passage to the end of this paragraph, inserted here from the Annals, does not occur in A. B. C. nor in Florence. A portion of it is found in some copies of the Saxon Chronicle, (B. C. D. and E.,) but the remainder is without any respectable authority.

[2] Athelney, described by Camden, Brit. col. 74, as a river-island formed by the junction of the Thone and Parret.

[3] Conjectured, with much probability, to be Brixton- (Ecgbyrht's-stone) Deverel, in Wiltshire; near which, according to Gibson (ap. Camd. Brit. col. 111), there are the remains of a Danish entrenchment, called Battlebury.

[4] Selwood Forest. See Camd. Brit. col. 109.

[5] Supposed to be Leigh, or Ley, a village near Westbury, in Wiltshire. See the matter discussed in Camd. Brit. col. 109.

[6] Edington, in Wiltshire. See Camd. Brit. col. 109.

terrified by famine and cold, by fear and despair, that they begged for peace, on the condition that the king should receive from them as many hostages as he pleased, and should not give them any in return. They had never before made a treaty of this kind with any one. The king, after receiving their embassy, was moved with pity, and named and received such hostages as he chose; and when this was concluded, the Pagans immediately swore that they would leave his dominions as quickly as possible. Their king, Godrum, also promised to embrace Christianity, and to receive baptism at the hand of king Aelfred; and he and his followers fulfilled all these conditions, according to their promise. For after seven weeks Godrum, the pagan king, with thirty chosen men of his army, came to king Aelfred, at a place near Aethelingaeg, named Alre, where king Aelfred, receiving him as his adopted son, raised him from the sacred font of baptism; and his chrism-loosing[1] took place on the eighth day afterwards, at a royal town called Waedmor.[2] After his baptism he remained twelve nights with the king, who, with all his nobles, bountifully gave him many excellent dwellings.

[A.D. 879.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and seventy-nine, being the twenty-eighth[3] of king Aelfred, the afore-mentioned pagan army leaving Cippanhamme, according to promise, went to Cirrenceastre, a place named Cairceri in the British language, situated in the southern portion of the Huiccii, where they remained a year.

In the same year a large pagan army sailed from foreign parts to the river Thames, and joined their former forces, and wintered at Fullonham, near the river Thames. In the same year there was an eclipse of the sun,[4] between three o'clock and the evening, but nearer three o'clock.

[A.D. 880.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and eighty, the twenty-ninth[5] of king Aelfred's age, the pagan army so often mentioned left Cirencester and reached the East Angles: there they divided the country and began to inhabit it.

In the same year the pagan force which had continued at Fullonham left the island of Britain, set sail for the eastern coast of France, and remained a year at a place called Gaent [Ghent].

[A.D. 881.] During the year of our Lord eight hundred and eighty-one, the thirtieth[6] of king Aelfred's age, the aforesaid army went further on into France; the French fought against them; and after the battle, the Pagans found horses and became cavalry.

[A.D. 882.] In the year of our Lord eight hundred and eighty-two, being the thirty-first of king Aelfred, the same army penetrated a long way into France, by means of vessels, by the river named the Mese [Meuse], and wintered there for a year. During this year Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, fought a naval battle against the

[1] Concerning this "chrism-loosing" see Martene, de Antiq. Ecclesiæ Ritibus, i. 139, § 6, ed. 1700.

[2] Wedmore, near Axbridge, Somersetshire.

[3] Read, thirty-first.

[4] As this eclipse occurred 14th March, 880, it is clear that Asser commenced the calculation of his year either from Easter or from 25th March.

[5] Read, thirty-second.

[6] Read, thirty-third, and so with each successive year.

pagan fleet; after all their crew had been slain, he captured two ships; and then the two commanders of two other ships, with all their men, through extreme distress and severe wounds, laid down their arms, and made submission, and gave themselves up to the king, with suppliant entreaties.

[A.D. 883.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and eighty-three, being the thirty-second of king Aelfred's life, the above-named army sailed up the river Scald [Scheldt], to a convent of nuns called Cundoht [Condé], and remained there one year.

[A.D. 884.] In the year of our Lord [1]eight hundred and eighty-four, [2]being the thirty-third of king Aelfred, the above-mentioned army divided itself into two parts; one part of them went into eastern France, and the other, arriving at Britain, entered Kent, and besieged the city called in Saxon Hrofesceastre [Rochester], situated on the east bank of the river Medwaeg [Medway]. The Pagans quickly erected a strong fortress before the gate, and yet were unable to take the town, because the citizens defended themselves manfully, until Aelfred arrived to succour them with a large army; and then the Pagans abandoned their fortress, and all the horses which they had brought with them from France: they also liberated the greater part of their captives on the sudden arrival of the king, and fled hastily to their ships; and then the Saxons immediately seized both the captives and the horses left by the Pagans, who were so hotly pressed that they returned to France the same summer.

During this year, Aelfred, the Anglo-Saxon king, guided his fleet full of warriors out of Kent, and sent it to the Eastern Angles for the sake of booty; and when they had reached the mouth of the river Sturæ [Stour], thirteen ships of the Pagans, which were prepared for battle, instantly met them; then a naval engagement took place, and after a sharp contest all the Pagans were slain, and all their ships, with all their money, were taken. During the repose of the royal fleet after this victory, the Pagans dwelling among the East Angles gathered their vessels from all quarters, and met the same royal fleet at sea, at the mouth of the same river, and after a naval battle they gained the victory.

During the same year, Carloman,[3] king of the Western Franks, while out hunting the wild boar, was dreadfully torn by the tusk of one of them, and perished miserably. His brother, Louis [III.], who was also king of the Franks, died the year before: both were the sons of that Louis, king of the Franks, who died in the year above mentioned, in which the eclipse of the sun occurred. This Louis was the son of that Charles, king of the Franks, whose daughter Judith, Ethelwulf, king of the West Saxons, received as his queen, with her father's consent.

In the same year also, a large army of Pagans came from Germany into the region of the Old Saxons, the Saxon word for which

[1] The Saxon Chronicle and Florence ascribe the events of this year to A.D. 885, but the death of pope Marinus and Carlomann certainly belong to A.D. 884. See Jaffè Regest. Pontiff. Rom. p. 293, and Pagi ad an.

[2] This clause in reference to Alfred's age is wanting in B. and C.

[3] Carlomann, the son of Louis le Begue, was killed 6th Dec. 884. See Limiers, Annal. de la Monarch. Franç. ii. 26.

is Ealdseaxum. The Saxons and the Frisians united their forces to oppose them, and contended with them vigorously twice in one year. In both these battles the Christians were victorious, by the divine assistance being mercifully afforded.

In the same year also Farlus,[1] king of the Almanni, received by universal and voluntary consent the kingdom of the Western Franks, and all the realms lying between the Tyrrhenian sea and that gulf which runs between the Old Saxons and the Gauls, with the exception of the kingdom of Armorica, [2]which is Lesser Britain. This Farlus was the son of king Louis, who was himself the brother of Charles, the king of the Franks, the father of the above-mentioned queen Judith. These two brothers were the sons of Louis, who was himself [3]the son of Charles the great, the ancient, the most wise, the son of Pepin.

During the same year, pope Martin, of blessed memory, went the way of all flesh. Through his love for Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, and at his entreaty, he kindly freed the School of the Saxons dwelling at Rome from all tribute and taxation. On this occasion he sent many presents to the aforesaid king; among which was no small part of that most sacred and venerable cross on which our Lord Jesus Christ was suspended, for the salvation of all mankind. In the same year also that pagan force which had taken up its abode among the East Angles disgracefully violated the peace which they had entered into with king Aelfred.

With the view of returning to the point from which I digressed, and that I may not be compelled by long navigation to miss the port of my wished-for repose, I will hasten to give some account, as far as my knowledge will allow, of the life and manners, of the just conversation, and of the greater part of the exploits, of Aelfred my lord, the king of the Anglo-Saxons. With God's assistance, I will briefly condense the occurrences after his marriage with the above-mentioned venerable lady of a noble Mercian family, according to promise, that I may not offend the minds of the fastidious by any tedious narrative of each new event.

[A.D. 868.] After his nuptials had been honourably celebrated with due solemnity in Mercia, in the presence of a countless company of both sexes, and after continued feasting, both by day and night, he was instantly and suddenly seized, before all the people, with a severe disease, unknown to all physicians; for all who were then present, and all who have seen it daily since that time, were equally ignorant of its origin. And alas! the worst feature of it is, that it should have continued incessantly during so many years—even from his twentieth to his fortieth year, and longer still. Many thought that it arose from the favour and the fascination of the people who surrounded him; others suggested the envy of the devil, who is always envious of the good. Some thought it an

[1] A misreading for Karlus: Charles the Fat is the sovereign here indicated. See Pagi, A.D. 885, § 6.

[2] This explanatory clause does not occur in A. B. or Florence.

[3] A portion of this sentence is also unknown to Florence.

unusual kind of fever; while others think it a certain disease,[1] which prevailed from his infancy. On a certain occasion, by the permission of Providence, he went to Cornwall for the purpose of hunting, and had turned aside for the sake of praying in a certain church, in which St. Gueryr[2] reposes, and where St. Neot[3] also rests; for he was a careful visitor of holy places from his infancy, for the sake of prayer and alms-giving. There he lay prostrate for a long time in silent prayer, earnestly entreating the mercy of the Lord, that Almighty God, in the exercise of his boundless clemency, would change the pangs of his then agonizing infirmity for some lighter malady, provided that the infirmity should not appear outwardly in the body, lest it should render him useless and despised. He had a great dread of leprosy or blindness, or of such other diseases as render men objects of contempt and aversion as soon as they seize upon them. At the conclusion of his prayer he continued his journey, and not long afterwards he found his complaint so completely healed that it was quite eradicated by the Divine will, according to his fervent entreaty, although he had suffered from this malady from the earliest period of his youth, and had been in the habit of constant devotion and of pious supplication to God.

I will now speak succinctly and briefly of the benevolent devotion of his mind to God, although rather out of the order of time; for in the early flower of his youth, before he entered into holy matrimony, he was desirous of strengthening his mind in the performance of the commands of God. He perceived his inability to abstain from carnal desires, and fearing to incur God's displeasure by doing anything contrary to his will, he very often rose secretly at cock-crow, early in the morning, and visited churches and the reliques of saints, for the sake of prayer. There he lay prostrate a long time, and prayed to Almighty God, that of his mercy He would turn his mind entirely to Himself, and strengthen it more completely in the love of his service, by means of some infirmity which he could bear, and yet which might not render him incompetent and useless in worldly affairs. When he had often uttered this request with the greatest devotion, after a short interval he suffered by God's pleasure from the aforesaid disease,[4] under which he laboured long and painfully for many years. Indeed, his life was despaired of, until he was entirely relieved of it by his prayers; but, alas! after its removal, another, more harassing, seized him at his nuptials, as we have said, and tormented him incessantly day and night, from the twentieth to the forty-fifth year of his age. But if ever that malady was assuaged, by God's mercy, for a single day or night, or even for the space of an hour, yet the nervous dread of its excruciating pain never left him, but rendered him, in his own opinion, almost useless, in both divine and human duties.

The following sons and daughters were the offspring of the above-

[1] ". . . alii ficum existimant," or as C. reads, "existimabant." Orig.

[2] "Near Leskerd is a church formerly called St. Guerir, which in British signifies a Physician; where (as Asser tells us) king Alfred, while he was in the midst of his devotion, recovered of a fit of sickness."—Camd. Brit. col. 19.

[3] See Camden, as above.

[4] ". . . fici dolorem . . . incurrit . . ." Orig.

mentioned wife:[1] namely, Aethelfloed, the eldest; after her, Eadwerd: then Aethelgeofu, next Aelfthryth, and then Aethelweard; besides those who died in their infancy, among whom was Edmund.[2] As soon as Aethelfloed had arrived at a proper age, she was united in marriage to Eadred, earl of Mercia, while Aethelgeofu was united and consecrated to God in perpetual virginity, and entered upon her divine service in the rules of a monastic life. Aethelweard, the youngest of all, was committed to the diligent care of masters at schools of learning, by the divine counsel and the admirable foresight of the king, together with all the young nobles of the realm, and many who were not noble. At this school, books in both the Latin and Saxon languages were constantly read: they also learned to write; so that before they had strength for the manly pursuit of hunting, and similar occupations suitable for the nobility, they had become studious, and skilful in the liberal arts. Eadwerd and Aelfthryth were always brought up in the king's court with great care on the part of their guardians and attendants; yea, they continue till the present time to manifest great deference to their father, enjoying the love of all around them, and showing humility, affability, and gentleness towards both natives and foreigners. While they engage in the usual pursuits of life suitable to nobility, they are not permitted to pass their time idly and listlessly, without liberal discipline; for they have carefully learned the Psalms, and Saxon books, and especially Saxon poems, and are continually in the habit of using books.

In the meantime, the king, during the frequent wars and hindrances of the present life, the incursions of the Pagans, and daily infirmities of body, continued to rule his kingdom, and to enjoy the exercise of hunting; he taught all his goldsmiths and artisans, his falconers, hawkers, and dog-keepers: according to a new plan of his own, he built houses more majestic and costly than was customary in the time of his ancestors. He perused the Saxon books, and not only learned by heart Saxon poems, but commanded others to do so, while he alone never ceased the most diligent cultivation of every study. He daily attended the services of the church, and especially he heard mass daily; he celebrated the daily and nightly hours of devotion by psalms and prayers, and was in the habit, as we have stated, of visiting the churches at night, for the purpose of prayer, unknown to his attendants. He bestowed alms and gifts upon his countrymen, and on strangers of all nations, showing the greatest and most incomparable affability and pleasantness towards all men, while he assiduously applied himself to the investigation of things with which he was hitherto unacquainted. Many Franks, Frisians, Gauls, Pagans, Britons, Scots, and Armoricans, both noble and ignoble, voluntarily submitted to his sway: he governed, loved, honoured, and enriched them all with money and power, according to their deserts, just as if they were his own people. He anxiously persevered in the practice of hearing the Divine Scriptures read by

[1] Here Florence adds her name, Ealhsuitha.

[2] This name, wanting in all the manuscripts, is supplied by Wise from the Historia Major of Rudborne, ap. Angl. Sacr. i. 207.

his countrymen; and if any occasion led him into the company of foreigners, he joined in prayer with them. His bishops, and all his ecclesiastics, his earls and nobles, his advisers and all his dependants, he loved with surprising affection: regarding their sons, who were brought up with the royal family, as if they were his own, he was never tired of instructing them in good morals, and of imbuing them night and day with profitable learning. Still, as if he enjoyed no comfort in all these occupations, and suffered no other hindrance from either within or without, he spent his days and nights in anxious sorrow, constantly complaining and groaning before God and all who were bound to him by the ties of affection, that Almighty God would make him skilful in divine wisdom and the liberal arts. In this he may be compared to Solomon, the pious, most thoughtful, and most opulent king of the Hebrews, who from the first despised all present glory and riches, and requested wisdom from God. At length he found both wisdom and present glory, as it is written: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." [Matt. vi. 33.] For God, who is always an inspector of the internal thoughts of men's minds, and an instigator of all good meditations and intentions, and a most bountiful helper towards the performance of good desires—for He would never stir up any man to good intentions, unless He afforded him large assistance towards the accomplishment of his just and honourable objects—God, I say, stirred up his mind from within, not from without: as it is written: "I will listen to what the Lord God shall speak within me." [Ps. lxxxv. 8.] He wished to obtain coadjutors of his good intentions, who should assist in the accomplishment of his desires by their wisdom, and in the promotion of all his plans. As the most prudent bee, rising early on a summer morning from its busy hive, directing its course in swift flight through the uncertain paths of the air, descends upon the manifold and varied flowers of herbs, grasses, and shrubs, and chooses what pleases it most, and so carries it home, thus did the king direct the eyes of his mind to a distance, and seek from without what he did not possess close at hand, within his own kingdom.

At length God, as if unable to bear any longer his benevolent and most just complaint, sent him some luminaries as a special solace to his royal benevolence: namely, Werfrith,[1] bishop of the church at Worcester, well instructed in Holy Scripture. At the king's command, he first translated[2] the books of the dialogues of Pope Gregory and his disciple Peter from Latin into Saxon; and he sometimes interpreted them with clearness and elegance, by giving the sense in equivalent phrases. Then again was Plegmund, of a Mercian family, archbishop of the church at Canterbury, a venerable man, endued with wisdom. There were Aethelstan also, and Werwulf, learned priests and chaplains, of a Mercian family.

[1] Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, consecrated A.D. 872, died 915. Godwin, p. 450.

[2] This translation is extant, but hitherto unprinted. See Tanner, Biblioth. p. 34; Wanley, Catal. MSS. Saxon. pp. 71, 130, 212; Wright's Biogr. Anglo-Sax. p. 415.

These four king Aelfred invited from Mercia, and adorned with many honours and privileges in the kingdom of the West Saxons, in addition to those which archbishop Plegmund and bishop Werfrith enjoyed in Mercia. By their teaching and wisdom, the king's desire for knowledge continually increased and was satisfied; for by night and by day, whenever he was at leisure, he commanded these men to read books before him; he never suffered himself to be without one of them, and in this way he acquired a knowledge of almost all books, although he was as yet unable to comprehend anything from books by himself, for he had not yet begun to read them.

But even all this was not enough to gratify his royal yet laudable covetousness; he sent ambassadors beyond the sea to Gaul to procure instructors, and he invited over Grimbald,[1] priest and monk, a venerable man and an excellent singer, very learned in all kinds of ecclesiastical discipline, and in Holy Scripture, and a pattern of all good manners. John also came over, a priest and monk, a man of very acute intellect, skilled in all the discipline of true scholarship, and in many other arts besides. The king's mind was much enlarged by the teaching of these men, whom he enriched and honoured with great power.

In these times I also was summoned by the king, and came to Saxony from the furthest coasts of Western Britain, and having set out on my journey, I passed through the intervening districts, and arrived in the country of the Saxons, dwelling on the right hand, which is called in Saxon, Suth-seaxum, accompanied by guides of that nation; and there I saw him for the first time at the royal residence at Dene.[2] When he had received me with kindness, amidst other subjects of conversation, he asked me with earnestness to devote myself to his service, and to become his friend, and to leave all that I possessed on the left and west bank of the Severn, and he promised to give me more than its value, and said that I might depend upon the performance of this promise. I replied as follows: "I cannot rashly and incautiously promise such things; for it seems to me unjust to desert those sacred places in which I was nursed and instructed, where I received the tonsure and was afterwards ordained, for any earthly honour and authority, unless I was forcibly compelled thereto." Upon this he said: "If you cannot agree to this, devote at least the half of your time to my service, spending one six months with me, and the other in Britain." To this I answered: "I cannot promise even this easily and rashly, without the advice of my friends." But at length when I perceived his great anxiety for my services, though I knew no reason for it, I promised to return to him again, if my life was spared, after six months, with such an answer as should please him, and be equally advantageous to myself and friends. When this answer seemed satisfactory, I gave him a pledge of my return at the appointed time, and on the fourth day we set out on horseback

[1] On Grimbald and John see Wright, p. 417; Mabill. Acta SS. sec. iv. part ii. p. 514; Lingard, Saxon Church, ii. 246.

[2] There are several localities which, according to Petrie, lay claim to the honour of this site; more especially East Dean and West Dean, near Chichester.

for our native country. After our departure, a dangerous fever seized me in the city of Winchester, by which I suffered constantly for twelve months and a week, night and day, without the slightest hope of life. And when I did not arrive at the appointed time according to my promise, he sent messengers to me to hasten my return to him, and to inquire the cause of my delay. As I was unable to ride to him, I sent back another messenger to explain the cause of my absence, and to assure him that I was anxious to fulfil my promise if I should recover from that infirmity. On the restoration of my health, by the advice and permission of my friends, for the benefit of their sacred dwelling-place and of all its inhabitants, I devoted myself to the king's service, according to my promise, on this condition, that I should remain with him six months every year. If possible, I was to spend this period with him altogether; but if not, by alternate visits of three months in Britain, and three in Saxony; and thus the territory of Saint Degui[1] would be defended in every way to the utmost of my power. For my friends hoped that they should sustain fewer injuries and depredations from king Hemeid,[2] if by agreement of this kind I secured the notice and friendship of the king. For that prince had often plundered the monastery and diocese of St. David's, and had expelled the prelates who presided over it, as for instance, he had expelled archbishop Novis,[3] my relative, and myself.

At that time and long before, all the regions on the right-hand side of Britain belonged to king Aelfred, and still do so; for Hemeid, with all the inhabitants of Demetia,[4] being compelled by the violence of the six sons of Rotri,[5] had submitted to the king's authority. Houil also, the son of Ris, king of Gleguising,[6] and Brochmail and Fernail, sons of Mouric, kings of Guent,[7] compelled by the violence and tyranny of earl Eadred,[8] and of the Mercians, of their own accord sought king Aelfred, that they might have his protection and defence against their enemies. Helised also, son of Teudyr, king of Brecknock, compelled by the violence of the same sons of Rotri, sought of his own accord the dominion of the aforesaid king. Anaraut[9] also, the son of Rotri, with his brothers, deserting at last the friendship of the Northumbrians, from which he had received nothing but harm, came into the king's presence,

[1] The Diocese of St. David's, of which Asser was bishop.

[2] Hemid, king of South Wales, died A.D. 892. See the Chronicle of the Princes of Wales, ap. Petrie, p. 847, and the Annales Cambriæ, id. p. 836.

[3] Novis, or Nobis, was archbishop of St. David's, from A.D. 840 to 873. See Godwin, p. 573.

[4] South Wales.

[5] Rotri, king of North Wales, was slain A.D. 877. See Annales Cambriæ, ap. Petrie, p. 836.

[6] This district included that part of Monmouthshire which lies between the Usk and Rumney, and derived its name from Gliwisus, the father of the celebrated Welsh saint, Gundlæus. See MS. Cott. Vesp. A. xiv. fol. 17.

[7] A district in Monmouthshire. See Camd. Brit. col. 728.

[8] Eadred, more commonly called Aethelred, or Ethered, duke of the Mercians, married Aethelfleda, the daughter of king Alfred, died in 912, and was buried at Gloucester.

[9] Anaraut invaded the district of Ceretician (Cardigan), A.D. 893 or 894. See the Chronicle of the Princes of Wales, ap. Petrie, p. 486, and the Annales Cambriæ, id. p. 836.

earnestly desiring his friendship. The king received him with honour, and accepted him from the bishop's hand as his son by confirmation, and enriched him by many presents. Thus he and all his people submitted to the king's authority, on the same conditions as Aethered and the Mercians; namely, that of perfect obedience to the royal will.

The king's friendship was not extended to all these princes in vain; for those who desired to increase their territorial power, obtained their object; and those who desired money or alliances, or both, gained what they wanted. All of them gained his love, protection, and defence from every quarter from which the king with his troops could protect himself.

When, therefore, I had arrived at his royal residence called Leonaford,[1] I was honourably received by him, and on that occasion I remained eight months at court, during which I read to him whatever books he wished, and those which we had at hand; for it is his peculiar and most usual custom, by night and day, amidst many mental and bodily interruptions, either himself to read books, or to listen to others reading them. Then I frequently asked leave to return home, and could by no means obtain it; till at length I determined by all means to demand it, when he called me to him at twilight on Christmas eve, and gave me two letters, in which was a long inventory of all the goods in the two monasteries, called in Saxon Amgresbyri[2] and Banuwille. On the same day, he delivered to me the two monasteries with all their contents, and a very valuable pall of silk, and as much incense as a strong man could carry; adding these words:—he did not give these trifles through any unwillingness to bestow more valuable things in future: for in the course of time, he unexpectedly gave me Exancestre [Exeter] with the whole diocese belonging to it in Saxony and in Cornwall, besides numberless daily gifts of all kinds of worldly wealth, which it would be too long to enumerate here, lest I should fatigue my readers. But let no one think that I have related these presents in this place for the sake of seeking any glory or flattery, or any higher honours. I call God to witness that this is not my object, but to assure those who are not aware of it, how profuse he was in his generosity. He then gave me permission to ride at once to those two monasteries filled with so many good things, and then to return to my own home.

[A.D. 886.] In the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and eighty-six, being the thirty-fifth[3] of Aelfred's birth, the army so often before mentioned fled that country, and went to the land of the Western Franks, directing their ships to the river called the Signe [Seine], and sailing up towards Paris, reached that city and

[1] Of uncertain locality, but possibly the Linford, in Berkshire, which is mentioned in the Saxon Charter, No. 477, published in the Codex Diplom. ii. 373, and iii. 456.

[2] A little uncertainty in the reading occurs here, which fluctuates between Ambresbury (Amesbury, in Wiltshire), and Cungresbury, in Somersetshire. The claims of the latter seem to predominate. Banwell is in its immediate neighbourhood.

[3] Read, thirty-eighth.

wintered there, and pitched their camp. They besieged that city for a whole year, occupying that part of the river near the bridge, to hinder the citizens from passing over the bridge, because that city is situated on a small island in the middle of the river; but by God's merciful kindness and the manly defence of the citizens, they could not break through the fortifications.

In the same year Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, after the burning of cities and the slaughter of the people, handsomely rebuilt the city of London and made it habitable. He gave it into the care of his son-in-law, Aethered, earl of Mercia, towards which prince all the Angles and Saxons, who were formerly dispersed in every direction, or had been in captivity with the Pagans, turned of their own accord, and submitted themselves to his sway.

[1] In the same year a very injurious and distressing discord arose at Oxford, between Grymbold and those most learned men whom he had brought with him, and the old schoolmen whom he found there, who utterly refused to embrace the laws, methods, and forms of lecturing instituted by this Grymbold on his arrival. For three years but little apparent hostility existed, but a secret enmity was cherished which afterwards broke out with the greatest fierceness, and became clearer than light itself. To appease this strife, the most invincible king Aelfred, on the information and complaint of Grymbold, repaired to Oxford for the purpose of finally determining this controversy, and he underwent the greatest labours in listening to the arguments and the complaints brought forward on both sides. The substance of this dispute was as follows: the old scholars contended that letters had always flourished universally at Oxford before Grymbold's arrival; and if the students were fewer at that period than formerly, it was occasioned by the number who had been expelled by the cruelty and tyranny of the Pagans. They likewise [2] showed and proved by the undoubted testimony of ancient annals, that the statutes and institutions of the place had been sanctioned by some pious and learned men, such as St. Gildas, Melkinus, Nennius, Kentigern, and others who grew old among the scholars there, and administered the affairs of the University in peace and concord. Moreover, that St. Germanus had arrived at Oxford, and spent half a year there; and that at the time of his travelling through Britain to preach against the Pelagian heresy, he cordially approved of the statutes and institutions. The king listened diligently to both sides with unheard-of humility, and exhorted them constantly by pious and salutary admonitions to preserve among themselves mutual union and concord. And so the king left them with this decision, that each side should follow out its own plans and embrace its own institutions. But Grymbold being much dissatisfied, set out directly for the monastery recently founded by Aelfred at Winchester, and then he ordered the tomb to be removed to Winchester, in which he had proposed that his remains should be laid after his death, in a vault built under the chancel of

[1] The whole of this section is open to grave suspicion. Concerning its history the reader is referred to the Preface.

[2] This passage, as far as the word "annals," is wanting in the edition of Camden's Brit. which appeared in 1600, but it occurs in the edition of 1607.

the church of St. Peter's at Oxford; for Grymbold had built this church from its foundation of stone polished with the greatest care.

[A.D. 887.] In the eight hundred and eighty-seventh year of our Lord's incarnation, and in the thirty-sixth[1] of king Aelfred's age, the previously named army of the Pagans, leaving the city of Paris without injury, because they could make no impression upon it, steered their fleet a long way up the Seine, continuing their course till they arrived at the mouth of the river named Materre [Marne]; there they leave the Seine, following the course of the Marne from its mouth for a long distance, till after much toiling they arrive at a place called Caziei [Chezy], a royal vill, where they wintered a whole year. Next year they entered the mouth of the river named Iona [the Yonne], doing much damage to the surrounding country, where they remained one year.

During the same year, Farlus [Charles], king of the Franks, went the way of all flesh; but Earnulf, his brother's son, had driven him from his kingdom six weeks before he died. Immediately after his death, five kings were appointed, and his empire was apportioned into five parts: but we may say that the chief seat of royalty justly and deservedly belonged to Earnulf, if we do not take into our estimate the crime which he had so unworthily committed against his uncle. The other four kings promised fidelity and allegiance to Earnulf, as they ought; for none of the four princes held his kingdom by hereditary right on his father's side, like Earnulf alone; hence, although five kings were appointed directly on the death of Charles, yet the supreme sovereignty remained with Earnulf.

The division of his kingdom was as follows: Earnulf received that portion of the kingdom which was east of the river Hrene [Rhine], and Hroththwlf [Rodulf] the inner part; Oda, the western portion; Beorngar and Witha [Guido] received Languobardia [Lombardy] and the regions on that side of the mountain-chain; but they did not enjoy these extensive territories in mutual peace, for they twice fought pitched battles, and each expelled his adversary from his dominions, and laid them waste by turns.

In the same year in which that army left the city of Paris and went to Chezy, Aethelhelm, earl of Wilton, carried to Rome the alms of king Aelfred and of the Saxons.[2]

During the same year, Aelfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, so often mentioned before, began to read and to interpret all at once on the same day, by a divine instinct; but I will narrate the circumstances of this tardy commencement for the information of those who are ignorant of it.

On a certain day, we were both sitting in one of the king's chambers, conversing as usual on subjects of all kinds, when I happened to read to him a particular passage out of a certain book. He listened to it with the utmost attention, and weighed it anxiously

[1] Read, thirty-ninth.

[2] Up to this point the obligations of Asser to the Saxon Chronicle are obvious; but here the uniformity ends.

in the depths of his mind: he then suddenly showed me a book which he carried carefully in his bosom, and in which were written the Daily Course, and certain psalms and prayers which he had read in his youth. He then commanded me to write that quotation in the same little book of his. When I heard this, and perceived his remarkable benevolence and his earnest desire to study the words of divine wisdom, I silently and heartily returned thanks to Almighty God, who had put into the king's heart such devotion to the pursuit of wisdom, while I raised my hands towards heaven. But I could find no vacant space in that book in which to insert the required passage, for it was already filled with a variety of things; so I delayed a little, chiefly with the intention of stirring up the refined mind of the king to a better acquaintance with the divine testimonies. As he urged me to write it quickly, I said to him, "Will you allow me to write this passage on a spare sheet by itself? for we do not yet know whether or not we shall find some other quotations equally pleasing, and if these shall unexpectedly occur, we shall be glad to have a separate sheet." "Your plan is an excellent one," said he, on hearing it. Then I gladly hastened to get a fresh sheet, at the beginning of which I wrote the extract as he had ordered, and on that very day I wrote no less than three other agreeable extracts on the same sheet at his command, as I had predicted. And every day afterwards during our conversations, we traced out and discovered other passages equally pleasing, till the sheet was completely filled with fitting matter: as it is written, "The just man builds on a moderate foundation, and by degrees attains to greater things." Like a productive bee, he ranged far and wide, searching for truth, and eagerly and ceaselessly collected together various flowers of divine Scripture, with which he filled to overflowing the cells of his heart. For as soon as the first extract was copied, he began to read it and to interpret it in Saxon, and next was anxious to instruct others, just as we read of that penitent thief who acknowledged the Lord Jesus Christ as his Lord and the Lord of all men, while hanging near Him on the venerable tree of the holy cross. He inclined his bodily eyes alone, because he was otherwise unable to move, through being pierced with nails all over, and exclaimed with fainting voice but with earnest prayer, "O Christ, remember me when Thou comest into thy kingdom." [Luke xxiii. 42.] Thus he commenced his first acquaintance with the christian faith on the cross. In like manner, though under different circumstances, in the midst of royal power, the king was divinely inspired to acquire the rudiments of the sacred writings on the venerable feast of St. Martin [Nov. 11th]. He next learnt these flowers, collected from all parts by various masters, and reduced them into a single book without any regular plan, until it gradually increased to the size of a psalter. This volume he called his Manual, or Hand-book, because he kept it close at hand both by night and day, and experienced, as he used to say, no small degree of comfort from it.

But here I perceive that I must be very much on my guard, according to the saying of a certain wise man,—

Those who would rule with pious care,
Must watch with careful mind;

for just now I instituted a comparison between that penitent thief and the king, although I noticed a difference between them. For amidst all forms of suffering every one hates a cross, but what can a man do when he can neither snatch himself away nor escape it? or how will he improve his condition by delaying in the same place? He must therefore, whether he will or not, endure the sorrow and sadness necessary to his sufferings.

In like manner this king was pierced with many nails of tribulation, although invested with royal authority. For from his twentieth year to his forty-fifth, at which he has now arrived,[1] he has been incessantly harassed by the most grievous ravages of an unknown malady, so that he cannot count upon a single hour of ease from either the infirmity itself, or from the gloom which he suffers through the fear of its approach. Besides, he was in no slight degree harassed by the constant invasions of foreign nations both by land and sea, which allowed him no single interval of repose. What shall I say of his repeated expeditions against the Pagans, and his battles, and the never ceasing duties of his government? Then again there were daily embassies from nations dwelling near the Tyrrhenian sea, and as far as the extreme boundary of Ireland,[2] for we have seen and read letters sent to him with presents from Abel,[3] the patriarch of Jerusalem. What shall I say also of the cities and towns which he restored, and of others which he built where none had existed before? of structures of gold and silver built with surpassing magnificence at his direction? of royal halls and chambers, erected with stone and wood at his command with surprising grandeur? of royal vills removed from their ancient sites, and handsomely constructed of stone in more suitable places at the king's command? In addition to his disease, he suffered from the dissensions and disputes of his subjects, who would scarcely undertake the slightest voluntary labour for the common benefit of the realm; but, acting alone and supported by the divine assistance, when once he had laid hold of the helm of the state, like a skilful pilot, he strove to guide his vessel, laden with a valuable cargo, into the safe and desirable harbour of his country. Although all his crew were exceedingly fatigued, yet he never suffered them to faint or vacillate, even while sailing amidst the manifold and boisterous whirlpools of this present life. For by mildly teaching, persuading, exhorting, and commanding, he continually urged his bishops, earls, and nobles, as well as his most attached servants and those magistrates to whom, after the Lord and the king, the whole power of the state is worthily entrusted. At last, after long endurance, he severely chastised the disobedient, and by setting his face in every way against their vulgar folly and obstinacy he subdued them to his own will, and most wisely bound them to the common utility of the whole kingdom. But notwithstanding

[1] This leads us to the year 893.

[2] A various reading gives Spain, instead of Ireland.

[3] This individual has escaped the notice of Papebroch in his Chronological Dissertation upon the Patriarchs of Jerusalem. See Pagi ad an. 889, § 5.

these royal exhortations, these commands of his were not fulfilled, on account of the sluggishness of the people; or when tardily begun at the moment of necessity, they were not finished to the advantage of those who executed them. I need only to allude to the castles which he ordered to be built, which were either never begun at all, or begun so late that they were never completely finished, either because hostile armies broke in upon them by land and sea, or (as often happened) those who frustrated the king's designs repented when too late, and felt the shame of a vain repentance. I use the testimony of Scripture in calling that a vain repentance, which multitudes experience when they suffer grievous loss through the occurrence of insidious calamities. For although by these means men are, alas! bitterly afflicted and moved to tears by the loss of their fathers, wives, children, attendants, male and female slaves, and property of all kinds, what is the use of this detestable repentance when they cannot aid their deceased relatives, or redeem them when prisoners from a hateful captivity? for sometimes they cannot succour themselves, after their own escape, since they have no means of sustaining their own lives. These persons bitterly repented, therefore, when it was too late, and regretted their careless neglect of their monarch's ordinances, and praised his royal wisdom with united voices, and promised to do all in their power to complete what they had formerly resisted, namely, the erection of castles and other works of general interest for the common benefit of the kingdom at large.

I do not think it proper to omit in this place all mention of the fixed purpose of his most remarkable devotion, which he never neglected in either prosperity or adversity. For, since he was accustomed to reflect much on the necessities of his soul, amidst other good deeds on which he pondered incessantly both by day and night, he ordered the erection of two monasteries. One was for monks at a place called Aethelingaeg [Athelney], a spot surrounded by impassable swamps, marshes, and stagnant waters, which no one can approach except by boats or by a single bridge, which was constructed between two other heights by laborious workmanship. At the western extremity of this bridge, a well-fortified tower, of very beautiful work, was constructed by the command of the aforesaid king, and in this monastery he placed monks of all kinds, collected from everywhere around.

For first of all he acted thus, because he had none of his own nation either noble or free-born who would willingly submit to the monastic life, except indeed infants, who can neither choose the good nor reject the evil in consequence of their tender age. Because, again, during many preceding years the taste for a monastic life had utterly ceased throughout the whole of this and of many other nations, although numerous monasteries still remain in that part of the country. I cannot tell why it was; yet no one maintained that order and rule of life, either through the incursions of foreigners, who very often invaded them both by land and sea, or else by the prevalence of far too much wealth of all kinds throughout the land, on which account I think that kind of

monastic life became much despised. For this reason he determined to assemble monks of different kinds in the same monastery.

First of all he appointed John, presbyter and monk, an Old-Saxon by race, to be abbat, and next he brought some presbyters and monks from beyond the sea. When he had not so large a number as he wished, he procured as many as possible of the same Gallic race, and some of these being children he ordered to be educated in the same monastery, and afterwards to be admitted to the monastic habit. I, myself, have seen a youth of pagan birth educated in that monastery who was by no means behind the rest.

A crime was once perpetrated in that monastery which I would rather deliver to the oblivion of perfect silence, although it is a shameful transaction; for through the whole Scriptures the base deeds of the wicked are mingled with the more venerable actions of the just, as tares and darnel in a corn-field. The good are related for the purpose of being praised, imitated, and emulated, while those who imitate them are to be held in the highest esteem; the evil are to be blamed, execrated, and utterly avoided, and their imitators to be visited with the utmost odium, vengeance, and contempt. On one occasion, then, a certain priest and deacon, of Gallic race, belonging to the above-mentioned monks, and being prompted by the instigation of the devil, and by feelings of secret malice, became so deeply embittered against their aforesaid abbat John, that, like Judas, they conspired against their master and betrayed him. They instructed his two hired servants of the same Gallic race so deceitfully, that they were to open the church at night, when all men were enjoying deep sleep so delightful to the body, and enter it armed: they were next to close the door after them as usual, and wait in concealment for the arrival of the abbat. And next, when he entered the church alone for the purpose of solitary prayer, should fall upon his knees upon the ground, and bow before the holy altar, they were to rush upon him furiously, and attempt to slay him on the spot. They were then to drag out his lifeless body and to cast it before the door of a certain harlot, as if he had been slain while paying her a visit. This was their plot, adding crime to crime, as it has been said, "And the last error shall be worse than the first." [Matt. xxvii. 64.]

But divine mercy, which is always accustomed to assist the innocent, frustrated to a great extent the impious design of these impious men, so that things did not turn out exactly as they had proposed.

After the whole of this wicked lesson had been fully explained by these guilty teachers to their guilty listeners, under a promise of impunity, they shut up the two armed robbers in the church, on a night fixed on as convenient for their purpose, where they awaited the arrival of the abbat. And when at midnight John entered the church as usual for the purpose of prayer, unknown to any one, and bowed before the altar on bended knees, then these two robbers suddenly rushed upon him with drawn swords and inflicted cruel

wounds. But as he was a man of a brave disposition, and (as we have heard from some who vouched for it,) not without skill in warlike pursuits, if he had not engaged in a better service, the moment he heard the sound of the robbers and before he saw them, he attacked them sharply before he was wounded. He then cried out as loudly as he could, and wrestled with them, exclaiming,—"Ye are demons, and not men." He knew no better, for he never thought that men would dare to act thus; yet he was wounded before his friends could arrive. His friends then were awakened by his cries, and when they heard the word "demons," became frightened; being ignorant what was the matter, they rushed from all quarters to the doors of the church, as well as those Judas-like traitors; but before they reached them these assassins fled headlong to hiding-places in the nearest marshes, leaving the abbat half dead. Then the monks raising their superior but half alive, carried him home with groans and lamentations, while these deceitful brethren grieved as much as the innocent. But the mercy of God did not permit so heinous a crime to go unpunished; the assassins who perpetrated the deed, and all the advisers of this monstrous wickedness, were seized and bound, and perished by most disgraceful deaths after the infliction of a variety of torments. After this narrative, let us return to our undertaking.

The aforesaid king commanded another monastery to be built near the eastern gate of Sceftesburg [Shaftesbury] as a dwelling for nuns, over which he placed as abbess his own daughter, Aethelgeofu, a virgin devoted to God. And many other noble ladies, serving God in the monastic life, dwelt with her in the same monastery. These two monasteries he amply enriched with landed possessions, and with riches of all kinds.

When these things were thus settled, the king according to his custom began to consider what more he could do, and how he could still further conduce to pious meditation. What he had wisely undertaken and beneficially conceived, became still more useful when preserved: for he had already heard that it was written in the Law that the Lord had promised to multiply his reward tenfold; and he faithfully kept his promise and did restore to him tenfold. Being encouraged by the knowledge of this fact, and wishing to surpass his predecessors in the discharge of his duties, he devoted to God half his energies, both by night and day. This counsellor of piety also devoutly and faithfully, with all the affections of his heart, consecrated the half of all his riches which lawfully and justly came into his possession every year; and as far as human discretion can perceive and carry out, he desired skilfully and wisely to keep his vow. But, with his accustomed caution, he strove to avoid an error against which holy Scripture warns us in another passage: "If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, thou committest sin." He considered how he should rightly divide what he had willingly devoted to God; and, as Solomon said, "The heart of the king" (meaning his counsel) "is in the hand of the Lord," [Prov. xxi. 1;] so with wise counsel,

evidently suggested from heaven, he commanded his servants first of all to divide the whole produce of every year into two equal parts.

When his resources had been thus divided, he adjudged the first part to belong to secular business, which he also ordered to be separated into three portions. One-third he distributed yearly to his soldiers, and another third to his ministers and nobles, who waited by turn in the royal palace, serving him in various ways; for the royal family was ordinarily divided at all times into three classes. For the attendants on the aforesaid monarch were most prudently divided into three troops; the first remained in waiting night and day at court for one month. When the month was out, a second troop relieved the first, which then returned home, and there it remained for two months, attending only to its own private concerns. Then the second troop completed its month on duty, and returned home for two months off duty, when relieved by the third. And so this troop completed its month and returned home for its two months furlough on being relieved by the first troop; and in this order a regular change took place in the attendance at court through the whole circle of the present life. To such officers as these he distributed the first portion of the three above-mentioned divisions, to every one according to his proper dignity, and in proportion to the office which he discharged. He assigned the second portion to the workmen whom he had collected from many nations, and whom he employed in almost countless numbers for their skill in all sorts of construction. The third portion he bestowed on foreigners who came to him from every nation and from all distances; for whether they asked money or not, he cheerfully bestowed it upon each according to his rank and station, using wonderful and praiseworthy liberality, according to the Scripture, "God loveth a cheerful giver." [2 Cor. ix. 7.]

But the second part of all his revenues which he received yearly from all sources, and was paid into his treasury, he devoted to God with unreserved willingness, as we have lately mentioned, and commanded his servants to divide it carefully into four parts. The condition was that the first portion of that division should be most discreetly distributed to the poor of every nation who came to him. In this case he took care to observe that sentiment of the holy pope Gregory, as far as human discretion could observe it, in which he treats of a judicious allotment of alms, saying thus: "Give not a little to whom you should give much; nor much to whom little: nor nothing to whom you should give something; nor something to whom nothing."[1] The second portion he allotted to the two monasteries which he had commanded to be built, and to the servants of God therein, of which we have already treated at full length; the third to a school in which he had assembled for study many of the nobles of his own race; the fourth to all the neighbouring monasteries in Saxony and Mercia, and also for some years, in turn, to the churches and servants of God dwelling in Britain and Cornwall, Gaul, Bretagne, Northumberland, and some-

[1] S. Greg. de Cura pastorali, III. xxi. Opp. i. 1103, ed. 1675.

times also in Ireland; according to his possessions, he either disbursed it beforehand, or proposed to do so at some future time, should life and success be continued to him.

When the king had arranged all these things in this regular order, he remembered that passage of holy Scripture where it is said, "He who wishes to give alms, must begin by giving up himself;" hence, he prudently studied how he could best offer God service, both bodily and mentally, for he purposed to consecrate to God no less of his personal service than of his external wealth: for he vowed that he would render to God with his utmost strength by day and night one half of the service of his body and mind, as far as his infirmity, his means, and his opportunities would allow. But because he was unable precisely to distinguish the length of the hours by night on account of the darkness, and also by day through the frequent fogs and density of the atmosphere, he began to consider how, in reliance on the mercy of God, he might keep the promised import of his vow, by some fixed method, and without any hesitation, unchanged till death.

After a long meditation on this subject, by a useful invention and discreet counsel, he commanded his chaplains to procure a sufficient quantity of wax; when brought, he ordered them to place it in one scale and to weigh it against some pence placed in the other, and when a quantity had been weighed out which was found equal in weight to seventy-two pence, then he ordered his chaplains to make six candles, all of equal size, and each candle was to have twelve divisions marked by inches lengthways upon it. When this plan was adopted, these six candles were kept constantly burning night and day, without fail, before the sacred reliques of many of God's elect, which always accompanied him wherever he went. But sometimes these candles could not continue alight through a whole day and night, to the same hour on which they were lit on the preceding evening, in consequence of the violent gusts of wind which often blew without intermission day and night, through the doors and windows of the churches, and through the numerous chinks of the buildings, and planks, and walls, and also through the thin canvass of the tents. Thus they were compelled to finish their course before the same hour, by burning quicker than they ought. He reflected how he could prevent this draught of the winds, and by a plan cunningly and wisely invented, he ordered the construction of a beautiful lantern of wood and ox-horn; for white ox-horn, when thinly planed in single layers, becomes as translucent as a glass vessel. This lantern, then, as we said before, was wonderfully made of wood and horn, and the candle placed in it by night shines as clearly without as within, experiencing no hindrance from blasts of wind: for he also ordered a door to be made of horn to close up the opening. When this contrivance was used, the six candles, one after another, for twenty-four hours gave light without intermission, neither more nor less: and when these were burnt out, others were lighted.

When these things were arranged in complete order, his desire was to keep half of his service for God, as he had vowed it, and

even to increase it as far as his means, opportunity, and infirmity would allow. In all his judgments he became a patient arbitrator in investigating the truth, and this especially for the sake of the poor, to whose interests he was remarkably attentive, both by day and night, in the midst of the other duties of this present life. For in the whole realm the poor had no protectors, or at most very few, except him alone; for in truth almost all the chiefs and nobles of the country turned their attention more to things secular than to things divine, and each engaged far more in these worldly matters for his own special profit than for the common advantage.

In his decisions also he always had respect to the improvement of both the nobles and the commons, for in the assemblies of the earls and magistrates they very often disagreed most obstinately among themselves, so that scarcely any of them allowed the justice of the decision of the earls and magistrates. When compelled by this most obstinate and unyielding dissension to submit to the king's decision, each party was eager for it, and hastened immediately to fulfil its wishes. For whoever was conscious of any injustice committed on his side in the suit, was constrained to accept ultimate judgment from such a judge as this was, and yet against his will; for though by law and agreement he was compelled to go before him, yet he never went of his own accord. For he knew that in his presence every portion of his iniquity would be instantly brought to light. And no wonder; for in framing his judgments, as in all his other duties, the king investigated all points most acutely. For he examined with sagacity all the judgments in his dominions which were pronounced in his absence, and decided whether they were just or unjust; and if he found any traces of unfairness in those decrees, he summoned the judges to his presence and mildly put some questions to them either personally or through some trustworthy followers; as, why they had decided so erroneously, whether through ignorance, or malice against any one, or whether they had been biassed by the favour, or fear, or hatred of any persons, or by greediness for any one's money. Lastly, if those judges professed that they had decided so and so, because they were not better informed concerning the matter in hand, then he wisely and temperately reproved their inefficiency and folly, saying: "In truth, I wonder greatly at your insolence, since, through God's gift and mine, ye have used the office and rank of the wise, and yet have neglected the pursuit and practice of wisdom! Wherefore I command you either instantly to resign the charge of the worldly offices which you fill, or to determine to devote yourselves much more earnestly to the acquisition of wisdom." His earls and magistrates were frightened at hearing these words, and, as if they had suffered the severest chastisement, applied themselves with all their might to the study of equity: so that almost all the earls, magistrates, and ministers, though illiterate from their cradles, began to devote themselves with surprising alacrity to the acquisition of learning, for they preferred to submit to this unaccustomed discipline, laborious as it was, rather than to resign their offices of trust. If any one felt unable to improve himself in

these liberal studies, either through old age or the sluggishness of an untrained mind, then Aelfred commanded that his son, if he had one, or if not, some other relative, and if he had none, then some freedman or slave whom he had already appointed as his reader, should recite Saxon books before him by day and night, whenever he had leisure. They then lamented with the deepest sighs, that in their youth they had never attended to such studies; they congratulated the youth of this age that they can happily be instructed in the liberal arts, deeming themselves unfortunate, because when young they had received no instruction, and now in their old age, when they earnestly desired it, they were unable to learn anything. But we have explained the diligence of both old and young in learning to read at the bidding of the aforesaid king.

THE END.

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[1] In the year of our Lord nine hundred, the truth-speaking Aelfred, a man most persevering in war, the most noble king of the Western Saxons, excelling in prudence, religion, and wisdom, went the way of all flesh with great sorrow to his subjects, during this year, after reigning twenty-nine years and a half over all England, except those parts which were under the sway of the Danes. He died on the 7th of the kalends of November [26th Oct.], in the twenty-ninth year and a half of his reign, and the fifty-first year of his age, in the fourth indiction. And he was sumptuously buried with royal honours at the royal city of Winchester, in the church of St. Peter, the prince of apostles; and his mausoleum is placed there, made of most precious porphyry marble.

I have thought it worthy of him to pen these verses concerning his laborious reign :—

O Aelfred, powerful in arms, thine innate nobleness bestowed on thee the honour of probity, and also the labour of probity: and labour has conferred on thee an everlasting name. Thy joys were ever mingled with pain: thy hope was ever mingled with fear. If thou wast conqueror, thou fearedst to-morrow's battle: if thou wast conquered, thou preparedst for the morrow's fight. Thy garments stained with constant sweat, thy sword stained with constant blood, prove how great was the burden of thy reign. Throughout the climes of this immense world no one was ever permitted like thee scarcely to breathe in so many adversities. Neither when worn down by the use of the sword could he lay it aside: nor yet with the sword could he finish the labours of his life. Now after the trials of his life and reign have passed away, may Christ be his true rest and his perpetual sceptre.

[1] The following passage is a compilation, as has justly been remarked by Wise, from the Annals; but as it occurs in the printed editions, a translation is appended.

THE BOOK OF HYDE.

THE BOOK OF HYDE.

Chap. I.

The kingdom that is now called England, was formerly named Albion; and in this way. I have found in a very ancient chronicle that there was once in the kingdom of Frissia a renowned king named Diocletian, who had reduced to subjection nearly all the adjacent kingdoms. This monarch had by his queen, sprung from a noble race, and named Labana, thirty-three daughters, of exceeding beauty, whom the king their father gave in marriage to thirty princes, who were his tributaries. These kings and their queens, after living together for a while, contracted a mutual dislike,—the wives for their husbands, and the husbands for their wives. At last their dissensions rose to such a pitch, that while the spouses of the queens were in a deep sleep, the fore-mentioned ladies cut their own kings' throats, and administered to them the draught of death eternal. When this most atrocious deed came to the knowledge of their father, Diocletian's rage knew no bounds; and for this wicked act he gave orders that his own daughters should be collected together and burnt: but, after a while, he yielded to the entreaties of his nobles, and sentenced them to perpetual banishment. The remainder of the story is soon told. A ship was prepared, and such things as were necessary to sustain life having been put on board, they were set afloat. After they had ploughed the waves for some time, they arrived at a certain island, destitute of all human society. Here they landed, and with the assent of the rest of the sisters, the island was called Albion, from Albina, the eldest, who had been the first to step on shore. These women for a long time fed upon the roots of herbs and the fruits of trees; and at length turning to more delicate and dainty viands—the flesh of wild beasts and birds—their appetite grew so immoderately from the use of such food, that they began to feel an overpowering desire for the society of their kind; but sought it in vain. This was perceived by the devil, that enemy of the human race, who sent incubi to them, who, collecting human seed, as they roved through the various climes of the world, and assuming aërial bodies, by divine permission, put on the human form, and lay, as men, with the princesses above-mentioned. Of them were born giants, one of which was called Gogmagog, and another Langrigan, with many others, all of whom were put to death by Brute on his arrival in this land; and this same Brute, with a countless host, having conquered this island, assumed the government of it, and called it Britannia,

after his own name. And subsequently, when the Saxons had landed in this country, and assumed the government, it was at last called Anglia, from queen Angela, daughter of a most illustrious Saxon duke: as is reported by Ralph of Chester, in the first book of his Policronicon, chapter ix.

Brute began to reign in this land in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-one before the incarnation of Christ, as is plain from Vincentius, in the fourth part of his Speculum Historiale. And thus the kingdom of Anglia is more ancient than the kingdom of France by upwards of one thousand years. For duke Marcomannus was the first king of France, about the year of our Lord four hundred: as we find in Vincentius, in the fourth part of his Speculum Historiale. And thus did monarchy remain unshaken in the island of Britain from the first; that is to say, from Brute till Julius Cæsar: from the time of which Julius, down to that of the emperor Severus, this island was tributary and subject to the Romans. Nevertheless she had kings of her own. But from Severus down to the last governor Gratianus, owing to a failure in the line of British succession, the Romans reigned there. At last, when the Romans, owing to the remoteness of the island, or to their attention being drawn off elsewhere, ceased to administer the regal functions, the Scots and Picts, finding the country drained of the last soldier in consequence of the recal of the tyrant Maximus, harassed it for a long time, until the Saxons, invited by the Britons against the Picts, chased into Wales Gerumund, king of the Hibernioni, with his Saxons, and the Britons themselves, along with their king Kareticus, out of Loegria, which is now called Anglia. So that the Saxons, having gained the ascendant, having appointed kings of their own, according to the strength of each province, divided the land of Anglia into seven kingdoms; which, however, afterwards, either by inheritance or conquest, were first formed into one kingdom under the most noble and triumphant king Egbert, king of the West Saxons.[1]

But the Danes perpetually harassed this land from the thirty-second year of Egbert, first king of the Angles; that is to say, from the year of Grace eight hundred and thirty-two, till the time of Saint Edward III., before the conquest, for a hundred and seventy years and more: while for thirty consecutive years, they held the government here. But after the Danes, Saint Edward the Angle reigned for nearly twenty-four years. And after him Harold held the throne for nine months. After these the Normans have held the government down to the present time.

Chap. II.—Of the Kingdom of Kent.

The first kingdom in Anglia was the kingdom of Kent, which extended from the southern ocean to the river Thames. Here Hengist the Saxon began to reign, according to Dionysius, in the year of our

[1] Here occurs the following imperfect sentence:—"In the . . . year of Aelfred the founder of this monastery of Hyde, which was formerly called Newminster, . . ."

Lord four hundred and fifty-five: and that kingdom lasted for three hundred and sixty-eight years, under fifteen petty sovereigns, until, on the expulsion of Baldred, Egbert, the illustrious king of the West Saxons, annexed that kingdom to his crown. Here reigned four Pagans; but the fifth, namely, Ethelbert, was converted to the christian faith along with his whole province, by Saint Augustine, the monk, who had come to England accompanied by forty monks, and was also baptized by him. This Ethelbert extended the kingdom of Kent all the way to the Humber; but the preceding kings had dominion only over Cancia, which province is called in the language of Britain, Kent; in English, Kanwarrelond. Here are two bishoprics, the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the bishopric of Rochester.

Chap. III.—Of the Kingdom of the South Saxons.

The second kingdom was the kingdom of the South Saxons, having the ocean on the east and south, and the Isle of Wight; on the west, Hampshire; on the north, Surrey. Here first Ealle, with his three sons, began to reign in the thirtieth year after the arrival of the Angles. He was succeeded by Cissa, and their issue down to Athelwold, who was the first of the South Saxon kings that was converted to the christian faith by St. Birin, the apostle of the Gewisci, and a monk; as is related by Vigilancius,[1] in the eighth chapter of his book De Basilica Petri; and was baptized in the province of the Mercians, in the presence and by the advice of Vulfere, king of the Mercians, and by whom, on his return from the font, he was taken as an adopted son. In token of which adoption, Uulfere, king of the Mercians, gave him two provinces; that is to say, the Isle of Wight, and the province of the Meanuari, among the people of the West Saxons. And then St. Birin, bishop and monk, with the assent of the king, baptized the chief nobles of the province, and the soldiery. But Cappa,[2] and Peada, and Burgelyn, and Ciddi, presbyters and monks, baptized the rest of the populace at a subsequent period—at the time when St. Wilfrid, archbishop of York and a monk, converted to the christian faith the rest of the people of the South Saxons. But the queen, named Ebbe, was baptized in her own province,—that of the Huuicii. But the whole province of the South Saxons was still ignorant of the divine name and of the faith, until the arrival of St. Wilfrid, who took up his quarters at Selsey, which means the Island of the Seal, and built there a monastery, and sat as bishop and abbot of the monks, and preached the gospel, and converted the people, for five years, until the death of Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians. But whereas for three years before his arrival no rain had fallen thereabouts, on the first day that he baptized, the rain came down, and the earth grew green. He told the people of the country to collect fishing-nets, and to go a fishing. So that through the blessing of divine grace, the people caught three hundred fishes of

[1] See Rudborne, ap. Angl. Sacr. i. 223.
[2] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. iv. 13.

various kinds: these they divided into three equal portions, and gave one hundred to the poor, one hundred to those of whom they had borrowed the nets, and one hundred they kept for their own use. But this kingdom of the South Saxons lasted not long: for Cadwalla, king of the Gewysci, or West Saxons, a young man of undaunted courage, came upon them with a vast army, and slew Ethelwold, king of the South Saxons, and reduced that province to very grievous servitude. And thus passed the kingdom of Sussex into the dominion of the kingdom of the West Saxons; which began in the year of the incarnation of our Lord four hundred and ninety-one, three years after the death of Hengist. The kings of the South Saxons reigned in Sussex only for a short time, and the episcopal see of that province was formerly at Selsey, but is now at Chichester.

Chap. IV.—Of the Kingdom of the East Saxons.

The third kingdom was that of the East Saxons, having the ocean on the east; on the west, the district of London; the Thames on the south; and Suffolk on the north. Of this district there were ten kings, who, from Sibert, the first of them, till the time of the Danes, were almost always in subjection to other kings, but more frequently, and for longer periods, they were under the dominion of the kings of the Mercians, until Egbert, king of the West Saxons, annexed the province to his own crown, as Alfred relates in his Chronicles; and as the Chroniclers report,—The kingdom of the East Saxons had Erkenwyn and Fledda,[1] pagan kings, and Sibert, who embraced the christian faith, under the preaching of Mellitus, bishop and monk, according to Beda, De Gestis Anglorum, lib. i. cap. 29.[2] This Sebert first founded Westminster, as some report; but Ralph,[3] archdeacon of London, says that the church of St. Peter at Westminster was founded by Melitus, bishop of London, but was endowed by king Edward III, before the conquest. Afterwards, Sexred,[4] Sigebert, Guitelin, Seger, and Sebba, who, resigning his earthly kingdom, was the first of all the kings of Anglia that chose the monastic life and adopted the monastic habit. Then Sigand, who was succeeded by Offa, who was the second of the Anglian kings that underwent the monastic tonsure. Then Celred, who was succeeded by Cuthred. And after him the kingdom passed over to the dominion of Egbert, king of the West Saxons. The kingdom of the East Saxons began in the year of our Lord's incarnation four hundred and ninety-two, four years after the death of Hengist. The kings of the East Saxons reigned over the East Saxons, and Middlesex, and half of Hertfordshire, over which counties the bishop of London presides.

[1] Sledda? Beda, Eccl. Hist. ii. 3. [2] Read, i. 22.
[3] Rud. de Diceto, Abbrev. Chron. ap. Decem Scriptt. col. 456.
[4] See the Genealogies appended to Florence, p. 395.

Chap. V.—Of the Kingdom of the East Angli.

How great was the kingdom of the East Angli, having the ocean on the east and north; on the north-west, Cambridgeshire; on the west, St. Edmund's dyke and Hertfordshire; on the south, Essex! This kingdom lasted under twelve petty kings, until, after the murder of king Edmund by the wicked Danes, the Danes Hingwar and Hubba usurped that kingdom. Which Hingwar was drowned as he was crossing a morass in Berkshire, which morass is called to this day by the people of that country Hyngerford. But Hubba, as he was riding, was suddenly swallowed up alive by the earth opening its mouth. When those Danes were subsequently routed or subdued, king Edward, the elder son of king Alured, the founder of New Minster, annexed that kingdom to his dominions. The first ruler of this kingdom was Offa, after whom all the East Angli call the Saxons Offingas, whom we now call Fikeys. He was succeeded by Titulus, the son of Offa, who was succeeded by Redwald, son of Titulus, who reduced under his dominion all the southern provinces all the way to the Humber, by the favour of Edwyn, king of the Northumbrians, at whose persuasion he was baptized: but he afterwards apostatized, at the instigation of his wife, and so the last state of that man was worse than the first. Then came Eorpwald, who became a Christian: he was succeeded by Sigebert, his brother by the mother's side, who was converted and baptized with all his people by St. Felix, a monk, and a native of Burgundy. This same Sigebert, afterwards resigning his earthly kingdom, was the third of the Anglian kings that became a monk. St. Felix, with the consent of Sigebert, fixed his episcopal see at Dommoc: but the see was subsequently divided into two dioceses, for from the death of bishop Bisi, till the time of Ethelbert, king of the West Saxons, one sat at Dommoc, and the other at Elmham. But in the time of the aforesaid king there was one see established at Elmham. But afterwards, in the time of king William I, the see was removed to Thetford; but now it is at Norwich. The forementioned St. Felix lies buried in the monastery of Ramsey.

After Sigebert reigned successively, Edric, Anna, an excellent person, the father of St. Ethelrida the virgin, whom Egfrid king of the Northumbrians married, who had previously been affianced to earl Cedbert,[1] and although she had been twice promised in marriage, and had been constantly solicited to receive the embraces of a husband, yet she always remained a virgin, and on being parted from Egfrid, removed to the monastery of Ely, where, having been appointed abbess, she shone forth with glorious miracles. The same king Anna begat four daughters of matchless sanctity, viz. Sexburga, Ethelburga, Etheldreda, and Wythburga. Anna was succeeded by Ethelthertus, who was succeeded by [2]Athulph, Elkwod, Hisboern, Ethelred, whose son was Egebric, patron of the church of Hereford. He was succeeded by St. Edmund, who suffered martyrdom at the hands of those most wicked Danes Hyngwar and Hubba:

[1] See Eccl. Hist. iv. 19.

[2] See Anderson's Geneal. Tables, tab. 487.

in whose time also the university of Cambridge was burnt down, which was built in the year of the creation of the world four thousand eight hundred and fifteen, by duke Canteber, and was frequented by philosophers before the incarnation of Christ, for three hundred and ninety-four years; as Florencius reports in his Florar. Historial. lib. iv. cap. 16. It was also rebuilt and renewed by Edward the elder. From that time the Angli ceased to reign in East Anglia for fifty years, and the whole province was under the rule of the pillaging Danes. But afterwards Gutrum, the Danish king, reigned in it and over the East Saxons for twelve years, in the time of king Alured; who was also succeeded by a Danish king named Ethric, who, after reigning for fourteen years, was slain by the Angli, because he had played the tyrant among them. Nor even then did liberty dawn upon them, the Danish earls oppressing them, or the West-Saxon kings assailing them, until Edward, the son of Alured, having driven out the Danes, annexed both the provinces to his own dominions,—those, namely, of the West Saxons, in the fiftieth year after the murder of St. Edmund, and in the fifteenth of his reign.

The kingdom of the East Angles commenced in the year of the incarnation of our Lord four hundred and ninety-three, in the fifth year after the death of Hengist. The kings of the East Angli reigned over the county of Cambridge. And there is a bishop there whose see is at Ely; and another in Norfolk, and Suffolk, whose see is at Norwich; it was formerly at Elmham, or Thetford.

Chap. VI.—Of the Kingdom of the West Saxons.

The fifth kingdom was that of the West Saxons, the most lasting of them all, having South Saxony on the east, the Thames on the north, the ocean on the south and west. Here Cerdisius began to reign, along with his son Kenric, in the year of our Lord, according to Dionysius, five hundred and nineteen, in the seventy-first year after the arrival of the Angles. In this kingdom all the rest were merged. The sovereign of this kingdom, named Kynegils, with all his people, was baptized by St. Birin, bishop of Genoa, and a monk, who came into England forty-one years after St. Augustine, viz. in the year of our Lord six hundred and thirty-five. Among the many noble acts of this angelic person, two stand preeminent, viz. that he impressed upon the province of the Gewysci, along with their king, the mark of the Christian faith; and, that when he was sent by pope Honorius to preach the gospel to the idolatrous Angli, while he was crossing the British Channel,[1] recollecting that his vessels, which we call corporalia, (in which was laid up that venerable sacrament of the Lord's body,) had, through forgetfulness, been left behind him at the harbour, he went on foot upon the sea, imitating, in this, Peter, the prince of the apostles, and carried

[1] See MS. Bodl. Digb. 112, 2, for this incident; also MS. Fell, 2, and Lansdown, 436.

back the vessels to the ship, which was then a long way off from him, tossed by the tempestuous waves. The kingdom of the West Saxons began, according to Dionysius, in the year of our Lord five hundred and nineteen, eight years after the death of Hengist. The kings of the West Saxons reigned over these counties, viz. Wiltshire, Berkshire, Dorset, (over which there is one bishop, whose see is at Salisbury, but was formerly at Sherborne,) and in the counties of Southampton and Surrey, (over which there is one bishop, whose see is at Winchester,) and in the county of Somerset, which had formerly a bishop at Wells, but he is now at Bath; and in Devonia, which is called Devonshire, and in Cornubia, which is now called Cornwall. There were formerly two bishoprics, one at Crydynton, the other at Saint Germans, but at present there is one bishopric, of which the see is at Exeter.

Chap. VII.—Of the Kingdom of the Mercians.

The sixth kingdom was that of the Mercians, larger than any of the rest, which was bounded on the west by the river Dee, near Chester, and by the river Severn, near Shrewsbury, to Bristol; on the east, by the Eastern ocean; on the south, by the river Thames, to London; from the north, the river Humber, descending westward to the river Mersey, as far as where the horn of Wirhalle enters the Western sea. In this kingdom first reigned Penda, the son of Wybba, according to Dionysius, in the year of our Lord six hundred and twenty-six, in the one hundred and seventy-fifth year after the arrival of the Angles. And this kingdom continued under twenty-eight kings, about two hundred and sixty-three years, till the time of the last king, namely, Ceolulphus, to whom the Danes, after the expulsion of king Burdrad, had delivered the kingdom, to keep it. But Edward the elder, king of the West Saxons, after the Danes were driven out, annexed the kingdom of the Mercians to his own dominions; which kingdom, before the expulsion of the Danes, was under the dominion of Egbert, king of the West Saxons. We read in Beda, (De Gestis Anglorum, lib. iii. cap. 17,[1]) that this province, with its king Penda, was baptized by Finian, a bishop and monk, in a residence of that illustrious king, which is called Ad Murum. The kings of the Mercians reigned in the following counties:—Gloucester, and half of Warwickshire; (over these presides one bishop, whose see is at Worcester;) and in Chester, Derbyshire, Staffordshire; (over these there is one bishop, who has part of Warwickshire, and the church of the county of Shropshire, and his see is at Chester, or at Coventry; it was formerly at Lichfield, as it is now, but not the principal;) and in Herefordshire; and there is there one bishopric, and it has half of the district of Shropshire, and its see is at Hereford; and in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, the half of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, which are presided over by one bishop, who now hath his see at Lincoln;

[1] Read, iii. 21 and 22.

formerly it was at Dorchester; and in Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire. Of these, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Nottinghamshire pertains to the archbishopric of York; and of Leicestershire to the bishop of Lincoln. This last formerly had a bishop of its own, whose see was at Leicester.

Chap. VIII.—Of the Kingdom of the Northumbrians.

The seventh kingdom was that of the Northumbrians, whose boundaries were, on the east and west, the ocean; on the south, the river Humber, descending towards the west through the confines of the counties of Nottingham and Derby to the rivers Dee [and] Mersey; and on the north, the Scottish sea, which in the Scotch language is called Forth, in the British, Werid, in the English tongue, Scothische See. This kingdom of the Northumbrians was originally divided into two provinces: Deira, to the south, and Bernicia, on the north. Which two kingdoms were at that time divided by the river Tyne: for the kingdom of the Deiri extended from the river Humber to the river Tyne; but the kingdom of the Bernicii extended from the river Tyne to the aforesaid Scottish Sea, even at the time when the Picts dwelt there; as is plain from Beda (De Gestis Anglorum, lib. iii. cap. 2[1]).

This kingdom gave occasion to the mission of St. Augustine the monk, and the first apostle to the larger of the British islands, now called Anglia, in the following way:—On a certain day, some merchants had just arrived in Rome, and had laid out many commodities for sale in the forum; and crowds thronged thither to purchase. Among the rest, Gregory himself came, and saw among others some youths exposed for sale, of handsome person, fair skin, and flowing locks. When Gregory had looked at them, he inquired from what part of the world they were brought: he was told that they came from the island of Britain, where the inhabitants were of the same complexion. He again inquired whether that island were Christian, or still involved in the errors of paganism? He was told that they were pagans. Fetching a deep sigh, he exclaimed, "Alas! of what lightsome countenanced men hath the prince of darkness got possession! And can such a fair outside bear a mind devoid of inward grace?" Again, he asked the name of their nation. He is informed that they are called Angli. "It is well," said he, "for they have angelic countenances; and it is fit that they should be fellow-heirs with the angels of heaven. What is the name of the province from which they come?" He is told that the people of that province are called Deiri, that is, the Northumbrians. He observes, "Well; they shall be delivered from the wrath of God, and called to the way of Christ. What is the name of the king of the province?" They tell him it is Alle. And then he, playing upon the name, says, "Allelujah; the praises of God the Creator ought to be sung in those regions." He then proceeds to the pontiff of the Roman and apostolic see (for he had not yet

[1] Read, iii. 1.

been made pontiff himself), and requests him to send some ministers of the Word to the nation of the Angli, by whom they might be converted to Christ. He says that he himself is ready to set forth upon this duty, with the Lord's assistance. However, even if this had been agreeable to the wishes of the apostolic father, still he had not the power to accomplish it: for even if the pontiff had been willing to grant him his request, still the citizens of Rome could not suffer him to go so far from the city.

But no sooner was he himself called upon to discharge the functions of pontiff, than he carries into effect the long wished-for duty. For at the time when Gregory beheld the youth from Deira exposed for sale, he held the arch-diaconate of the apostolic see, in the year of our Lord five hundred and eighty-six, in the time of Aella, king of the Deiri. And so the whole kingdom of the Northumbrians embraced the faith of Christ, by means of St. Paulinus, archbishop of York, a monk, and colleague of the most blessed Augustine, Finan and Aidan, monks, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord five hundred and forty-seven,[1] in the sixtieth year after the death of Hengist.

The dukedom of the Northumbrians is changed into a kingdom, which kingdom subsequently came under the dominion of the most illustrious prince Egbert, king of the West Saxons. And the kings of the Northumbrians reigned over the whole district that extends from the north of the river Humber to Scotland. There were in that quarter the archbishop of York, the bishop of Hexham, the bishop of Carlisle, the bishop of Ripon, the bishop of Lindisfarne, the bishop of Candida Casa. Hexham and Ripon are extinct. Lindisfarne is transferred to Durham.

Chap. IX.—Of the Kings of the Angles, who, renouncing their earthly kingdoms, betook themselves to the Monastic Life.

Before the kings of England began to reign as sole monarchs, many of them adopted the monastic habit,[2] whose names are these:—Sigebert, the fifth king of the East Angli; Sibba, the eighth king of the East Saxons; Offa, the tenth king of the East Saxons; but of Cedwalla, the tenth king of the West Saxons, I am doubtful whether he assumed the monastic habit or not. Some affirm that he did: Beda, however, does not positively affirm it (De Gestis Anglorum, lib. iv. cap. 7[3]); but only that, while yet in his white baptismal robes, he obtained his wish,—that as soon as he was baptized, he might put off the flesh, and pass, thus cleansed, to joys eternal. Both of these wishes, through the Lord's assistance, were granted him; and after he had been baptized by Sergius, and named Peter, he was summoned away, while yet in his white robes of baptism, and expired. Ethelred, the fourth king of the Mercians; Kenred, the fifth king of the Mercians; Ceolwulf, the

[1] So in the original, in words.

[2] Compare with this chapter the statements made by Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon, in his Flores Historiarum, p. 162, ed. fol. 1654.

[3] Read, v. 7.

twelfth king of the Northumbrians. There were seven kings of the Angli, before the government was centred in a single sovereign, who devotedly assumed the monastic habit.

Chap. X.—Whence the Saxons, who reign in England, derived their Origin.

There was a king who reigned in Britain, the son of Mempusius, and the sixth king of the Britons, named Ebrancus.[1] This brave and comely person had twenty sons, by twenty wives, all of whom, except two, Ebrancus sent with large forces, under the conduct of Arsaracus, into Alemannia, to seek a kingdom for themselves; who, being brave soldiers, conquered the whole of Alemannia, along with the adjacent provinces; and thus the whole of the country was now called Germany, from these brothers-german, for it had previously been called Alemannia, from the river Lemannus. And, as Isidorus relates (in the Ninth Book of the Ethemologiæ), Germany, properly so called, has on the east the mouth of the river Danube; on the south, the river Rhine; on the north and west, the ocean. But there is a twofold Germany; namely, Upper Germany, which extends by the Alps to the bay of the great sea called the Adriatic, where the sea is absorbed in marshy ground, near Aquileia. The other is Nether Germany, which lies westward about the Rhine, and is commonly called Alemania, or Theutonica. Many are the people and provinces in each of these two regions, as Bohemia, Westphalia, Bavaria, Thuringia, Suevia, Saxony, Franconia, Lotheringia, Frisia, Sealand.

From Germany aforesaid the Saxons had come into this country, sprung from British blood; and they were descended from the three most powerful peoples of Germany, viz. the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Of the Saxons, that is, that generation which is now called the Old Saxons, come the East Saxons, the South Saxons, that is, Sussex, and the West Saxons. Of the Angli, that is, of that country which is called Angulus, and which to this day remains uncultivated, between Saxony and Jutland, are the East Angli, the South [Angli], the Mercians, the Northumbrians, and other people of the Angli. Of the Jutish origin are the Kentish people, and the Jutes, who inhabit the Isle of Wight. Thus, as we have seen above, the Saxons were grievously annoyed by the Britons, though of their own blood; and they expelled the Britons from their native land.

Chap. XI.—Of the Monarchs.

This[2] illustrious prince Egbert committed his son Athulph, or Ethelwulph, to Helmstan, the venerable prelate of the city of Winchester, to be educated: by whose holy precepts the royal mind was so trained, that he resigned an earthly realm that he might obtain for himself an everlasting kingdom. By the same bishop he was advanced to the sub-diaconate; and afterwards, as

[1] See Geoffrey of Monmouth, ii. 7.
[2] Compare Rudborne, iii. 1, ap. Angl. Sacr. i. 199.

Athulph's fervour of religious zeal increased, he received the monastic tonsure in the cathedral church of the city of Winchester, and was placed under the tuition of St. Swithun, who at that time held the office of provost in the Old Monastery; as Bonagracia de Villa Dei[1] writes, in General Epistle to the Black Friars in England, which commences thus: "O how beautiful, how brilliant," &c. With him agrees Vigilancius, in his book De Basilicâ Petri, chap. xv. And thus the glorious prince Egbert, after the irruptions of the Danes, having happily ruled his kingdom to the best of his power, worn out with years, rested in the Lord in a good old age, and was buried in the pontifical church, leaving the kingdom destitute of an heir, except his son Athulph, discharging, with humility and devotedness, the vow which he had vowed unto the Lord, as a faithful monk in the church of Winchester.

Chap. XII.

While the realm of weeping England was tossed to and fro by the stormy tempests of Danish persecution, being thus deprived of its ruler through the demise of that illustrious prince Egbert, the nobles of the kingdom, and all the bishops, tasked their invention to the utmost to discover whom they should choose for their guardian and protector. While their minds were thus wavering this way and that way, He who searcheth the reins and the heart, and succoureth his righteous servants that pray unto Him in their necessities, puts it into their thoughts to appoint as their king, with the apostolic dispensation, Adulph himself, the monk, and subdeacon of the whole province of Anglia, as well as of the nation itself. Not a moment was lost. An embassy is despatched to the most blessed pope Leo, to request that the king's son, who was also a monk, might, with the countenance of the pontiff, be crowned king. But the supreme pontiff, prudently revolving in his inmost thoughts how great and rueful a peril England would incur, if the royal lineage were to be interrupted by means of the religious habit, and how disgraceful a dissension would arise in the same realm from the admixture of foreign and polluted blood; and, on the other hand, how much unity and peaceful concord would be maintained in the said province, if the royal disposition were to be ingrafted in him who swayed the sceptre of the kingdom; the apostolic personage boldly put forth his hand, and by giving a dispensation from the degree of the sub-diaconate, and from the religious vow, the benignant prelate commands them to take Adulph for their king.

Being thus raised to the throne, he employed Alstan, bishop of Sherborne, as his chief adviser in secular matters; but in matters ecclesiastical, the most holy father Swythun, to whom he gave the bishopric of the church of Winchester, by whose counsel and advice he assigned to the Anglican church[2] a tenth part of all the land in

[1] The same authority for the same fact is cited by Rudborne, ap. Angl. Sacr. i. 202.

[2] This charter may be seen in Rudborne, ap. Angl. Sacr. i. 200.

his possession, to have and to hold for ever. The same Swythun shines gloriously with miracles even to the present day; for Lantfred[1] relates, in his first book of the miracles of the glorious prelate Swithin, and in the ninth section: "While the Lord and anointed Saviour of the world was gracing his saint with wonders and miraculous powers, the venerable bishop Athelwold, who presided over the diocese of Winchester at that time, gave orders to the brethren that dwelt there, that, if ever any sick person should be sensible of a desired cure of a bodily disorder, wrought by the power of the Lord and the merits of the holy bishop, all the brethren of that place should straightway lay aside whatever necessary occupations they happened to be engaged in, and go to the church, and give due praises to God. Now it happened that some persons, enticed by the deceit of the devil, were greatly annoyed at being frequently roused from their nightly rest, sometimes thrice, sometimes four times, in one night; and they wickedly persuaded the rest to decline obedience to the orders of their bishop. And when this had been carelessly neglected for the space of about fifteen days, the holy servant of God, taking to heart that the brethren had despised the good work of the bishop, and refused to obey their bishop's commands, or to offer due thanksgivings to God, but had fallen into the dangerous snares of Satan, he appeared in a dream one night to a certain venerable matron, clothed in a white garment, and in a robe that reached to his feet, bearing a crown of gold upon his head, richly adorned with precious stones, and ornamented with Indian pearls, and shod with beautiful sandals; and he said to her, in the sweetest accents, 'Beloved of God, when you see the bishop of Winchester presently, tell him to command the monks that reside in this place not to delay in praising Almighty God as often as any sick person obtains a cure at the tomb of bishop Swythun: for it is highly displeasing to Almighty God, the Author of miracles, that He daily works innumerable miracles before your eyes, while they act so unrighteously as to withhold praise from God; but, shocking to tell, they prefer grovelling pursuits to divine employments. Let them take care, I beseech you, to adore the Almighty Creator, and the Author of all miracles, lest they feel the wrath of the Judge of the quick and dead. I need not say much more. If any one, being filled with envy, shall hereafter neglect the duty of thanksgiving, unless he atone for his idleness and pride by due penance, he shall not escape the recompense of his evil deeds. Therefore doth God in these last times exhibit so many and so amazing miracles to the world, to soften the stony hearts of men, and to move their wicked hearts to repentance, and to make them hasten to celestial joys by good works; seeing that miracles are to be shown to unbelieving people, but are not needed by the faithful. Can those persons be said to obey God the Creator who make light of his blessings? Do not they provoke God to wrath, who, by their

[1] Concerning Lantfrid and his book upon the life and miracles of St. Swithin, see Tanner, Bibl. p. 463; Wright, Biogr., Anglo-Saxon period, p. 469. The passage here cited occurs in the Bollandist Acta Sanctorum, mens. Julii, tom. i. p. 332, by a comparison with which the text has been corrected in a few particulars.

silence, deny his majesty and glory? Reflect upon this, too, that if the brethren refrain from praise, the miraculous works of the Most High God will cease; but if they fail not to magnify the King of heaven, the Lord of all will perform in this place so many and such wondrous miracles as never were known to have been wrought anywhere on earth, since that time when the Godhead, which powerfully joined together in the one Person of Christ the twofold nature, God and man, the servant and the Master, the creature and the Creator, carried our human nature to heaven.'

"The holy minister of God, as soon as he had delivered those glorious commands to her, in vision, in a dream, removing thence his angelic face, ascended, in dazzling light, to heaven. And the matron, after the saint's departure, awaking from deep sleep, lamented much that she was deprived of the ineffable glory which she had witnessed. Nevertheless, she rose from her pillow with a speed that exceeded her strength; and, calling the venerable bishop, made known to him all that had been told her in her dream by the messenger of Christ. Then he, angered for a brief space, as became a wise man, at the disobedience of the brethren to his commands, again issued orders to the aforesaid monks, from the king's palace, where, at that time, for the common weal, he was acting as a soldier of that God that wields the thunderbolt,—that if there was any one there present who had not rendered thanksgivings to God, and had not hastened to the church the moment that any sick person received a cure by the miraculous agency of the Holy Trinity, he should do penance for seven days, neither eating nor drinking anything except bread and water. And from that time an instance never occurred, as often as any miracle was wrought by the corpse of that sainted person, whether it were in the daytime or at midnight, on the ringing of a bell for a short time, that the brethren did not go to the monastery to offer praises to God Almighty, to whom be the honour, the power, and the kingdom, the glory, the majesty, peace, joy, for endless ages."

The same king Athulph, whose memory is blessed, had by his wife Osburga, the daughter of his cup-bearer, four illustrious sons, who were successively to reign after him: their names are Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, whom Athulph (because he was more beloved by his father than the rest) sent to pope Leo V,[1] whom the pope, at his father's request, had received with great honour, and caused him to be anointed king of the Angles; which most religious king Athulph, not long afterwards, namely, in the year after his anointed son Alfred had returned to England from Rome, again took back to Rome the royal offspring, beloved above the others, and there both of them remained for a whole year; and there the same king Athulph repaired, at a great expense, the Saxon School, which Ina, king of the West Saxons, had endowed, by giving to Rome St. Peter's penny, in order that the Angles, while attending the school which he had founded there, might there reside. There also, when he saw some exiles there doing public penance in chains, he obtained from the pope that the Angles thenceforward, when out of

[1] Read, Leo IV.

their own land, should never do penance in chains. And for this he granted a penny to St. Peter, annually, from every dwelling in his kingdom; besides, thenceforward, three hundred marks yearly as Rome-scot; that is to say, one hundred for lighting St. Peter's, one hundred for lighting St. Paul's, and one hundred for our lord the pope.

On his way home he married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, in the twentieth year of his reign, and brought her with him to England. And because he placed her, contrary to the custom of the kingdom of the West Saxons, upon the throne next to himself, his eldest son, Ethelbald, along with several of the nobles, rose against him; insomuch that the tumult was with difficulty appeased, by the surrender of a large portion of his kingdom to his eldest son: for it had been decreed that the queen of the West Saxons should not be thus honoured, out of spite to Ethelburga, the daughter of king Offa, the aunt[1] of Egbert, the father of king Athulph himself, who had poisoned her husband, Brictric, king of the West Saxons. He also sent his most christian son (endowed beyond all the rest with a certain preeminence of affection in his father's bosom), who was then sick of an incurable disease, to be healed by St. Modewenna,[2] at that time journeying in Ireland. Whence, at a subsequent period, when Modewenna's church, in Ireland, was laid waste, the same religious king Athulph gave to Modewenna, on her arrival in England, land for the building of two convents for nuns, a manor at Poliswirtha, which flourishes to this day. And here Ossitha and Athea, virgins, along with St. Edith, sister of king Athulph, took up their residence. But Modewenna herself stayed for a short time at another convent at Streneshale [Whitby]; and thence she went thrice to Rome. She fell asleep at last in the Lord, in the island of Andrescia, near Burton, after a seven years' seclusion, as is related by Ralph of Chester in his Polichronicon, (lib. v. cap. 39.)[3]

Thus the glorious, religious, and most christian king of England, Athulph, the unwearied worshipper of the Divine Name, the friend of the monks, and the careful repairer of the monasteries that had been destroyed by the Danes in his province, after he had reigned gloriously for twenty-two years, in the third year after his return from Rome, yielded up his spirit to God who created him, and was buried with due honour in the cathedral church of Winchester, where he had formerly been a monk.

After him reigned his eldest son, Ethelbald, with whom his brother Ethelbert shared the kingdom thus:—Ethelbald reigned in Wessex, and Ethelbert in Kent. Ethelbald was an ignorant and treacherous man; and a defiler of his father's bed; for he took to wife Judith, his stepmother; but five years afterwards, on his death, Ethelbert, his brother, reigned over the whole of Wessex and Kent

[1] The MS. here reads "amice," perhaps intended for "amitæ;" but if so, the word is not to be understood in its strictly literal signification.

[2] Concerning St. Modevenna, virgin and abbess, see Capgrave, Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. 234, in which, however, nothing is said as to the incidents mentioned in the text.

[3] See Gale, i. 253, 254.

for five years more; and after his death, Ethelred, the third son, dearly beloved above all the rest of his brothers by the most illustrious prince Alfred, on account of the eminence of his virtues, which daily increased. Wherefore Alfred, too, highly skilled in arms, very often opposed himself as a wall at Winchester in defence of king Ethelred, that cultivator of a holy life; for a battle having taken place at Ashdown, which in Saxon means the Mount of the Ass, or the Mount of the Ash-tree, Alfred, compelled by necessity, engaged in battle before his brother, king Etheldred, then attending mass; whose prayers on that day prevailed much with God, seeing that he was a worthy person, and of blameless life; for though the Danes had got the advantage of a more elevated position upon the hill, yet the Christians, led on by Alfred, ascending from the lower part, slew Osryth the Danish king, with five of the enemy's generals, and many of the troops, while they pursued the remainder all day long, to Reading. Then Etheldred, king of the West Saxons, whose life was exceedingly acceptable to God, whom the glorious prince Alfred had constrained to ascend the throne before himself, died in the following year, after much suffering, on the 9th of the kalends of May [23d April, A.D. 871], and was buried at Wymburne, after he had reigned happily for five years, leaving his kingdom to his dearly beloved brother, the illustrious prince Alfred.

Chap. XIII.

King Alfred, in faith and Christian piety the most devoted, was the youngest of four sons. While his brothers filled the throne he was always next in command after Etheldred, whom he loved more than all the others, with fraternal affection; and now he succeeded to the whole monarchy of the West Saxons, and ruled them for about nine-and-twenty years, with great bravery, but under many difficulties. Of his beginning, progress, and close, it is to be observed, that Alfred was of comely presence, and was beloved more than the other brothers by both his parents; and that he remained in his father's court till the twelfth year of his age before he was taught his letters. [1]He was the son of Ethelwulf, who was the son of Egbert, who was the son of Edmund, who was the son of Offa, who was the son of Goppe,[2] who was the son of Ingild, who was the son of Kenred, who was the son of Celwald, who was the son of Emde,[3] who was the son of Cuthwin, who was the son of Ceaulin, who was the son of Cenric, who was the son of Creding,[4] who was the son of Cerdic, who was the son of Elesy, who was the son of Gywy,[5] who was the son of Wygy,[6] who was the son of Frewyn, who was the son of Fridegar, who was the son of Brondy, who was the son of Beldeg, who was the son of Woden. From Woden proceeded the kings of many nations, whence the Pagans have ascribed to him the fourth

[1] Compare with this passage the genealogy given in Asser, p. 443. Many of the names in the present pedigree are in a corrupt form.
[2] Eowwa.
[3] Cuda.
[4] Creoda.
[5] Gewis.
[6] Asser does not give the names of Wig, Freawine, and Freothegar; but they occur in the Saxon Chronicle and Florence.

day of the week, called by the barbarians Wodennsday; and to his wife Free, the sixth day, called Freeday. Woden[1] was the son of Fridewald, who was the son of Fridesag, who was the son of Fynny, who was the son of Godewyn, who was the son of Geey, who was the son of Fillid, who was the son of Teccy, who was the son of Beewy, who was the son of Ebranc, who built the city of York. And thus king Alfred, the most renowned among a thousand, came of the nation of the Britons, of the noble blood of the Trojans, who, after he had passed his twelfth year, learnt by heart, with docility, Saxon poems. In hunting he was eminent. In architecture none equalled him. He collected the Psalms and prayers into one volume, which he called a Manual, that is a Hand-book, and used always to carry about with him. In grammar he was but little skilled, for at that time there was not in all the kingdom a single person who could teach grammar: wherefore, by the advice of Neot the abbat, whom he had often visited, he established public schools of various arts.[2]

For Alfred, a most munificent distributor of alms, a most devoted attendant at mass, a most studious investigator of unknown arts, called to his court that most holy confessor Grimbald, a monk, skilled in literature and music, from France, along with John, a presbyter and monk, a man of most acute intellect, and universally learned, and along with Asser, a venerable man, profoundly versed in literature; he also invited John, a monk, from the remotest part of Wales, that is to say, from the monastery of St. David's; in order that they might instruct his nobles in learning.

For in the year of the incarnation of our Lord eight hundred and eighty-five, and in the eighth year of his reign, the renowned king Alfred having miraculously routed the Danes, or reduced them to subjection to himself, when he held the whole sovereignty over England in his own hands, being made sole monarch, he reflected that, by reason of the devastation of the holy church, the murder of Christ's priests, the banishment of the monks, the violation of the nuns, and the expulsion of such ministers from the churches, Christianity must soon become extinct, and none would be left to teach, or to partake of the sacred mysteries,—this most Christian king, I say, recollected a league of spiritual friendship which he had contracted with St. Grimbald, who was residing in the monastery of St. Bertin, from whom, when he was a boy, and was sent by his father to the most holy pope Leo, to be anointed king of the Angli, he had received the doctrine of everlasting salvation: for St. Grimbald, the gentle provost of the monastery of St. Bertin, in the same convent, (to which, for the sake of a lodging, the king's son, Alfred, ever devoted to God, had repaired, along with his attendants,) had kindly received the boy, with his companions, and performing towards them the office of love, earnestly entreated them to stay

[1] From this point the pedigree is very imperfect and corrupt, but it appears to be based upon that contained in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 855.

[2] The MS. here adds, "quam urbem cum multis articulis procuravit," implying (as it would seem) an omission. It may possibly have reference to the establishment by Alfred of some seats of learning.

till morning; and having promised them the rites of hospitality, most affectionately exhorted them respecting the salvation of their souls, and urged them to aim at the attainment of those joys which are above, without reference to the body, and resolutely to direct their steps towards the kingdom of God, not in word only, but with every effort of the heart. Wherefore, while the illustrious youth was sojourning for a few days in the monastery of St. Bertin, he daily hastened to the feet of so excellent an instructor, that, like Mary, he might hear the mysteries of heavenly doctrine; and not accidentally, but religiously it came into his heart, through the inspiration of God, that if he should be able to return safe and sound from Rome, and if he should ever have the ability to effect it, he would some time or other exalt that holy man, and retain him in his kingdom.

And so it came to pass, that, being touched with grief of heart on account of the dreadful calamities above related, this most benignant king Alfred earnestly mentioned to Etheldred,[1] archbishop of Canterbury, the name of the holy man Grimbald, and made known to the venerable prelate the merit of his sanctity, telling him that he could by his exhortations inflame many with heavenly affections, and fill them with draughts of celestial wisdom. The monarch and the prelate, therefore, having both made up their minds, with God's assistance, to send with speed across the sea, resolved that St. Grimbald should, by the works with which he was endowed, offer the medicine of salvation, if a reluctance to believe did not stand in the way, to the English nation. Finally, ambassadors of the most serene and most illustrious personage of the English nation are sent across the sea to the monastery of St. Bertin, to tell the abbat of the said monastery, that the most illustrious king Alfred, and the most holy archbishop Ethered, requested, with many solicitations and repeated prayers, that he would send to them that most blameless man, Grimbald; in order that, according to the custom of the rites of the church, he might found a monastery in the city of Winchester. And that they might the more readily obtain their most sacred desire, they despatched messengers to Fulco, archbishop of the church of Rheims and of all France; with whose most pious wishes archbishop Fulco complies, and sends, on behalf of St. Grimbald, to the most Christian king, Alfred, and to the archbishop of Canterbury, a letter couched in the following terms:—

Letter from Fulco, archbishop of Rheims and primate of the Franks, and *legatus natus* of the apostolic see, to Alfred, the most Christian king of the Angles.

"To Alfred, the most glorious and most Christian king of the Angles, Fulco, by the grace of God archbishop of Rheims, and servant of the servants of God, wisheth both the sceptre of temporal dominion, ever triumphant, and the eternal joys of the kingdom of heaven.

[1] Aethelred, or Aethered, bishop of Wilton, became archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 870, (see Saxon Chron. ad an.) and died in 889. (Id.)

"And first of all, we give thanks to our Lord God, the Father of lights, and the Author of all good, from whom is every good gift and every perfect gift, who by the grace of his Holy Spirit hath not only been pleased to cause the light of his knowledge to shine in your heart, but also even now hath vouchsafed to kindle the fire of his love, by which at once enlightened and warmed, you earnestly tender the weal of the kingdom committed to you from above, by warlike achievements, with divine assistance, attaining or securing peace for it; and desiring to extend the excellency of the ecclesiastical order, which is the army of God. Wherefore we implore the divine mercy with unwearied prayers, that He who hath moved and warmed your heart to this would give effect to your wishes, by replenishing your desire with good things, that in your days both peace may be multiplied to your kingdom and people, and that ecclesiastical order, which as you say hath been disturbed, in many ways, either by the continued irruptions and attacks of the Pagans, or by lapse of years, or by the negligence of prelates, or by the ignorance of subjects, may by your diligence and industry be speedily reestablished, exalted, and diffused.

"And since you wish this to be effected chiefly through our assistance, and since from our see, over which St. Remigius the apostle of the Franks presides, you ask for counsel and protection, we think that this is not done without divine impulse. And as formerly the nation of the Franks obtained by the same St. Remigius deliverance from manifold error, and the knowledge of the worship of the only true God, so doth the nation of the Angles request that it may obtain from his see and doctrine one by whom they may be taught to avoid superstition, to cut off superfluities, and to extirpate all such noxious things as bud forth from violated custom or rude habits, and may learn, while they walk through the field of the Lord, to pluck the flowers, and to be upon their guard against the adder.

"For St. Augustine, the first bishop of your nation, sent to us by your apostle St. Gregory, could not in a short time set forth all the decrees of the holy apostles, nor did he think proper suddenly to burden a rude and barbarous nation with new and strange enactments; for he knew how to adapt himself to their infirmities, and to say with the apostle, 'I have given milk to you to drink, who are babes in Christ, and not meat.' [1 Cor. iii. 2.] And as Peter and James, who were looked upon as pillars, [Gal. ii. 9,] with Barnabas and Paul, and the rest who were met together, did not wish to oppress the primitive church, which was flowing in from the Gentiles to the faith of Christ, with a heavier burden, than to command them to abstain from things offered to idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood; [Acts xv. 29;] so also do we know how matters were managed with you at the beginning. For they required only this for training up the people in knowledge of God, and turning them from their former barbarous fierceness, namely, that faithful and prudent servants should be placed over the Lord's household, who should be competent to give out to each of their fellow-servants his dole of food in due season,

that is, according to the capacity of each of the hearers. But in process of time, as the christian religion gained strength, the holy church felt it neither to be her inclination nor her duty to be satisfied with this; but, to take example from the apostles themselves, their masters and founders, who, after the doctrines of the gospel had been set forth and spread abroad by their heavenly master Himself, did not deem it superfluous and needless, but convenient and salutary, to establish the perfect believers by frequent epistolary exhortations, and to build them more firmly upon the solid foundation, and to impart to them more abundantly the rule as well of manners as of faith.

"Nevertheless, she too, whether excited by adverse circumstances, or nourished by prosperous ones, never ceased to aim at the good of her children, whom she is daily bringing forth to Christ, and, inflamed by the fire of the Holy Spirit, to promote their advancement, both privately and publicly. Hence the frequent calling of councils, not only from the neighbouring cities and provinces, but also, in these days, from regions beyond sea; hence synodal decrees so often published; hence sacred canons, framed and consecrated by the Holy Spirit, by which both the catholic faith is powerfully strengthened, and the unity of the church's peace is inviolably guarded, and its order is decently regulated: which canons, as it is unlawful for any Christian to transgress, so it is altogether wicked, in clerk and priest especially, to be ignorant of them; the wholesome observance and the religious handing down of which are things ever to be embraced. Seeing that for the reasons above stated, all these matters have either not been fully made known to your nation, or have now for the most part failed, it hath appeared fit and proper to your majesty and to your royal wisdom, by a most excellent counsel, (inspired, as we believe, from above,) both to consult us, insignificant as we are, on this matter, and to repair to the see of St. Remigius, by whose virtues and doctrine the same see or church hath always flourished and excelled all the churches of Gaul, since his time, in all piety and doctrine.

"And since you are unwilling to appear before us, when you present these your requests, without a gift and empty handed, your majesty hath deigned to honour us with a present that is both very necessary for the time, and well suited to the matter in hand. Concerning which we have both praised heavenly providence with admiration, and have returned no slender thanks to your royal munificence. For you have sent unto us a present of dogs, which, of good and excellent breed, are yet only in the body and mortal; and this you do that they may drive away the fury of visible wolves, with which, among other scourges, wielded against us by the righteous judgment of God, our country abounds; and you ask us, in return, that we would send to you certain watch-dogs, not corporeal, that is to say, not such as those with whom the prophet finds fault, saying, "Dumb dogs, not able to bark," [Isa. lvi. 10;] but such as the Psalmist speaks of, "That the tongue of thy dogs may be red through the same," [Ps. lxviii. 23,] who

know how and are qualified to make loud barkings for their Lord, and constantly to guard his flock with most wakeful and most careful watchings, and to drive away to a distance those most cruel wolves of unclean spirits who lie in wait to devour souls.

"Of which number you specially demand one from us, namely, Grimbald, priest and monk, to be sent for this office, and to preside over the government of the pastoral charge.

"To whom the whole church, which hath nourished him, gives her testimony from his childhood, with true faith and holy religion, and which hath advanced him by regular steps, according to ecclesiastical custom, to the dignity of the priesthood. We affirm openly that he is most deserving of the honour of the episcopate, and that he is fit to teach others also. But indeed we wished that this might rather take place in our kingdom, and we intended some time ago, with Christ's permission, to accomplish it in due time, namely, that he whom we had as a faithful son we might have as an associate in our office, and a most trustworthy assistant in everything that pertained to the advantage of the church. It is not without deep sorrow—forgive us for saying so,—that we suffer him to be torn from us, and be removed from our eyes by so vast an extent of land and sea.

"But as love has no perception of loss, nor faith of injury, and no remoteness of regions can part those whom the tie of unfeigned affection joins together, we have most willingly assented to your request, (for to you we have no power to refuse anything,) nor do we grudge him to you, whose advantage we rejoice in as much as if it were our own, and whose profit we count as ours: for we know that in every place one only God is served, and that the catholic and apostolic church is one, whether it be at Rome or in the parts beyond the sea.

"It is our duty, then, to make him over to you canonically; and it is your duty to receive him reverentially; that is to say, in such way and mode, as may best conduce to the glory of your kingdom, to the honour of the church, and our prelacy; and to send him to you along with his electors, and with certain nobles and great personages of your kingdom, as well bishops, presbyters, deacons, as religious laymen also, who with their own lips promise and declare to us in the presence of our whole church, that they will treat him with fitting respect during the whole course of his life, and that they will inviolably keep with the strictest care the canonical decrees, and the rules of the church, handed down to the church by the apostles and by apostolic men, such as they could then hear from us, and afterwards learn from him their pastor and teacher, according to the form delivered by us to him. Which when they shall have done, with the divine blessing, and the authority of St. Remigius, by our ministry, and the laying on of hands, according to the custom of the church, receiving him properly ordained, and in all things fully instructed, let them conduct him with due honour to his own seat, glad and cheerful themselves that they are always to enjoy his protection, and constantly to be instructed by his teaching and example.

"And as the members feel a concern for each other, and when even one rejoices, they rejoice with it, or if even one suffer, all the other members sympathise with it, we again earnestly and specially commend him to your royal highness and to your most provident goodness, that he may be always permitted, with unfettered authority, without any gainsaying, to teach and to carry into effect whatever he may discover to be fit and useful for the honour of the church and the instruction of your people, according to the authority of the canons and the custom of our church, lest, haply, (which God forbid!) any one, under the instigation of the devil, being moved by the impulse of spite and malevolence, should excite controversy or raise sedition against him.

"But should this happen it will be your duty then to make special provision against this, and by all means to discourage by your royal censure all such persons, if they should chance to show themselves, and check barbaric rudeness by the curb of your authority; and it will be his duty always to consult for the salvation of the people committed to his pastoral skill, and rather to draw all men after him by love, than to drive them by fear.

"May you, most illustrious, most religious, and most invincible king, ever rejoice and flourish in Christ the Lord of lords."[1]

And so in the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and eighty-five, by the command of Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, as well as at the request of his own abbot, Grimbald, that most holy confessor of the Lord, after the example of the blessed patriarch Abraham, departing from his country and his kindred, goes to England, where he became a great nation, and there he caused the seeds of fruitful doctrine to be multiplied by constant sowing, and to rejoice in the propagation of many spiritual children.

When the report of the much-longed-for arrival of so great a father reached the ears of the most serene prince Alfred and of the chief prelate of England and patriarch of Canterbury, archbishop Ethred, then both the king and the archbishop and nobles of the realm, in one body, hastened to meet the man of God; and they received him not as a man, but as an angel of God. And afterwards king Alfred is said to have held him so dear, so familiar, and so intimate, that he permitted him to do as he liked, without contradiction. Moreover, this same king Alfred, most devoted to God, in order that he might make known to all men the sanctity and wisdom of Grimbald, that man of God, convened at London, which is the metropolis of the whole island, a council of the bishops and abbots and noblemen of all England. And when thus assembled together, the bishops with the abbots, the abbesses with the nuns, the nobles with the lower orders, the old men with the

[1] This letter is by Wright (Anglo-Saxon Period, p. 417) pronounced to be "of very doubtful authenticity." He does not seem to be aware, however, that it is printed by Wise in his edition of Asser (p. 123) from an early MS. which at that time belonged to the Rev. T. Ford, vicar of Banwell. This text has been here employed in correcting the many obscurities and errors of the copy inserted in the Liber de Hida.

young, they sang anthems to Christ, and held sweet converse together respecting the sanctity and wisdom of the holy father Grimbald. And then, when all had taken their seats around him, holy Grimbald, having been most earnestly entreated by the king and the archbishop, yielded to the force of affection, and delivered a discourse bearing upon future advantages. For the illustrious father Grimbald, who was also an orator of distinguished reputation, at last, with settled gravity and dignity of deportment, thus spake:—

The speech of St. Grimbald, abbot.

"For this end, fathers, and all you, my lords, were we created by our Lord God, that we might rule over all the rest of the creatures in this world. But by the sin of our first parent we have all been lost, and have fallen into the heritage of death: for we have become poor mortals, full of fears and errors, which are the due reward of sin, with which desert, and with which guilt, every man cometh into the world. Now the Almighty Creator hath made all things, invisible and visible:—invisible, as are thrones, dominions, archangels and angels, who, if we live well, shall be our fellow-citizens. He made also things visible, as the sun, and moon, and stars. He also replenished the earth with terrestrial animals. He made us men too, in mind after his image and similitude. And so we ourselves are not able to comprehend ourselves. But alas for you, O ye people who resemble God in understanding, but hanker after the meanest follies, and while wickedness prevails and flourishes, not only fail of reward by refusing to do good, but also by following and doing what is wicked and impious, and by turning aside from the good that ye had promised in baptism, ye heed not the insult ye offer to your Creator, in consequence of which you become reprobates. For while good and evil are opposed to each other, we can prove to you that good works save and bad works destroy; and if good be plain and stable, the fragility and weakness of evil will be apparent, for if ye cease to discern the excellence of your nature, ye will be beneath the beasts, for there are two things in every one of us, will and power, in which all our activity consists.

"And since human nature hath this, next after God,—to strive to attain to what is good, and to excel all earthly things, therefore wicked, and deceitful, and covetous men, cleaving to wickedness, put off the human nature, and put on that of brutes. And since there are eight principal and original sources of pollution, therefore are such called nothing, because they tend to nothing, that is, to evil; and these are contrary to the eight principal virtues, which admonish us to hasten to seek for eternal glory, and not to dread the sulphurous flames of hell: for if the pains that in this life arise and come to an end are so intense and severe, that we can scarcely endure them, how grievous, think you, must those be which so begin, that they daily gain strength, and so take their commencement, that they never have an end! Wherefore, in the first place, we must dread, and be upon our guard against, pride, for from it cometh the beginning of all sin; as it is written, 'The beginning

of all sin is pride.' And since the devil is proud, but Christ is humble and meek, put down pride, by which the devil fell, lest, by secret temptation, and by lifting you up on account of your good works, he have it in his power openly to deceive you. For the enemy of our souls, when he cannot trample upon our minds by evils, cunningly strives to make us stumble by a show of good deeds, and persuades us willingly to seek for praise in this world on account of them.

"Let us follow, then, my brethren, the steps of Christ, who in the gospel commands us to learn of Him to be humble. For pride and arrogance seek a fall, but humility an ascent to heaven. Nor do I less earnestly exhort you, my dearly beloved, to shun the indulgence of the appetite for food, in consequence of which our first parent was expelled from Paradise. For everybody well knows that through this sin man was banished from the sight of God. Very carefully, then, should ye avoid also an immoderate appetite for drink; because when the stomach is excessively distended, revelling and foul scurrility show themselves in frolic and laughter: and neither chastity nor continence is observed. By this, too, drunkenness prevails, which is destructive of the soul, and prejudicial to the body. Let each take just so much as is necessary for the sustenance of the body, for if you be not held in restraint by abstinence, you will speedily fall into vice. All unlawful carnal intercourse with women or any other creatures to satisfy the fire of lust, provokes the wrath of God, and inflicts on the human race a deadly wound: this you ought to guard against, lest by an evil so detestable your blessedness should be cut off, because the delight of the present life will torment the fornicator for ever. Avoid too the poor and straitening riches of the world, which satisfy not those who possess them; and the insatiable desire of acquiring and possessing wealth; and strife and hatred among brethren and kinsfolk. Never steal anything; nor presume to commit an open robbery; nor let your hands commit murder, for the purpose of obtaining perishable property: nor let that be done which slays the soul, I mean a lie; nor that which is still worse among you—perjury. And shun unrighteous judgment. And let not the deadly venom of avarice, the root of all evils, get possession of your hearts.

"For what fruit, my brethren, can he bring forth, whose breast is infected with the fire of luxury, from whose mouth quarrelsome and abusive clamour sounds continually, and in whose heart is furious and disgraceful rage, and the unchecked desire of taking what does not belong to him; and in whose hands there are plain indications of shedding of human blood, which will miserably condemn the murderer? Let no vain imaginations dwell in you, nor slothful drowsiness, which makes men idle and sluggish; nor idleness, that revolts against the pursuit of good things. And change not your habitations, as brute beasts do, running hither and thither, like vagabonds. And let deadly murmuring be far from you, which will penally torment the complainer. Flee, too, those passions that gnaw the heart, and base pusillanimity, and the want of benignant

charity, and despair, which thrust down to hell for evil deeds committed; and the thirst for vain applause for worthy actions done. It is wrong to covet worldly honours, or that pretended appearance of goodness, which causes men to be called hypocrites, concerning which Solomon saith, 'that hypocrites provoke the wrath of God.' For the calamities of such wicked persons are greatly to be dreaded, lest they suddenly plunge the unwary ones into outer darkness. And the reason is most obvious; that there is no satisfaction in riches, nor in kingdoms stable power, nor reverence in rank, nor desirable fame in earthly happiness, nor permanent goodness in temporal possessions; for worldly goods do not make a man just or perfect."

When the people heard these words of the holy teacher Grimbald, whom they had previously called a reprobate and ungodly man, they cheerfully hastened to do penance, and, turning from the evil way, lest they should feel eternal torments for their sins, they made all haste towards the path of heavenly life. For they sorrowed because they had been driven forth from the face of God, and in confessing their sins, in correcting what they had done amiss, in calling to mind the torments of hell, and in temperance in eating and drinking, and in abstaining from dainties of various sorts, they showed that they were resolved to trample underfoot all corporeal vanities, and with the soul to embrace the joys of Paradise. For they held fast the observance of integrity and continence that had been enjoined them by their worthy master, and they renounced execrable lust. This people practised the distribution of alms, which is the glory of the pitiful; and patience, in which consists the possession of the soul; and prayer, in which we say, "Forgive us our debts," that their souls might be delivered from condemnation, dedicating themselves to Christ the Lord; attention to sacred institutions; and desire of everlasting bliss, and serious repentance for sins committed, and hope of future blessedness, and sweet converse with the friends and servants of God. Finally, the holy man taught them to call to mind the goodness of God, and to render unwearied thanks to their Creator for his benefits, and to look for the foretaste of eternal glory, and to stand in awe of the day of judgment, and to tremble at the torments of hell, so that when the strict Judge should look upon them, to punish their sins, He should withhold from them his sentence of condemnation. When these and similar exhortations were uttered by St. Grimbald, the English people shouted in the council, and at the same time blessed the glorious name of the Lord, who had sent them so renowned a teacher into the province.

When the man of God had finished his discourse, the most Christian king Alfred thus addressed the bishops and rulers of the church, the nobles, and all that were assembled in the council, in the following terms:—"I wonder, O ye bishops, and abbots, and you the rest of the lower order of the people, that when with God's gift and by my permission ye have assumed the stations fitted for wise men, you neglect the study of wisdom and learning.

Wherefore I call upon you either to resign those duties which ye understand not, or to devote yourselves to the study of wisdom, if ye wish to retain your rank." Alarmed at the king's words, they all bestir themselves in every quarter to study literature; so that not only clerks, but, wonderful to say, earls and inferior officers, who had been ignorant of letters from their childhood, devoted themselves with eagerness to their studies, choosing rather to apply to learning with diligence, than to forfeit the influence of rank. But if any one was too far advanced in years to do this, he made his son, or kinsman, or faithful friend, read to him the Scriptures, and he bitterly lamented that in his earlier years he had neglected such studies.

And so in the year of the incarnation of our Lord eight hundred and eighty-six, in the second year after the arrival of St. Grimbald into England, the University of Oxford was first commenced, where the first regents and readers in theology were St. Neoth, the abbot, and an illustrious doctor in divinity, and St. Grimbald, a most excellent expositor of the exceeding sweetness of the sacred page. In grammar and rhetoric, the lecturer was Asser, a presbyter and monk, and a man of eminent learning in literature. In logic, music, and arithmetic, the lecturer was John, a monk of the church of St. David's. In geometry and astronomy, the lectures were delivered by John, a monk and a colleague of St. Grimbald, a man of the most acute genius, and of universal learning. These lectures all took place in the presence of the most renowned and victorious prince Alfred, whose memory will dwell like honey upon the lips of all, both of the clergy and laity of his whole kingdom. Here the same most wise king Alfred issued the following decree:—"That his nobles should devote their sons to the study of literature; or if they had no sons, at least their servants, if they showed indications of genius; and in that case, they are to have their freedom."

This University of Oxford was formerly outside the northern gate of the same city; and the church of St. Giles, outside the same gate, was the principal church of the whole clergy; but it is now within the walls of the city of Oxford, and the principal church of the clergy is the church of St. Mary, within the same city; which change took place in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of king Edward III., after the conquest, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fifty-four. The cause of this change was as follows:—A crowd of laymen collected together from the adjacent country, and made a violent attack upon the students, wounding some, and cruelly murdering others. At last, like banditti, they plundered the students of their goods, and drove them out of the city. For this reason Oxford was for a long time after laid under an ecclesiastical interdict. But at length, through the interposition of the nobles of the realm and their friends, peace was restored between the parties upon these terms:—That the citizens of Oxford, who had occasioned the disturbance, should bind themselves firmly and perpetually never thereafter to molest the students of Oxford, or to do them any harm or injury; and that the government of the whole city should be in the hands of the

chancellor of the University for the time being; and that no other, at least no layman, should ever hold it.

After this, the most christian king Alfred issued an ordinance to be observed throughout his whole kingdom, which was called West Saxonalaga; and he divided his dominions into counties, and the counties he divided into hundreds; which law St. Edward, the son of Etheldred and Emma, ratified, as being deservedly entitled to the preeminence above all others; adding some others, not so much differing from this, as explanatory of its meaning; which to the present day are called the Laws of St. Edward. Some of the phrases in these laws, which are still in use, I have thought it right to insert here, along with explanations of them.[1]

Alfred was also one of the most skilful of all the Saxon poets; wherefore he ordered Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, to translate into the Saxon language the books of St. Gregory's Dialogues, and Boethius De Consolatione. The conduct of his ministers, and especially of the judges, he carefully examined; and if he detected any of them doing amiss, either from covetousness or incompetence, he dismissed them from office. The whole revenue of his kingdom he divided into three portions; the first of which he likewise subdivided into three portions; and the first of these he distributed among the royal servants, who had been divided into three corps. For two parts of the royal servants resided at home for two months, to look after their domestic affairs: in the third month each division ministered in the royal presence. The second subdivision of the first part, he assigned to various workmen, whom he had collected from all quarters. The third subdivision he bestowed upon the strangers who flocked to him. The second principal part of his revenue he also subdivided into four portions; the first of which was assigned to the poor, the second was devoted to the founding of monasteries, the third to the students at Oxford, the fourth was applied to the repairs of churches. That he might make a due apportionment of his time, he divided the twenty-four hours, which make up the natural day, into three parts; of which he devoted eight to reading, writing, and praying; eight to the needs of the body; and eight he spent in transacting affairs of state. To mark out these divisions he placed a candle in his chapel with twenty-four spaces, by the consumption of which, regularly told off by his sacrists, he was apprised of each of the aforesaid engagements.

This glorious prince Alfred, a month after he came to the throne, had a battle with the Danes at Wilton, in which both parties were in great peril. And so in the first year of his reign he fought with Danes nine times in the open field. But in the third year of his reign Alfred made peace with the Danes, who in one night killed all

[1] Here follows a list of early English law-terms, with their explanations in Latin and French. It is substantially the same with that contained in Rudborne, ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacra, i. 260, but is very incorrectly transcribed. For these reasons, and because it does not in any way illustrate the History of the English Church, it is here omitted.

Alfred's horse-soldiers. Thence the illustrious king, being incensed, chased them to Exeter; where, after they had given hostages a second time, they remained for a year.

Alfred, the noble defender of England, in the sixth year of his reign,—when the Danes were sailing from Warham towards Exeter,—lost a hundred and twenty vessels in a storm at sea. Part of the Danes occupied the royal town of Chippenham, with the adjacent territory, many of the English having been there either taken prisoners, or put to flight. At this time the fore-mentioned prince, with a few attendants, passed an uncertain and restless life in the woods of Somersetshire, for he had nothing to live upon, except what he caught by fowling, fishing, or hunting. At length, while his attendants were occupied in fishing, and he was solacing the distress of his vagrancy by meditating on the Scriptures, there stood by his side a pilgrim, begging alms in the name of God. The charitable monarch, lifting up his hands to heaven, said to him, "I thank God, who hath to-day visited his beggar in a beggar's garb; who this day demands back what He had given, and requires me to restore his own with usury." The compassionate king quickly calls his servant, who had nothing but a little wine and a single loaf; and king Alfred, as he was a man of most holy life, bids him give half to the beggar. The beggar thanks him; and leaving no print of his footsteps in the quagmire, suddenly disappears. And, behold! the things that had been given away were found untouched, as well the bread as the wine, which the king ordered to be given to the beggar: and they who had gone a-fishing, brought back a vast number of fishes. And so when the king had fallen asleep, there appeared to him one dressed in pontifical robes, who admonished him concerning the duties of loving God, of observing justice, of having pity on the poor, and of showing respect to priests, and added, "O Alfred, Christ, who hath witnessed thy uprightness of heart, putteth an end to thy calamities: for to-morrow there shall come to thee powerful auxiliaries, with whose assistance thou shalt vanquish thine enemies." Then said the king, "Who art thou?" Said he, "I am St. Cuthbert, that pilgrim who was here yesterday, to whom thou gavest bread; I take care of thee and of thine. Call this to mind, when it shall be well with thee." And how he remembered this pilgrim, the liberty and property of the church of Durham testify to this day. And so the most christian king, encouraged by the admonitions of St. Cuthbert, issuing from his hiding-place, makes an experiment of singular ingenuity, for in the garb of a minstrel he enters the tents of the Danish king: and after having explored all that he wanted to see, he returns to Ethelingey, and describes to his companions how the enemy are lying at their ease. Whereupon he suddenly sets upon his foes, and overthrows them with incredible slaughter. For on the following day the people of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire came to him, with whose assistance he built a citadel at Ethelingey, (which means, The Island of Nobles,) from which he gave the enemy repeated overthrows, particularly near Selwood, (which means, The Great Wood); so that, having received the

choicest hostages, king Alfred accepted at the font Guttrum, king of the Danes, with twenty of the choicest men; and he gave him the name of Athelstan. Wherefore to king Guttrum (whom we call Gurmund, but some Gordin,) were given the provinces of the East Angles and Northumbrians, to inhabit. But true is the saying, that the Ethiopian cannot easily change his skin; Guntrus for twelve years trampled upon those lands with a tyrant's pride, and in the twelfth year he died. The rest of the Danes, who disliked Christianity, passed over into Gaul.

This Guntrus was preceded by a Dane, whose name was Eohric, who, after reigning for fourteen years, was put to death by his compatriots, because he treated them ill. And here we must observe that all the kingdoms in England which had been joined into one by that most noble prince and king of the West Saxons, Egbert, the grandfather of this illustrious prince Alfred, namely, the kingdom of the Mercians, the kingdom of the men of Kent, the kingdom of the Northumbrians, the kingdom of the East Angles, the kingdom of the East Saxons, (but the kingdom of the South Saxons was at first under the dominion of the kings of the West Saxons,) stood firm, and were subject to the kings of the West Saxons, from the time of Egbert till the fourth year of Etheldred, the third son of Athulph; in which year the kings of the Mercians, the Northumbrians, the East Angles, and the East Saxons, refusing to bear the yoke of the kings of the West Saxons, chose to support the enemy and to give hostages to them, rather than to aid their countrymen, who were struggling for their native land. Whence it came to pass that the enemy grew and prevailed, while the natives succumbed and wept. But the forementioned king Alfred, like a second Mattathias, Judas Maccabæus, and Jonathan, in defence of the faith and the law of God, and of his brethren, fought in one year nine battles against the Danes, at that time Pagans; and, at last, the victory, through divine providence, remaining with him, he bravely reduced to subjection the foresaid kingdoms; namely, the kingdom of the Northumbrians, the kingdom of the East Angles, the kingdom of the East Saxons, which had revolted in the time of his brother Etheldred, and out of their kings and kingdoms he constituted earls and counties. And thus was the victorious king Alfred the first monarch of England who would not permit any king to reign in the realm of England but himself alone. But Egbert, king of the West Saxons, the grandsire of this glorious king Alfred, is called the first monarch, because (as was said above,) he was the first that reduced the other kingdoms under his dominion, and permitted the kings of those kingdoms to reign under him, and compelled them to pay him tribute; but he did not compel them to resign their crowns, as did the most christian king and first of English princes, the invincible king Alfred. But the provinces of the Northumbrians, of the East Angles, and of the East Saxons, which (with the exception of the city of London,) the renowned prince Alfred gave to Gurmund, king of the Danes, (after the most sacred prince Alfred had received him from the holy font,) to inhabit, not to reign over, rebelling against his godfather [Alfred], withdrew himself from the submis-

sion which he owed to Alfred, and both he and the provinces over which he had ruled so like a tyrant, threw off their allegiance. And thus king Alfred, like his father Ethelred, lost the undivided sway of the whole of England in consequence of the kindness of his intentions; nor did he ever recover it during his whole lifetime.

In the same year, on the death of Tunbert, bishop of Winchester,[1] king Alfred appointed Dunewulph,[2] whom, during the time when he was in hiding, he had met in the woods, being then a herdsman and a layman; but when he discovered his natural talents, Alfred sent him, though advanced in life, to be instructed in learning. But he never allowed any unlettered person to assume any ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever. And in the same year—the sixth of his reign—the same most benignant of sovereigns, Alfred, repaired the town of Septonia, which is Shaftesbury; as is attested by a large stone, bearing an inscription, in the chapter house of the nuns there. In that year, pope Martin, at the request of king Alfred, exempted the school of the Saxons from every kind of tribute. He also sent to Alfred a large piece of the cross.

In the seventh year of his reign the Danes, returning from France, laid siege to the city of Rochester, and built a fort over against the city gates. But the citizens defended the city until Alfred came up; and, having taken their horses from the Danes, he compelled them to raise the siege. The Danes then made again for France; but the king despatched his fleet, furnished with armed men, from Kent to East Anglia, and captured sixteen of the Danish vessels. But in returning, the king's ship was overpowered. In the same year also, king Alfred repaired London, and committed it to the safe keeping of Etheldred earl of the Mercians. And then the Angles, being dispersed, surrendered to king Alfred. About this time the illustrious sovereign sent his alms to Rome and to India; and he built two monasteries, one for men at Ethelingsye, which in English is Adooney: another for women at Shaftesbury; over which he appointed his daughter Elfgiva. In the same year there came against king Alfred four armies of the Danes, and four battles took place in the open field; one battle in Northumberland, another in East Anglia, a third at Exeter, the fourth at Chester. But at Legecestria or Chester, the Danes were so closely besieged that they were forced, by famine, to eat horse-flesh. In which year, on a certain day, while the Danes were pressing hard upon him, and he was standing in a certain church hearing mass, he refused to leave the church till mass was over, though he was urged to do so by some whom the Danes were treating with great cruelty. As soon as mass was finished he issued forth with a few of his followers, and, closing with the Danes, slew their king, named Oseg,[3] with Lawset, and his son, with the sword; and many others of the leading men among the Danes fell there: the victory remaining with king Alfred.

[1] The name of this individual does not occur in several of the early lists of the bishops of that see. [2] Read, Denewulf.

[3] These names are suspicious, and (assuming the transcript to be correct) are known to us only from this authority. See, however, p. 452.

Many battles, which it would take too long to recount, did he fight with the Danes, who allowed him no breathing time; insomuch that if he gained a decisive victory over them to-day, they would, nevertheless, attack him with more impetuosity to-morrow; and if at any time he thought them cut off beyond all hope of recovery, he suddenly found them overrunning the whole island like locusts. At length, having miraculously routed them, and reduced them to subjection, he obtained the sole sovereignty of England, having become monarch in the way I have already related.

This Alfred, the most christian of sovereigns, and the most vigilant in the service of God, promulgated most excellent laws, by which he established such security in the kingdom, that if one were to hang up golden bracelets in a place where the road branched off into four ways, nobody durst lay his finger upon them, for fear of the laws. The aforesaid Alfred also always used to carry in his bosom a psalter; that if at any time he chanced to have leisure he might take it out, and read it with exceeding attention. For as soon as he was grown up, he wished to establish his heart in God's commandments; but as, owing to the rebelliousness of the flesh, which at that time occasioned him much disquiet, he was not able to effect his purpose, he used to contemplate the examples of the saints, morning and evening, and at the cock-crowing, that he might drive away temptation; beseeching God to chasten his flesh with some an infirmity, provided that he was not entirely useless for the government of his kingdom. Accordingly, by divine providence, he for several years suffered from the disease of the "ficus"; insomuch that, despairing of a cure, he went to Cornubia, and repaired to the church of St. Guerour,[1] where St. Neot reposes, either for the purpose of alleviating his disorder, or at least of effecting a change. But some report (as we have said above, in the twelfth chapter[2]), that he was cured of his sickness by St. Modewenna, the Irish nun. But as soon as he had obtained an answer to his prayer, a much more serious illness seized him, even on his wedding-day, and continued from his twentieth till his sixty-fifth year.

And thus Alfred, the most christian king of England, after he had prudently governed and most righteously ruled for nearly nine-and-twenty years the kingdom which God had committed to his care,—in the nine-and-twentieth year, and, alas! the last of his reign, this most benignant of sovereigns first avowed his intention, and first expressed his determination, to that holy person Grimbald, of building a monastery in the city of Winchester. But, prevented by death, the most pious king was unable to fulfil his long-wished vow. His death was lamented by the most holy father Grimbald with grief unparalleled. But the aforesaid noble and renowned prince Alfred, just before his decease, purchased land for a chapel and dormitory, and bequeathed it by will to his son Edward, to finish and endow without delay the monastery that his father had designed, through a long course of years. Here follows the Will of glorious Alfred,

[1] See the present volume, p. 461, note [2].

[2] See p. 496.

beloved of God; first in the Saxon tongue, next in English, and thirdly in Latin:[1]—

Explanatio Testamenti Alfredi regis de lingua Saxonica in Anglicam.

"I Alfred, West Saxene kynge, thoru Godds gyft, and by the ordinance of Ethered archebyschop, and of all West Saxene nobylite witnesse, be [2] they shall of the intent for my sowle, parte of the herytage that God and my princys have i-give me, and of the erytage that Athulf kynge my fadyr us thre brethern beqwethyd, Athelbold, and Ethered, and me, that ho of us the whiche lengist lyved shuld have all the kyngdome. And yf it happe that Ethelbold fyrste be dede, than Ethelred withe all the nobylyte of West Saxen to be witnesse of owre partie the tyme of Ethelbyrt kyngs coronation, withe all owre power aftar the sewrtie that he made to us that he so wold hit be as hit was when he hit knew tofore the tyme of his coronacyon, when he his sewerte made of the herytage the whiche he withe owre helpe and men gottyd, and that wherto is bore.

"And it so happyd that Ethelred fenge to the kyngdom, tho bad I hym before all owre witnesses that he knowe the heritage to departe, and he to gyve me my part. Tho seyd he to me that he nawght scholde, ne myght, hyt depart, for so myche that he hit so longe hole hathe yholde; but he sayd thus, that the landys that he thorow help of owr pepyll hat gete, and the lyfeelode that he was bore to, to no man attyr his day to have and for to rejoyse his herytage take wolde but onlyche to me. And tho was I well pleasyd. And if hit happyd that we all were had and take to hethen folke, than knowe we to ordeyne for owre children that everyche of them myght aftar othar take owr londs and to rejoyse, as they wer take to us. We therfore gaderyd at Swymborn,[3] where we seyden in knowleche of all West Saxene lords that they bere wytnes that whyther of us lenger lyfe that he beqwethe others childryn tho londs that we owre selfe, and tho londs that kynge Adulf us gave by Ethelboldys lyfeday, withe out that the whiche to us thre brethern he bequethed. And so of us eyther [gave] othar his sewarte that whether of us lengar lyved, that he fong to othars lond and lordschipe, and to all his good, withoute that parte that eyther of us othars child beqwethyd. And hit so happe that Ethered kynge dye before me, than withe oute me is no man none eyre by writynge, ne by no wytnesse that any other were witheout that he hyt by witnesse the rather say. Tho I hyrde that my kynnysfolke was passed out of the world, so than was I kynge Athulphus eyr thorw writynge and owre cownseyl at Langden,[4] and anon hyt red byfore wyttenesse of all West Saxene. When hit redd was tho commawndyd I them all for

[1] Here follows an incorrect copy of Alfred's will, similar to that printed by Manning at Oxford, 1788, and reprinted by Kemble, Cod. Diplomat. Anglo-Saxon, No. cccxiv. The Middle-English version is here given entire, in preference to a translation from the Saxon, since the form in which it is extant in the Book of Hyde may possibly contribute something to elucidate the questions which arise as to the age of that document.

[2] "Being careful for the need of my soul."

[3] Possibly Swinburn, in Worcestershire.

[4] Longdon, in Worcestershire.

my lofe, and to them I made sewrte that I nevyr hyrde of man, ne of cowde, that of my lyflode ryth claymyd, and that I never hyrd contrarye, and no man for my lofe nother for myn hatered sey agens ryth, nother untrewthe say that I my cosynnys chyld old or younge not desheryte. And they all to the ryth consentyd, and seyden that they knew no rythyr eyer, nother bethynke coude ne mythe, no other of othyr eyre here eny wrytynge but of me. Now thow hast hyt all agayne in thyn hond. Now beqwethe it and gyve to thy next kyn, or frynd, whether the levyst is. And they all to me there sewerte made, and with ther hond aseled that by there lyfe never hyt to any man nother otharwyse borne nother gyve, but so as I myselffe hit beqwethe at the next day."

King Alfred had, by Egelswytha, the daughter of earl Egelrid, two sons; Edward, the elder, and Egelward, a person profoundly versed in letters; and four daughters, Ethelfleda, who married Etheldred, earl of the Mercians, after whose death the same Elfleda, for a long time, prudently governed the province of the Mercians, with the exception of London and Oxford, which king Edward, Elfleda's elder brother, retained in his own possession: she built and repaired many towns,[1] namely, Brenunsburg, Brugg on the Severn, Tamworth near Lichfield, Stafford, Warwick, Chirisburg, Watesburg, Edisbury, in the forest near Chester, which is no longer in existence. She also built a city, with a castle, on the northern borders of the Mercians, upon the river Mersey, which was [called] Runcofan, but is now called Runcorn. Elfleda was a woman of great power, beloved by her people, dreaded by her foes; and she materially assisted her brother, king Edward, both by giving him advice, and by building cities. She suffered so much in giving birth to her first and only child, that she ever after dreaded the embraces of her husband, declaring that a king's daughter ought not to give way to that, which was to be followed by so great an inconvenience. Elfreda, queen of the Mercians, laid waste the country of the Britons near Breknoc, took the city of the Welsh king, and rebuilt Chester. She also took the town of Derby from the Danes: but four of her generals were slain. She died five years before her brother Edward, and was buried at Gloucester, in the church of St. Peter, which she and her husband Ethelred had built over the bones of St. Oswald the king, which she had brought thither from Bardney. This church was destroyed by the Danes; but it was rebuilt by Aldred, bishop of York and Worcester, who had previously been a monk in the Old Monastery at Winchester, which is now the principal monastery in that city. Elfleda's only daughter, named Elfwyna, was carried by king Edward the elder into West Saxony, when the government of the Mercians was taken from him.

Alfred had also, by his queen, Elfreda and Elfina, virgins. Ethelswytha, his eldest daughter, married Baldwin, earl of

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, under the years 913, 914, and 915.

Flanders, by whom he had Arnulph and Adulph. Adulph received from his father the earldom of Boulogne. The earls of Flanders are descended from Arnulph. Elgisa, the youngest, became abbess of Shaftesbury.

And so the most christian king Alfred, after founding four monasteries, two of black friars, viz. one at Adeney, the other at Winchester, which is called the New Monastery; and two for nuns, one at Shaftesbury, and the other at Winchester, which is called St. Mary's Monastery, being worn out with years, after being shattered by his exertions in the Danish wars, yielded up his spirit into the hands of his Creator, whom he had ever devotedly served to the utmost of his power. He was first buried in the episcopal church of Winchester; but, in consequence of the foolish fancies of the canons, who gave out that the ghost of the king had resumed his body, and used to wander at night through their dwellings, his son Edward removed his father's bones, and placed them in the New Monastery. This related by the forementioned Marianus Scotus, (Book I. chap. xv.) and by Ralph of Chester (in his Polycronicon, Book VI. chap. i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi.) and by Girardus Cornubiensis, (De Gestis Regum West Saxonum, Chap. x. ix. xiv.)[1]

The translation into English from Saxon of the Second Will of King Alfred.[2]

I Alfred West Saxene Kynge with Godds gyft, and by this wyttenesse I seye nowe the intencion of my last wyll to be fulfillyd after my day. Ffyrst I grawnte to Edward my yldiste sone the landes at Stratnet in Triconschyre[3] and Hortingtune, and all the fre lond that Leafhathe held, and that lond at Carumtune, and at Kylfantune and at Burnham, and at Wedmore. And I conferme to the keper at Coodre that he hit have aftyr the pwyntyng that we erst seyde hafe, with that land at Kyutune, and that thar to longyth; and I to hym grawnte the lands at Kantuctune, and at Bedewynde, and at Pefesy and at Hysseburn and at Suttune, and at Leodridan, and at Awltune. And all the fre lond that I in Kent have, and at Nethar Hysseburn, and at Kyseldene, I gyve my chefe servant[4] at Wynchester, after the synement that hit my fadyr er beqweythyd; and myn other fee that I to Auglfe gafe unto at certeyn tyme at the Nethar Hysseborne, and that my yongyr son gave that lond at Ederingtune and that at the Dene, and that at Mene, and at Ambresbury, and at Deone, and at Sturemynster, at Geule, and at Kruerne, and at Whitchyrche, and at Axamuntham, and at Beanes-

[1] See Rudborne, ap. Angl. Sacra, i. 208. Polychron. ap. Gale, i. 259.

[2] The Saxon text of this portion of Alfred's will is, like the former, exceedingly corrupt. The English version is here given, in preference to a translation from the Latin, for the reason already mentioned, p. 508, note [1]. It has been corrected by the aid of the original Saxon, printed by Kemble, Cod. Dipl. No. cccxiv. and by the Latin text contained in the Liber de Hyda.

[3] That is, Cornwall.

[4] This is also the structure of the sentence in the Latin text; but the original Saxon as given by Kemble makes the gift to be from Alfred to Winchester.

cumbe, and at Kolumtune, and at Twyfyrd and at Myllenburn, and at Exanmynster, and at Sutheswyrthe, and at Lyntune, and the lond that therto longithe; the whiche be all that I under heven[1] have, uttake Trikonschyre.

And to my elderyst dowther I grawnt the tune of Welewe; and to the midmest dowther I grawnt the towne of Klere, and of Kendevere; and to my yongyst dowthry I grawnte the towne of Welyng, and of Ascktune, and of Schyppenam. And to Athelme my brothars sonn, I grawnt the towne of Elcyngburn, and of Kumptune, and of Krundele, and of Bedynge, and of Bedyngham, and of Burnham, and of Thunresfeld, and of Aschenge. And to Athelwold, my brothers sone, the towne of Godelmynge, and of Gylford, and of Stenning. And to Osferthe my cosyn, I grant the towne of Beccanle, and of Rytharhamfeld, and of Dyccawlynge, and of Suttune, and of Lyllyngmynster, and of Angemeryngtun, and of Ffelthham, and the lond that therto longythe. And to Alswythe, the towne of Lamburne and of Wantyngh, and of Ethandune. And to my twey sonys I beqwethe a thowsand pund, eyther fyf hundryd pund. And to myne ilderyst dowter, and to the myddelyst, and to the yongyst, and to Alswythe, to them fowr, fowre hundyrd pund; everyche of them an hundryd pund. And to everyche of my gentlemen an hunderyd mark.[2] And to Ethelme and Athelwold and Osferthe also everyche of them an hunderyd marke. And to Ethered my gentilman I gyve a swerde and twenty[3] hunderyd marke. And to that man that folowythe me, with wham at Estar-tyd I covenaunt made I take too hunderyd pund them to gyve; and that man to party betwyxt all, tho ther hym to be byryyd lykyth after the wyse that I now to hym dele. And to the erchbyshope I gyve an hunderyd marke; and Esne byschop, and Werferthe byshop, and to hym of Schyrburne, everyche of them as myche for to departe and to dele for me, and for my fadyr, and[4] for that thynge that he before synyd.

And I assyne too hunderyd pound to fyfty masse pristys thorw all my reem; and fifti shyllyngs to dele amonge the power people; and fyfty to the churche wher that I am byryyd; and I not nat trewely whyther ther is more then these gyftys, ne I trew that ther is no more as I wene; yf ther more be, be hit all demenyd as I to gyve have sayd.

And I wyll that my gentilmen, and my yemen, and all tho that withe them bethe, that they this thus departye, ne on none othar wyse then I have writ byfore tofore my heyr; to whom I have moste gyve and most myght. And mony men have at this tyme therto wryte; and to fore all thes wetenesse thes yftes wer iwrit. Than have I now forchargyd the pryncys of my realme that I aske myght of them that founden beth, that hit let not, for that it is my wyll that it now be thus, thorow Gods strengthe. And I wyll that tho men, the which thes londs haven, kepe the word that of my

[1] "... in Wales," Saxon.
[2] In the original the term here translated "mark" is "mancus."
[3] Read, eighty.
[4] "... et propter hoc quod ipse per me antea assignabat ..." Latin text.

faders herytage stondythe iwrite, of whyche as they strengest mowe.

And I wyll yf I eny man have gyfe, or eny lenyd have, that they to my cosynis or to here hit gyve. And I wyll that tho men that I my fre land have beqwethyd, that they gyve it nat from my kynn over theyr day; and I wyll that aftar theyr day to the next hond of me, withowte them that chyldryn have; than is me levyst that it go to the masle child byget, as long while as eny werthe be. Myne yldyr fadyr his lond on the same wyse beqwethyd to the maulys. And than yf I take it on eny degre to womans hond, I wyll that aftyr ther day ho to yeld it to my mawlys kyn, the whiche comythe of here. And yf they by ther lyfe lyvynge hit will have; and yf hit falle, than go hit ovyr here day so as we here byfore have beqwethyd; furtharmore I sey that they hit yeld for the lyvelode of my kyn, to whom I gyve moste, whithar they ben mayd children, or sonns, as me best lykethe.

And I bydd on Gods name and on all halowene, that none of my kyn here afterward labor not agaynst eny of theyr kynred that I have gyven and beqwethed to, here before; and with me all the worthynesse to ryght consentyn that I most leve them as fre as thowt wheyther that I wyll. And I, for Gods love and for my sowls helthe, wyll that they be in possessyon of ther fredome, and all ther kynred. And I on Gods holy name commaund that them no man withsay nothar withe strengthe, nothar withe eny thynge, that they ne mote sesyn what man wham they wylle in ther londys. And I will that men gyve to the howse at Domrahamme ther landboke and theyr fredome them to season what hond them lovist is, for me and for Elflede, and for theyr frends that he is bound to, and that I am bound to, and for the nedy that alyve be, to kepe hit, that hit may be helthe for my sowle, and that hit be to me in forgyvenysse, and so I desyre me to be forgyve.

A Brief Recapitulation of the Foregoing.

All things being thus properly settled, as was related above, the most christian and most religious king Alfred, after he had engaged in many battles with the Danes, and had bravely and laboriously gone through many temporal dangers for the love of God, for the liberties of his country, and for the comfort of his brethren, while he prayed to the Lord the Father Almighty, who gave strength to his right hand in the day of battle, and exalted the horn of his people, who in his days feared not the prince, and in his power no man overcame him,—this heroic chief of his brethren, this rampart of the nation, this strength of the people, and ruler of his brethren, in the forty-sixth year of his coronation, and in the thirtieth year of his reign, yielded to death which spares no human creature, being made illustrious by the fear of his enemies, because the light of God was upon his footsteps. His revered royal corpse was first committed to the tomb, with all solemnity, by the clergy and people, in the cathedral church of Winchester; but was after-

wards, in consequence of the foolish delusions of the canons, (who had been some time before introduced into the Old Monastery; namely, in the first year of king Ethered, the father of this glorious prince,) who gave out that the king's spirit had resumed his body, and used to wander at night through their dwellings, as is said at the close of the chapter next following the second will of the said Alfred,[1] which is in the Saxon tongue, his son Edward removed his father's bones, and deposited them in the New Monastery, which was then close to the Old Monastery; but in the time of the glorious prince Henry the elder, it was removed to the place which is now called Hide, outside the northern gate of the city of Winchester, where now also the aforesaid illustrious prince Alfred reposes, whose memory is blessed; whose death Grimbald, that most holy man of God, the renowned teacher and instructor of the clergy of the kingdom of England, wept with sorrow unparalleled. In praise of this most glorious and most christian king Alfred, Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, hath set forth certain lines in his Fifth Book.[2]

Occurrences in the time of King Edward the Elder.

The most victorious king Alfred having died in the year of grace nine hundred and one, and having been buried in the New Monastery at Winchester, in the same year the said Edward, the elder son of Alfred, was crowned king of England at Kingston. Inferior to his father in literary attainments, but superior to him in worldly renown; for he built nine cities, repaired those that were dilapidated, enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom further than his father had extended them, and reduced to submission the kings of Scotland, Cumberland and Wales. East Saxony, Northumberland, and Mercia, he obtained after the death of his sister Elfleda. This king also caused his sons to be instructed in letters; but he had his daughters set to ply the spinning-wheel and the needle, after they had received a literary education; as is related by Marianus Scotus, in his First Book.

Against this king Edward an insurrection was made by the etheling Ethelwold, an uncle of king Edward, who seized upon the city of Wimburg, near Bath, declaring that he would there either conquer or die. But having carried off, by night, a nun from the monastery of Wimburg, he repaired to the Danes in Northumberland, whose assistance he sought. But king Edward pursued him at full speed; so that he quitted England, and went to France; the good king, however, brought the nun back with him, and restored her to her monastery. But this Ethelwold the etheling returned the same year with a vast naval armament, and, effecting a junction with the Danes that inhabited East Anglia, invaded Mercia, all the way to Cricford, which is Cricklade, laying waste all that came in his way. Then, crossing the Thames, he devastated the country to Bradenstoke, and so returned to East Anglia; but the king pressed upon his rear, and plundered the

[1] See p. 515.

[2] These lines will be found in Henry of Huntingdon's History.

enemy's country from the river Ouse to the borders of St. Edward's land, giving orders to his men that none should remain behind him. But the men of Kent, disobeying the king's command, were nearly all cut off by the Danes, and many fell on both sides; but the etheling Ethelwold was also slain among the enemy. And so the Danes, deeming it hopeless to contend with king Edward, made peace.

This glorious Edward had two wives and a concubine. By the concubine, named Egwynna, he had Athelstan, who reigned after him, and Edgytha,[1] who married Sirich, king of the Northumbrians: she reposes at Tamworth, and is regarded as a saint. The first-born, Athelstan, he begat in this way: There was in a certain town a shepherd's daughter, a young woman of great personal beauty, named Egwynna, who obtained by means of her charms that which the lowliness of her birth denied her. There appeared to her a wondrous vision—the moon seemed to shine forth from her womb, and with its light to illumine the whole of England. This she related sportively in the morning to her playmates: but they took it seriously; and it soon came to the ears of the nurse, who used to nurse the king's children. She, on considering the matter, brought the girl into her house, and treated her as a daughter, and had her supplied with richer garments, with more dainty food, and with more accomplished manners. Soon afterwards, Edward, the son of king Alfred, happening on his journey to pass through the town, turned aside to visit his nurse; for he thought it would be a reflection upon his reputation if he were to be too proud to do so. Here, captivated by the beauty of the damsel, he passed the night. She becoming pregnant after one embrace, as soon as she gave birth to Athelstan, discerned the truth of her dream. For when Athelstan, having passed his boyish days, grew up to manhood, he, by undoubted proofs, excited expectations of a princely disposition.

By his first wife, the daughter of earl Elfelm, named Elfleda, Edward had two sons; namely, Ethelward, a person well versed in letters, who, however, lived not long; and Edwin, and six daughters,—St. Elfleda, a nun, who reposes at Romsey; Edgisa, whom he gave in marriage to Charles, king of the Franks, the son of Louis, the son of Carolman; Etheltilda, a nun, who reposes at Winchester; Ethilda, whom her father gave in marriage to Hugh Capet, king of the Western Franks. Edgtha and Elgiva he sent to be married to Henry, emperor of Germany; who gave the second of them to his son Otho, and the other to a certain duke near the Alps.

By his second wife, named Edgiva, Edward had two sons, Edmund and Edred, both of whom reigned after Athelstan; and two daughters; the second, Edburga, reposes in the nunnery at Winchester; and Edgiva, who married Louis, king of Aquitaine.

[1] This name, if correct, is an addition to our knowledge respecting the royal pedigree of England.

Of that second virgin, Edburga, a story is told, that when her father wished to find out whether she would in after life turn to God or to the world, he placed on one side of her chair ornaments of various sorts, and on the other side chalices and the gospels, and in another place bracelets and necklaces. When the little girl was brought in by her nurse, she was bid to take what she liked best. She immediately took up the gospels in her hands. Her father, kissing her, said, "Go whither the Godhead calls thee; follow, with prosperous steps, Him who leads thee on." And so she afterwards became a nun, whom the royal line never recovered: nay, she even removed her sisters' stockings by night, and secretly brought them back when she had washed and perfumed them. And so the illustrious and most devout king Edward, called the Elder, had six sons, four of whom bare the sceptre, by a woman of noble race; by her that was named Egwyna he had Athelstan and [1]Elfred. Elfred, whom his father loved above all the rest with a parent's affection, while he himself was bearing the sceptre (after the example of holy David, the king, who thanked the Lord for nothing so much as for being permitted, while alive, to see his son seated upon his father's throne) was anointed king, and crowned. But Elfred did not survive long after: he died before his father had paid the debt of nature. Athelstan first succeeded his father in the kingdom. By his first wife Elfleda he had two sons—Ethelward, who died before his father; and Edwyn. By his second wife he had two sons; namely, Edmund, who reigned after Athelstan; and Edred, who ascended the throne after Edmund. The most noble and most victorious king Edward died, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, at Faryndon, twelve miles from Oxford, on the west, and was buried at Winchester, in the New Monastery, which is now called Hyde. He was succeeded in the kingdom by his son Athelstan, [who] was crowned at Kingston, in Surrey.

[1] Here our author is faulty in his genealogical information.

THE CHRONICLES OF JOHN WALLINGFORD.

HERE BEGIN THE CHRONICLES OF JOHN WALLINGFORD.

In the four hundred and forty-ninth year after the incarnation of our Lord, the race of Angles or Saxons came to Britain, on the invitation of king Wortigern, in three ships of war, and landed at a place called Ypevinesflet, where they were received as men who would fight in defence of the land, although their true intention was to conquer it for themselves. They came from the three bravest peoples of Germany—the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. The men of Kent and of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish descent; and even to this day, the race which dwells in the Isle of Wight, and whose possessions lie also in the province of the West Saxons, opposite that island, is termed the Jutish nation.

From the Saxons, that is from the territory which is now termed the territory of the Old Saxons, came the Eastern, Southern, and West Saxons.

The Eastern Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, the whole race of the Northumbrians, and the other Anglian races came from the Angles, that is, from the tract of country between the territories of the Jutes and Saxons which is called Angulus, and is said to have lain unoccupied from that time until the present. Hengist and Horsa led them. Other leaders afterwards came over, and the settlements which they severally seized for themselves are noted down beneath

Of the Kings of Kent.

Hengist, who reigned twenty-four years, was the first king of the Angles; Osric succeeded him, and reigned for twenty-four years; Otta [Octa] came after him; then Eormeric, whose son Eathelbert was the first christian king of the Angles, and he reigned fifty-four years. His son Eadbald reigned after him; and was succeeded by Earconbert, who reigned twenty-four years. Next came his son Egbert for nine years; and was succeeded by his brother Lothere for twelve years; after him came Eadric the son of Egbert, and reigned a year and a half. Thus far respecting Kent.

Of the Kings of the Mercians.

Penda, son of Wibba, reigned in Mercia nineteen years. After he had been slain in war, his slayer, Oswin, king of the Northumbrians, reigned over his kingdom during three years. Peada, the son of Penda, also reigned there, but only for a short time. However, Wolfer, [another] son of Penda, was restored to the throne, and gained back his lawful kingdom from Oswin [Escwine]. His brother Ethelred, who succeeded him, held the kingdom for twenty-nine years: he had married a daughter of king Oswi. After a time Ethelred resigned his kingdom, and ended his life as a monk, and was buried at Bordanige. Thus far concerning Mercia.

Of the Kings of Wessex.

In the four hundred and ninety-fifth year after the incarnation of our Lord, Cerdic and his son Kinric came to Britain with five ships, and put into the mouth of a river which is called after his name [Cerdic's-ora]. Having, after a struggle of twenty-three years, entirely defeated the British population, they gained possession of the kingdom of the Gewissi, and Cerdic was the first Angle who reigned in Wessex. His reign lasted fifteen years. After him came Kenric, his son, for twenty-six years. He had however granted the Isle of Wight to his nephews Stuph and Worthgar. After Kenric, his son Ceaulin reigned thirty-one years; he was followed by Ceolric for six years. Then his [Ceolric's] brother Celwolf reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his brother[1] Kineglis. Kineglis was the first king of the West Saxons who became a Christian; he was baptized by St. Birin, a bishop sent by pope Honorius to preach the gospel. At his baptism, St. Oswald, king of Northumbria, stood sponsor for him, and was on the point of receiving his daughter in marriage. After Kineglis, Kenwalch his son reigned thirty-one years. Then queen Sexburga held the kingdom for a year. Eascuine reigned after her for two years; then Kentwine, son of Keneglis, for nine years; who was succeeded by Cedwalla the son of Coembert, the son of Cuda, the son of Cutha,[2] the son of Cealin, the son of Kinric, the son of Cerdic. Cedwalla reigned two years; after that he went to Rome in fulfilment of a vow, and after having been baptized, died there, while yet he wore the white baptismal robe, during the popedom of Sergius. His successors were Ine and Inor. Thus far Wessex.

Of the Kings of the East Angles.

First Aeodwald [Redwald]; then Eorthwald [Eorpwald] his son; then Sigbert his brother, who ended his life as a good and holy monk; then Egryc his kinsman; then Anna, son of Eane, and

[1] Cynegils was the son of Ceolric, and not his brother, as Wallingford here states. See the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, A.D. 611.

[2] More commonly called Cuthwine.

father of St. Etheldrid; he was killed by Penda, king of Mercia; then Eathelhere, brother of king Anna; then Eathelwald, brother of Aldulf,[1] the father of St. Ethelburga the virgin. This Eathelwold was the son of Hereswith, the sister of St. Hilda. Afterwards Eadmund; and after him Gitrum, for whom, when he was converted from heathenism to the true faith, king Athelstan stood sponsor at the baptismal font, and who after the murder of Eadmund reigned in East Anglia on the presentation of the same king Athelstan.

Irregular Succession.

Eathelbert,[2] who was also king of Kent; he built Saint Paul's church in London: Sigbert, who was baptized by bishop Phinan [Finan]; Swethelm; Sibbi, afterwards a monk; Sigeard and his brother Swefred, sons of Sibbi; Swebert. Thus far the kings of Essex.

Of the Kings of Northumbria.

In the five hundred and forty-seventh year after the incarnation of our Lord, and the ninety-eighth after the coming of the Angles into Britain, Ida began to reign in Northumbria. He was the first Anglian king, and the royal government of that district took its origin entirely from him. By his queen he had six sons, Adda,[3] Helric, Theodoric, Ecbric, Thenceric, and Osmer; and by his concubines he had Ogg, Alric, Ecca, and Osbald. Accompanied by his father, Eoppa, he came with sixty ships to Flemaburch, and, marching thence, seized upon the northern portions of the kingdom, and reigned there twelve years. After his death the kingdom of Northumbria was divided into two. For Elle reigned in Deira; while Adda succeeded his father in Bernicia, where he reigned eight years. After him came Glappa for one year; then Hulsa for [seven] years; next Frithwolf reigned seven years. Theoric succeeded him, and reigned for seven years. After him Eatheldric reigned four years, and was followed by Eathelfrid for twenty-four years. Eathelfrid had seven sons, Eanfrid and (by the sister of king Eadwin) [4]Acca, Oswald, Oswy, Ollac, Oswudu, Osa, Offa. When Elle was dead, Eathelfrid drove out his [Elle's] son Eadwin, who was his wife's brother, from the kingdom of Deira; but that prince, having taken refuge with king Readwolf, was by him restored to the kingdom of all Northumbria, and, becoming a Christian, reigned for seventeen years. During his reign the sons of Eathelfrid were in exile among the Scots; but they returned when he was slain. Eamfrid, the eldest of them, reigned in Bernicia one year. When

[1] Here the pedigree is faulty.

[2] Wallingford here confounds the kings of East Anglia with those of East Saxony.

[3] This does not coincide with the names as given by the more trustworthy authorities of the Northumbrian chronicle of Wanley and Simeon of Durham.

[4] By mistaking his wife for his son, Wallingford has here involved the pedigree, which is incorrect in other respects.

he was killed, his brother Oswald obtained the sovereign power both in Bernicia and Deira, making up one people out of two, and reigned nine years. His brother Oswy succeeded him, and reigned at first in Bernicia only, but soon afterwards, slaying Oswiu, he ruled Deira also, and from that time the two provinces had but one king. On the death of Oswy, after a reign of twenty-eight years, his son Egfrid reigned for fifteen years. He appointed St. Cuthbert bishop; and in the sixth year of his reign St. Beda was born, and when seven years old, was given in charge of abbot Benedict, surnamed Biscop, in the monastery of Werremuthe. Alcfrid succeeded Egfrid.

The lineal succession of the Kings of Bernicia and Deira.

Ella began to reign in Deira in the five hundred and sixtieth year after the incarnation of our Lord; he was descended from the same stock as the other Anglian kings. Of this Ella mention is made in the life of pope St. Gregory; he reigned thirty years. On his death his son Eadwin succeeded; but Eathelfrid, king of Bernicia, an exceedingly ambitious man, although he had married Eadwin's sister, drove him from his kingdom; he was, however, restored by king Readwolf, who slew king Eathelfrid; and he reigned over both Bernicia and Deira seventeen years. When he was killed by Cedwalla, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians, Osric, the son of Eadwin's uncle Ealfric, assumed the sovereignty of Deira, (of which land Edwin himself was a native,) and after a reign of one year, was slain by Cedwalla, king of the Britons. Then Oswald reigned over both provinces nine years. When he was slain, Oswin, of the royal stock of Edwin, (for he was the son of Osric whom we have mentioned above,) reigned in Deira. Oswin also having been slain, Oswy ruled Deira and Bernicia; however, his nephew, Eathelwald, son of Oswald, who had reigned in Deira, having allied himself with the Mercians, and with the British king Cedwalla, often fiercely attacked him. Nevertheless, henceforth the provinces of Bernicia and Deira had but one king.

Here follows in the MS. a life of Guthlac, from which this passage is extracted.

On a certain night when Guthlac was engaged in psalmody, he heard, as it were, the noise of a multitude of Britons, who during the whole lifetime of the saint were at enmity with the Angles; for as Geoffrey writes in his translation of the history of the Britons (the authority of which history rests rather upon its translator than its author), Cadwallader, (whom Beda and others call Cedwalla,) when he was going to Rome, sent back his son Inor, and his nephew Ine: and they (after his death, with varied success on the part of the Britons) annoyed the Angles for sixty-nine years. During this interval of time, Ethelred, king of the Mercians, died in the year seven hundred and four, and Alfrid, king of the

Northumbrians, in seven hundred and five; and were succeeded—Ethelred in Mercia by Conred, and Alfrid, by his son Osred. In Kent, Wictred, son of Egbert, reigned after Eadric for thirty-four years and a half. St. Guthlac, then, as I began to say, when the Britons were annoying the Angli in the reign of Conred, on a certain night heard, as he thought, Britons conversing among themselves, and the noise as of a tumultuous crowd.

Concerning the Kings of Mercia.

Coenred, having reigned five years in Mercia, gave up the kingdom to Ceolred, the son of Ethelric [Ethelred], whose guardianship he had undertaken under a solemn promise that he should be brought up with this view. At his father's death he was unfit to rule, on account of his tender years, and because important wars were then impending. Urged, therefore, by necessity, Ethelred appointed Coenred his successor, who, keeping faithfully in every respect the promise which he had made to his predecessor, gave up the kingdom to Ceolred as soon as he had attained to a sufficient age, and, having gone to Rome, there met his end, as men best meet it, in a monastic garb. He left two sons, Ine and Inglif; one of whom, Ine, first reigned in West Anglia, not immediately, but after Cedwalla. From the other came the unbroken line of the royal race down to Eadward.

Contemporary with Ceolred son of Ethelric, now established as king in Mercia, was Ethelbald,[1] a young man of distinguished character, who, tracing his descent from a stock which had held royal power, aspired to be king himself. On this account Ceolred looked upon him as an enemy, and, after making him retire into private life, at last drove him into exile. Embarrassed by the various cares of exile, he wandered unsettled, now here now there, and, distracted by his reflections, as wild as a stormy sea, could discover no fixed plan of action for himself. At length the fame of St. Guthlac reached him; and he went to see him, in order to obtain comfort from him; upon which occasion he explained the reasons of his exile, and gave the saint a proper account of his right to claim the kingdom. From Guthlac he received at first comfort, as far as words could give it, afterwards a clear and full prophecy respecting his succession to the kingdom. For he had as companion in his exile a man named Ecga, over whom the unclean spirit exercised his power in so miserable a manner that he did not know himself; and though his body suffered no injury, yet this circumstance was a further addition to his wretchedness—that the power of speech was wanting to him, though the will was present. This person, who was at first led by curiosity to visit the holy man, by merely binding on his girdle or zone, was cured of his madness, and regained the power of speech. Amid these and many other miraculous deeds and prophetic warnings, St. Guthlac

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 716, as to his pedigree. The Legend of St. Guthlac again furnishes this extract.

approached the limit of this life, and reached it in the seven hundred and fifteenth year after the incarnation of the Lord. When Ethelbald, the forementioned exile, heard of his decease, he came to the tomb of the dead man, from whose prophecy he had drawn hope, resting on it as on a column of sure trust, and the comfort of all his cares; and complained, as he filled the place with his lamentable wailings, that the solace of his life was taken from him. On the following night the saint appeared to him, and again repeated that which he had prophesied should come to pass before the sun had completed his yearly course. And in fact, at the end of that same year (which is however usually reckoned as the year 716), Ceolred died, and Osred king of Northumbria was killed, and Ethelbald succeeded Ceolred in Mercia, while in Northumbria Osric succeeded Osred.

Contemporary with this saint was Ethelburga, daughter of king Eadulph, who at first led a life of solitude as a pure virgin. Having afterwards been drawn from her retirement by many pressing causes, she took the name and fulfilled the duties of abbess. For she ended this present life as superior of numerous bodies of holy women, and still persisted in her virginity till her death. Her father Eadulph was brother of Ethelwold the son of Hereswit, who was the sister of St. Hilda[1] of Witebi.

Another contemporary of his was the venerable Beda, the presbyter, whose birth his own preceded by three years, as any one may find who will diligently examine histories and chronicles. Beda, however, lived much longer than Guthlac: he was brought up from the age of seven years in the monastery of Werremuth, where he led a good and holy life, from his very childhood drinking draughts of learning, which he nobly poured forth in his old age. He wrote many works for the edification of the church, which bear witness to his life, for he lived not otherwise than he taught. Among these works he brought down the ecclesiastical history of England to his own time, from the arrival of Caius Julius Cæsar in England. This arrival he declares to have taken place sixty years before the incarnation of the Lord Jesus. He also wrote many homilies, in an elegant style, and composed many commentaries on the books of the Old and New Testament, which will utter his praise aloud even to the end of the world, and of which he has made careful mention at the end of his history. That ecclesiastical history ends, so far as the royal succession is concerned, with Osric, the king we before have mentioned, and Ecgbert, who died, as the historian asserts, in the seven hundred and twenty-ninth year from the incarnation of our Lord, after the appearance of the comets. Osric's successor was Coenred's brother, Ceolwlf, to whom Beda dedicated his English history; he was the son of Cutha,[2] the son of Cuthewin, the son of Lefwald, the son of Egwald, the son of Aldelm, the son of Ogga, the son of Ida the first king of the Northum-

[1] "... sororis S. Hildæ et Witebi ..." Orig., probably a misreading for "S. Hildæ æt Witebi."

[2] Compare the genealogies in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 729, 738, and Florence, pp. 389, 390.

brians. In the course of the reign of Ceolwlf passed away Beda, the venerable priest, about the year seven hundred . . . . [sic], after he had lived fifty-nine years. He was happy in the Lord, and his learning was sufficiently proved by the variety of his expositions, and by the very elegant as well as eloquent diction of his theological writings; for the gate of learning is open as widely in England as in Jerusalem, to one firmly grounded in the faith. Many other things are related respecting this holy man, which I judge it best to reserve for a larger work.

In the time of Beda, Ine, son of Ceonred, also died, the most famous king of the West Saxons, in the year seven hundred and . . . . . [sic] after the incarnation of the Lord. In West Saxony he had Ethelard for his successor: but he himself left his kingdom, and ended his life at Rome. We read that he gave a penny to St. Peter from every house in his dominions, for the purpose of supporting the poor at Rome, and especially the Angles who might come there; and this custom was observed long after his death. Ethelard reigned thirteen years. Ethelbald, the disciple of St. Guthlac, was contemporary with all of these who reigned after the year 716. Immediately on his accession to the kingdom, he undertook to alter St. Guthlac's hermitage into an abbey, and placed the holy man through whom he had received the prophecy respecting his attaining to royal power, in a noble shrine worthy so great a saint. He was very valiant in war; for we read that he brought under his sway all the kingdoms of South Anglia, from the Humber. In the year seven hundred and seventeen after the incarnation of our Lord, he gained possession of the kingdom of Mercia, and he subjected to himself Ethelbert, the son [of Ermenric[1]] king of Kent, Ethelard, king of the western people, and all the other neighbouring kingdoms, either absolutely or as vassals. He, moreover, drove the remains of the Britons out of Logria, and made them dwell in Cambria only; with the exception only of Cornwall; from which district it has, even to the present day, been impossible to drive a portion of them; nor have any of the succeeding kings greatly cared to do so. During his reign Ceolwolf, after ruling for eight years, gave up his crown, and entering the monastery of Lindisfarn, there died, as men best die, in the monastic garb. He left as successor to the kingdom, Eadbert, the son of his uncle, a boy of tender years, whose brother Egbert was archbishop of York, and is said to have been the first after Paulinus who was confirmed in his archbishopric by receiving a pall from Rome. Eadbert then reigned after Ceolwolf; he began his reign in the year seven hundred and thirty-eight[2] after the incarnation of our Lord. In his time Ethelbald was slain in war, as Eadbert had foretold to him, after reigning over Mercia for thirty-nine years, and other kingdoms which he had won in war, for part of the time. His death took place in the year after the incarnation of our Lord seven hundred and fifty-five. After him came Bernred, but only for a short time, and then Offa, the most powerful king of

[1] These words are bracketed in the original Latin, and it does not appear whence they are derived. They are obviously erroneous; we should read, "of Wihtred."

[2] Read, 737.

the Angles, who began to reign in the year seven hundred and fifty-seven[1] after the incarnation of our Lord.

These kings, Ethelbald, Offa, and his successor, Kenewlf, interrupted the regular line of the kings of the South Angles. Of these latter, therefore, I shall now give a somewhat more exact account, as I have more certain materials to work upon. For I have found the reckoning of others up to the time of Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwlf, vague and uncertain; and I myself have left up to this time many things uncertain in my reckoning of numbers. Many things, too, are related of Offa, which I have passed by as doubtful and apocryphal; I have, however, taken notes of them, that if at any future time they can be proved to be true, or certainly shown to be false, I may insert my conclusions in my larger work.

Offa was contemporary with Pepin, king of the Franks, and father of Charles the Great: in the seventh year of his reign the winter was of unexampled severity; in the twelfth, king Pepin died, and was succeeded by his son Charles, in the year seven hundred and sixty-nine after the incarnation of our Lord. This Charles, in the time of king Offa, reduced England,[2] as well as other realms, under his dominion. In Offa's time also, Eadbert king of Northumbria, after reigning twenty-one years, became disgusted with royalty, and, taking the tonsure, ended his life as a clerk in the church of York, over which his before-mentioned brother Egbert then presided. He gave his kingdom to his son Osulf, who was wickedly slain, near Michelwongtune, by one of his own family, after he had reigned a year, and was succeeded by Ethelwold, surnamed Mol, who reigned six years. Then, losing his kingdom at Winchanheale, he was followed by Alored, of the line of Ida. After Alored had reigned nine years he was driven from his kingdom into exile. Next Ethelred, son of Ethelwold Mol, reigned five years, when he, too, was forced into exile. Ethelwold, son of Osulf, a former king, whom we have mentioned, took possession of his father's kingdom, and having held it piously and religiously for ten years, was slain by a conspiracy of his followers, at Cyrencestre near the Wall, but received honourable burial in St. Andrew's church, at Hexham. A light is often seen rising from the place where he was slain. Olred, son of the Alored mentioned above, succeeded him. Olred reigned one year; and after he, too, had been treacherously murdered, Ethelred returned from exile, and took possession of the kingdom.

During the reigns of these princes, Offa was reigning contemporaneously in South Anglia; and in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and the seven hundred and ninety-third from the incarnation of our Lord, and the three hundred and forty-fourth from the coming of the Angles into Britain, being warned by an angel, he caused the body of the blessed Alban, protomartyr of the Angles, to be translated. Summoning Humbert, archbishop of Mercia, he declared to him the divine will respecting the translation of the martyr. Then the

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle and Florence, A.D. 755.

[2] Having read that Charlemagne had reduced Saxony, Wallingford misunderstanding the passage, here applies it to England.

archbishop, taking with him bishops Ceolwolf and Unwona, and a great number of clerks of different orders, came to the holy place, where, after prayer and fasting, earnestly calling upon the mercy of God, and imploring the aid of the blessed martyr, they opened that ground which contained the clay of the holy man, and, raising that glorious martyr's relics, translated them with divers and honourable ceremonies. The king gave[1] the place called Wineslowe to the martyr, because there his eyes had been enlightened by the angelic vision, when he received an answer regarding this translation. He made him also lord of well nigh all the country which lay round Wineslowe, and appointed Guillegod,[2] abbot of the religious house which he founded there. In the next year following he slew St. Ethelbrith, king of the West Saxons,[3] in a pitched battle, after declaring war against him. The fact is certain, though the cause is not known. This one blemish alone he left on the glory he had before acquired; nor did he long rejoice over the death of his rival, for he died himself three years after, in the seven hundred and ninety-sixth year after the incarnation of our Lord, and was buried, as is reported, in the river Usa [Ouse], near Bedford.[4] I have heard many other things respecting this man which are equally worthy of mention, and which, when I have ascertained their truth, I will, with the permission of God, set forth in another place. He left as his successor his son, named Egred, who reigned but for a short time; for his kingdom and his honour were alike wrested from him by Kenewolf, who subdued the realms of many other kings also. For after laying Kent waste he took in battle Eadbert, king of Kent, who had succeeded[5] in room of his brother Ethelbert, the eldest son of Withred, and, having torn out his eyes, and cut off his hands, he added that kingdom to his own. He moreover won the kingdom of the South Saxons after the time of Sigbert, who reigned one year. Yet, nevertheless, that district ever had its own kings, although during all the days of Kenewolf they were tributary to him. Even Brichtric held the western kingdom under him as his tributary[6] for sixteen years. During his reign the Danes first came into England in three war-ships. Kenulf began to reign about the seven hundred and ninety-seventh year after the incarnation of our Lord. He reigned twenty-four years,[7] and would have been esteemed fortunate had he provided, as was his duty, for his successor. He died in the eight hundred and nineteenth year after the incarnation.

[1] Concerning the donations which followed upon this translation of St. Alban, see the spurious charter of Offa in the Cod. Diplom. Anglo-Sax. clxi., dated in May 792; also Dugdale's Monast. Angl. i. 178. The place mentioned in the text is Winslow, in Buckinghamshire.

[2] See his life amongst those of the abbots of St. Alban's appended to the History of Matthew Paris, p. 35.

[3] Read, East Saxons. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 792.

[4] The same statement is made by Wendover, i. 262.

[5] Here again our author is in error, both in his historical and his genealogical statements.

[6] This statement is unsupported by respectable authority, and is open to suspicion.

[7] His reign extended from A.D. 796 to 819.

Of the Martyrdom of St. Kenelm, King and Martyr.

Kenulf left two marriageable daughters and one son of tender years named Kenelm, who being placed under the guardianship of his sisters, was the destined heir of his father's dominions. The elder of these sisters, Wendred,[1] felt envious that Kenelm's claim to the kingdom should be deemed preferable to her own, while the younger, named Burchenild, regarded her brother with sisterly affection. She, however, did not, through fear, dare to disclose the plot which the elder was planning against the child. In Kenulf's days, Osbald reigned in Northumbria after Ethelred had been slain at Corebrige; his reign lasted twenty-seven days. When he was dethroned and driven into exile, earl Eardulf, of the kingly family, rose to royal rank. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by Alfwod for two years. Next came Eanred, who reigned thirty-nine years.

Of St. Botulf the Confessor.

Alcmund, father of Egbert, was contemporary with these two kings of the Mercians, Offa and Kenulf. He sprang from the noble stock of Iggles,[2] the brother of Ina, being the son of Eafa, the son of Eoppa, the son of Ingleis, the son of Coinred. Being as yet unfit, owing to his tender years, to stand at the helm of state, he was left in his mother's charge. Eathelmund[3] also had two sisters, whom their father Eafi had caused to be carried across the sea into Saxony, the original country of his progenitors and himself, in order that they might be taught the manners of the Saxon race. Moreover he had directed that they should join some religious order subject to the rules of church discipline; and they, entirely obeying their father Eafi's commands, took conventual vows upon them, and after their father's death the orphan children remained in Saxony. Two brothers also there were, likewise born in England, named Eadulf and Botulf, who passed the sea for the same reason which had sent the maidens over, and who in like manner taking upon them the religious garb, and assuming the clerical tonsure, so passed their lives, and bore evidence by their deeds of that of which the tonsure was an outward token.

In the meantime Egbert succeeded his father Alcmund, or Ethelmund, and began to reign in the eight hundred and third year after the incarnation of our Lord. He reigned at the same time with Kenulf, and, after that king's death, he subjected to himself by his valour and his arms, all the kingdoms which had been tributary to him. For, sending his son Ethelwolf, with a strong force, he drove Baldred, king of Kent, the successor of Cuthred, beyond the Thames, and in consequence gained possession of the

[1] Her name was Cynethryth.

[2] Read, Ingild.

[3] These genealogical details respecting the family of Botulf must be received with caution. The legend from which this is an extract will be given hereafter in its complete form.

kingdom of Kent, which from his time no longer had a separate king, but yielded obedience to the king of the West Saxons. In his time Celwolf succeeded Kenulf in Mercia; he reigned two years, and was followed by Bernulf, who was, as we read, slain by the East Angles. After him came Ludecan; then Wiglaf reigned in the same kingdom. I have found no record respecting the period of these kings; but while the above-mentioned Egbert was on the throne, Aethelred (who reigned nine years) succeeded Eanred, who had reigned in Northumbria thirty-two years. After him was Osbert, for thirteen years.

But the Northumbrian people drove him from his kingdom, and put in his place Ella, an alien to the royal blood. But as the Danes at that time made an incursion into the territories of York, necessity compelled the two princes to be reconciled; and uniting their forces they both marched on York. At first they put the enemy to flight, and forced them to enter the city, which they before had taken by force of arms. But in consequence of the Angles having rashly pursued the Danes up to the walls, the two kings with their army were cut to pieces by their opponents, who fought desperately for their lives.

The Danes made Egbert king of the surviving Northumbrians, and he reigned there five years. Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia, and the kings of Mercia, became subject to him, and he reigned in all thirty-five years. He was succeeded by his son Ethelwlf, and died about the year eight hundred and thirty-seven after the incarnation of our Lord. Ethelwlf, after reigning eighteen years and a half, left four sons, Ethelbald, Ethelbrith, Ethelred, and Ealfred. Of these the eldest, Ethelbald, succeeded his father, commencing his reign in the year eight hundred and fifty-five after the incarnation of our Lord. He held the kingdom five years, and carried on incessant war with the Danes, as did his brothers after him, Ethelbrith for six, Ethelred for five years, and gave their lives for the freedom of their people and their country. But Alfred, who was as yet but young, could obtain no honour among his brothers.

Contemporary with all these kings was St. Swithun, who, in the days of Egbert, the eighth baptized king of the West Angles, (counting from Kenegils, who was the first baptized,) began to run that race which he brought to so happy an end. Elmestan, a man of venerable life, who was the bishop at that time presiding over the see of Winchester, promoted him to the honours of the priesthood; and, because he perceived that virtue had embraced him as her own, counted him amongst his friends, and honoured him as one who did honour to his service; and indeed among his fellow-clerks Swithun was distinguished by his life and holiness. To him the king, whom we have named above, entrusted his son Athulf to be instructed both in general learning and in the holy precepts of morality.

This Athulf was his parent's only comfort, the only hope both of his father and the realm, and the heir of his father's right. And beneath the training hand of the holy man the disciple's love for learning grew so strong that he solved for him a question which has

been long brought forward and discussed among great men. For, as far at least as his judgment was concerned, he put an end to that discussion regarding superiority which is so often the subject of dispute between clerks and laymen, and preferred to live to Christ as a tonsured priest than to serve the world with kingly power; and owing to this, by the decision of God, which must in everything be deemed to be fully right, he gained the greatest eminence and the first rank in both the one and the other kind of life. For having attained to the degree of sub-deacon in the church at Winchester, he discharged the duties of his office well, and had good hope of further advancement. But as, during this interval, his father Egbert died, and Athulf was an only son, he was claimed by the people of the realm as the only rightful successor to the throne. It, however, being an unheard-of thing that any one, after becoming a sub-deacon, should be drawn back to the life of a layman, a dispute arose between the clerks and laity, so that the apostolic see was consulted on the matter. The country sent a messenger to pope Leo carrying the petition of the people; and Leo, having summoned a council on the matter, assented to what was both advantageous to the nation and wished for by them, and allowed Athulf to pass back from his sub-deacon's office to the rank of king.

On the death of king Athulf, the scholar of St. Swithun, his son Athelbert succeeded him; in the third year of whose reign, and the eight hundred and sixty-second after the incarnation of our Lord, St. Swithun was deemed worthy to hear from the Lord, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." [Matt. xxv. 21.] After the lapse of some years he was translated, and laid in a fitting shrine at Winchester, where, even to the present time, miracles are often done by the help of the Lord, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

Of the Coming of Yuguar and Ubbe.

Now that we are about to enter on the troubled history of different wars, we entreat of the reader that, if the brevity which we study does not suit him, he will at least regard what he reads as a general sketch. In that ocean of events who can track the course of every wave? While, therefore, Ethelbert was reigning in the province of Winchester, Ethelbert, [1]the second son of Ethelwolf, in West Anglia, Burred in Mercia, and Eadmund in East Anglia, which is now called Norfolk, the Danes broke forth from their country, and endeavoured to finish what they long had gradually begun.

As the matter is one of importance, I shall give a short account of the origin of this nation: I have already said a few words respecting it, and, with God's permission, I shall hereafter say much more. On this point, then, different historians have different

[1] He was the third, not the second, son of Aethelwolf.

opinions. Some in their writings have asserted that they are descended from the Trojans, for that the Trojan Anthenor,[1] having been accused of treachery during the siege of Troy, and fearing for himself through conscious guilt, got together fifteen hundred men, and, escaping from the city, after many labours, arrived in Germany, which was then uninhabited. But this country he afterwards left, and seeking the yet more distant recesses of the earth, there reigned, calling his kingdom Denmark, after a certain king Dana, from whom he was descended. The name, indeed, agrees with history, but other writers, and with perhaps more reason, make the origin of the race to have been this:

They say that the Danes are descended from Japheth, the third son of Noah, through his second son, Magog, from whom the Gothic race is derived; and that they take the name of Goths from the similarly sounding last syllable in their father's name. From the Goths, after they multiplied in the island of Scanza, which they seized, two races sprang. Of these, one under its king Thanause invaded further Scythia, and established itself there, after many wars with Velo, king of Egypt. Their wives, being vexed by the long protraction of the struggle, threw off the marriage yoke, and having chosen Lampetho and Marpessa, two women of greater courage than the rest, to be their queens, betook themselves to arms. They burnt off their right breasts to enable them to shoot their arrows, and preserved the left only for their sucking children. The other race sallying forth with Berig their king from the same birth-place, the isle of Scanza, occupied the Mæotid marshes within the recesses of Germany, and for their second dwelling-place Denmark. Among all these races a custom long existed (until it was checked among the Danes when they adopted the Christian name and faith), that the father should drive away from him all his grown-up sons, except one, whom he left to inherit his authority. The consequence of this was, that the young men, being given up to their own will, and yielding to excessive sensuality, formed connexions with different women, and became fathers of an innumerable offspring; and it became an established custom among them that, when their native land could no longer support them, they should be expelled from it to seek some other abode. Acting under the pressure of this law, they were looked upon as enemies by all the nations that lay near their country. Let whoever will read the history of the Goths, and he will find that not even Rome was safe from their attacks. Gaul, moreover, was so wasted by Beir, surnamed Ironside, and his master, Hangist, that most wicked heathen of all, that but few inhabitants were left in it. After this, the Normans seizing upon the northern parts of France gave their name to the place. After these few digressive remarks, let us return to our subject.

During the rule of those Anglian kings, whom we have named above, God, who can turn even evil to good purposes, drew out his sword to cut short the superfluity of the Angles; and caused tribes, countless in number, to boil over, as it were, from Denmark; which

[1] See Geoffrey of Monmouth, i. 12.

tribes remain even to the present time as a stumbling-block to the neighbouring nations. The leaders of the first band of invaders at this time (for they had already got possession of many places in England) were Igguar and Ubba, who landed in Northumbria first, with a very great multitude; next came Rollo with his company; then Gitri; all of whom, within twenty years, fulfilled in divers places, as we shall relate, the task of punishment foreordained by God. Igguar, then, and Ubba, first landing in Northumbria, utterly laid waste all the places that lie near the sea, from the Scottish sea to East Anglia. They burnt the shrines of the saints, laid cities, villages, and castles level with the ground, and sold for a slave a man of princely rank and descent named Gutred, who had been made prisoner by Hardecnut, one of their leaders. Shortly afterwards, however, St. Cuthbert marvellously delivered him from the servile yoke, and advanced him to be king. Moreover they burnt the abbey of Werremuth in which the holy Beda, the beloved of God, tasted the enjoyments of a life of contemplation, and which even to the present time, through veneration of that doctor of the church, keeps alive his name and fame by the dedication of a little cell to his memory. But his relics, with those of many other saints, which were there laid up, were honourably translated to the church of Durham, and repose near the altar of St. Cuthbert. Thence they passed to Whitby, St. Hilda's shrine, and putting to flight, with insult, the nuns who had dwelt there from the time of that holy virgin, they laid the place utterly waste. Thence they came by the Humber to York, broke into it after attacking it for some time with various success, and gave the seat of the archiepiscopate to the flames as they had done in the case of other monasteries of holy men.[1] Who amidst this extravagance of misery can fully describe the deaths of innocent children, matrons violated, maids deflowered, and all the varied forms of wickedness? We must rather leave them to be imagined by the instance we have given, than commit them to writing, for they are too many.

On the death of Ethelbrith, second son of Ethelwlf, the third son Ethelred succeeded, who valiantly resisted the Danes, as his brother had done. He reigned five years; and in the fourth year of his reign, which is the eight hundred and sixty-ninth from the incarnation of our Lord, Igguar came into East Anglia. This district faces the north-east, and has many harbours adapted for shipping; and as it is secure from land attacks, because it has the ocean for a wall, so it is insecure and unprovided against dangers arising from that ocean, seeing that descents may be made upon it from shipboard.

An Extract respecting St. Eadmund, King and Martyr.

At that time Eadmund was reigning in that country, a pious and devout prince, who, deriving his descent from a noble Saxon family, eclipsed all the nobility of his birth by the excellence of his

[1] At this point the editor of the original Latin text inserts a †, for the purpose, as it would seem, of showing that there is here a slight omission.

morals and the fervour of his faith. Some refer, and suitably enough as far as dates are concerned, to this holy king what we related above respecting St. Botulf; and, as here I find Eadmund, so for the name of Egbert's father I find Alcmund, and in the legend of the saints Ethelmund; and the difference respecting the names may cause the doubt.

Theodred, bishop of this same district, received the title of The Good on account of the example he showed of strict devotion and holy living. For when certain robbers had met by agreement at the church of the holy man, in order to break into it, they were all confounded in their daring attempt, and stood as though in bonds, unable to move their feet, or to lay aside the work they had begun. One hung on his ladder in the air; another, stooping as in the act of digging, was fastened to the shovel which he held, and the shovel to him. Another, with file or blacksmith's hammer, as he busied himself to burst lock or bolt, stood fastened to his tools, and his tools to him. They were, therefore, taken each in the fact, and brought before the tribunal of the above-mentioned bishop, who, by an over hasty decision (as it afterwards seemed to him), caused them all to be hung on gibbets; for the thing needed no proof; inasmuch as it was clear that they were thieves both from the evidence of the fact and the testimony of the miracle. His fellow bishops, however, blamed him for what he had done, and all the district cried out that he had acted contrary to the duties of his order. And he himself was led in penitence to confess that he had acted against the authority of the canons. For he had found it written,[1] "Let no bishop act as informer, even in the case of a clerk;" and again, "It is a shameful thing that the servants of the heavenly life should give their consent to the death of any man." He remembered also what Elisha did, when he fed the thieves who came forth from Samaria, with bread and water, before the king, and, when he had fed them, sent them to their own place. And he argued with himself that he ought rather to have liberated than hung the church robbers, because Elisha, when the king of Israel would have laid hands on those thieves, forbade it to be done. He meditated also on that scripture which saith, "Make haste to deliver those who are led away to death." [Ps. lxxix. 11.] By these and many other authorities of scripture, and by instances of facts and circumstances, the bishop concluding himself guilty, resigned himself to penitence and long sorrow; and because, by this action, he had brought scandal on the church, he desired also to be aided by her in making satisfaction. He therefore persuaded his whole diocese to give themselves up with one accord to fasting and prayer for this his sin; and thus having, as he thought, made sufficient expiation, he was anxious also in some way to adorn the martyr's shrine. Having therefore opened the old shrine, he found with his eyes that to be true, respecting which he long had doubted in his mind; for he discovered the head and body united and entire. He also clothed the saint with

[1] Concil. Later. IV. can. xviii. ap. Labb. Concil. xi. 169.

new garments and ornaments, and re-embalmed him with fresh spices; and what he had seen with his eyes, he preached all the days of his life, to the praise of God. Having inserted this digression through respect to the king and martyr, we will now resume the thread of our history.

The Danes who had slain him, joining themselves with other Danes equally perverse, and of the same stock, who had by this time seized the greatest part of Mercia, even attacked and took London, as it is said, under the command of their leader Igguar. For the men of London had no hope of escaping, because all the power of the south-western kings was failing and broken. Only Ethelred, third son of Ethelwlf, reigned still in West Anglia; but he too in the following year, that is, in the year eight hundred and seventy after the incarnation of our Lord, paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded the same year by Alfred, the last of the sons of Ethelwlf. Alfred was twenty-three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned amid many dangers brought on him by the Danes. I by chance have found his genealogical line traced down in writing as follows, according to the custom of our ancestors:—

Of Alfred, the first Monarch of all England.

In[1] the eight hundred and forty-ninth year after the incarnation of our Lord, Ealfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, was born in that part of England which is called Barrocsire [Berkshire]. He was the son of Ethelwlf; who was the son of Egbert; who was the son of Alcmund; who was the son of Effe; who was the son of Eoppa; who was the son of Ingles. Now Ingles was brother to Ine, that renowned king of the West Saxons who made a pilgrimage to Rome; and there finishing his life on earth, went to his heavenly country, there to reign with Christ. Ingles, then, and Ine were the sons of Coenred; who was the son of Ceolwald; who was the son of Cutha; who was the son of Cuthwine; who was the son of Ceaulin; who was the son of Cynric; who was the son of Creotha; who was the son of Cerdic; who was the son of Elesa; who was the son of Ella; who was the son of Gewis (from whom the Britons call the nation of the Angles Gewis); who was the son of Wig; who was the son of Freawine; who was the son of Freothegar; who was the son of Bran; who was the son of Bealdag; who was the son of Guodden; who was the son of Frithewald; who was the son of Frelaf; who was the son of Frethewlf; who was the son of Fingoldwlf; who was the son of Geata, (who has been long worshipped by the heathens as a god;) who was the son of Cetirwa; who was the son of Beau; who was the son of Celdewa; who was the son of Heremod; who was the son of Idermod; who was the son of Hathra; who was the son of Wala; who was the son of Beadwing; who was the son of Shem; who was the son of Noah; who was the son of Lamech; who was the son of Methu-

[1] Compare the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 849, by the assistance of which some of the errors in this pedigree may be rectified.

selah ; who was the son of Enoch ; who was the son of Mahalaleel ; who was the son of Cainan ; who was the son of Enos ; who was the son of Seth ; who was the son of Adam.

Should any one be displeased with the genealogy thus deduced, let him search for another ; for I do not put forward this one as authentic ; but should he compile any other, I should be still more inclined to doubt it, and call it apocryphal.

Now Ealfred in the beginning of his reign was totally given up "to serve the old man," and lived under the dominion of luxury and vice ; and, as young men are wont to do, gave up both soul and body to voluptuous indulgence ; and, though the only hope of England's nobility, yet he displayed no regard for improvement or a good name by his wise deeds ; nor was there any one to correct him. At that time, too, peace smiled upon him : for Hubba had turned on the Northumbrians the tide of his fury, in order to avenge Igguar, whom they had slain. But being, as it is said, caught in a tempest with all his fleet, and his fierce band of impious satellites, he disappeared, and has never been heard of to the present day. Most people, however, think that he perished overwhelmed by the tempest. Hence it came to pass that peace and prosperity smiled on Ealfred, and the possession of kingly power led him on, till, as I have already said, he yielded his "members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity," [Rom. vi. 19,] and neither bore about, as a Christian ought, nor cared to bear about in his body, any mark of the sufferings of Christ ; but on the contrary strove with all his might to subdue to his will virgins, and those who wished to lead a chaste life, whether they were willing or unwilling.

About this time, according to the law of the Danes already mentioned, Rollo and his companions, having been sent out of Denmark, sought a settlement in foreign regions, and on his way attacked many islands, and places near the sea-coast. Like wolves rushing suddenly from the woods, they brought their vessels to land, and, gathering a large booty, got on board again, and spread their sails to the wind, and were soon out of sight. Many, therefore, were the complaints which were brought before king Alfred from various ports and maritime places. Upon this he called a council, and after consulting with them came to the conclusion that it would be better to make peace with Rollo and his host ; for how to lead an army against men rushing in in this manner from the sea, he knew not. However, he obtained the peace he wished for ; and Rollo, being joined by those Danes who were at that time wandering about England without any certain settlement, set sail, and after various adventures by land and sea, entered the mouth of the Seine, and either with or without the consent of the French, gained a seat and principality, which is still held by his posterity.

An Extract about Saint Neot.

King Ealfred having been beaten by many stripes, inflicted by either a divine or a human hand, turned from the excesses to

which he had been accustomed; and began to repent about the past also. Accordingly he went to Saint Neot, a man of holy life, whose name, by the divine goodness, was much renowned in the king's court, in order to ask his advice. The saint at that time was nearly at the end of his days, and was living among the brethren whom he had brought together, and placed under regular rules at Nedestoche, a place in which he had for a long time led an ascetic life. Now Nedestoche is in the more remote parts of Cornwall, and was so called from Saint Neot, its first inhabitant; for it had remained uncultivated from the first origin of things to his time; being fitted rather to be the haunt of wild beasts than the dwelling-place of men, till the saint with his own hands cut down the thickets and underwood that overran it.

Saint Neot had learnt the king's mode of life by report, before he came to ask his advice, and was thus enabled to inveigh against his conduct with more certainty and a nearer aim; for boldly upbraiding him with the commission of offences which as he thought were hidden from all men, he sternly rebuked him, as was most fitting, and having been taught by holy Scripture to temper harshness with gentle soothing words, he poured both wine and oil into the bleeding sinner's wounds. Thus he so struck fear into him, that he still inspired him with hope; and so inspired him with hope, that he did not remain wavering long in it; for the saint urged him in season and out of season, declaring to him boldly that the slough of vice in which he had been wallowing, had by way of example drawn many into great danger; that the fire of hell was grievous, and grievous too the penance to be enjoined on him who would escape it. Moreover he also advised him under the hope of pardon to charter the English schools, and not to delay sending ambassadors on this business to the lord the pope. The king acted fully up to the advice given him; and in England, by his means, at the instance of Saint Neot, there are still preserved charters written in the Anglian language and in Anglian characters.

In the eight hundred and seventy-eighth year after the incarnation of the Lord Jesus, and in the seventh year of king Ealfred's reign, there burst forth, from the working of the Danish law already often referred to, a dreadful plague, to wit, king Gutrum, who landed in England with a great multitude just like their master and leader in cruelty, and being degraded by all the superstitions of the heathen nations, turned out to be more brutal even than his predecessors, Igguar, Hubba, and Rollo. For he did not, like them, invade only the sea-coasts and the regions adjoining them, and then carry off the booty, and re-enter his ships; but he rushed openly inland, and burnt down villages, cities and towns, together with their walls. For in West Anglia and the midland regions, the Angles, from the time they had dispossessed the Britons, had lived in peace. Now peace, as it is the bond of spiritual and ecclesiastical union to those who abide in the faith, is in like manner most grateful to those who do not so live, and a great incentive to vice. And so, when it had continued for a long space of time, they left,

like careless people, the safe walls of their cities and towns, and gave themselves up to sloth, and luxurious eating and drinking, in no way expecting so sudden an attack. On them, therefore, living like brute beasts and given up to luxury, came a brutal man, brutally raging, alike cruel towards all, and did with sword and battle-axe what he would: for he did not spare even those who ran to him and threw themselves at his feet. Neither old men, nor young men, nor boys, nor mothers, nor girls, nor grown-up maidens were spared on account of their age or sex: none were exempted from the general slaughter, even though they brought forth their ancestral treasures, or made an offer of submission. For he gave hamlets and villages, cities and towns to the flames, and put their inhabitants to the sword. His eye spared no man. Miserable was the destruction that might be seen. There lay in every road, and street, and cross-way, old men with reverend hoar hairs butchered before their own doors, matrons on their backs foully dishonoured in the open streets, virgins exposed to every gazer's eye, young men without heads, hands or feet, boys pierced through with spears, to be trodden under foot by every one who passed by. Some lay half-burnt in the middle of their half-burnt rooms or houses, because they did not dare to leave them; for they who were driven out of their hiding-places by the fire, perished by the sword.

Nor were rumours wanting, which spread through the country, and made even the brave fearful of calamity, and drove them to flight. King Ealfred even chose rather to yield to the spirit of prophecy than to meet the raging enemy when his own subjects were so scattered and divided. Considering that these woes had come on his kingdom for his sins and the sins of his people, he determined to bear humbly, as indeed he was bound, the yoke of divine discipline which Saint Neot had prophesied should come upon him. He therefore retreated, and was wisely fearful, and to good purpose fugitive; and came to Athelingei, a place in the extreme parts of England towards the west, called by the Britons the Land of the Nobles.[1] It is situated in the midst of marshes made by the sea, but has an agreeable plain further in. To this place he came, and amid the storms of misfortune that burst upon him he embraced that patience which rejoices in adversity, and showed himself brave at least in this respect; and, because he could not avoid being subject to the freaks of fortune, he showed that he knew how to despise them, and fixed deeply in his mind what he had often heard repeated by the saint, namely, that "mighty men shall be mightily tormented;" and that saying of the Apostle's, "The Lord scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." [Heb. xii. 6.] He also placed before his eyes the increase in righteousness of holy Job and Tobias, who, in the midst of so many afflictions, still praised the righteous acts of the Lord. He therefore lay hid in a swineherd's hut, and in the dress of a common man waited patiently for the day of consolation which had been

[1] Rather "the Island of the Nobles."

foretold by Saint Neot, and yet depended on the secret will of God.

Meanwhile it happened that as he was alone in the house with the old wife of the swineherd, she being anxious about the return of her husband from the pastures in which his herd still caused him to linger, gave in charge to Alfred some bread to bake under the hot ashes, and then, turning to some other household matter which needed her attention, forgot all about the bread till the smell of burning brought it back to her mind. Giving up, therefore, what she was about, she ran to him, and began to scold him. "Of what use," said she, "are you in this household? You do not even know how to prevent the bread from burning. I never saw a man so careless; you are unable even to turn a cake upon the ashes: and yet when it is put before you, you will, no doubt, make haste to eat it. Why are you so slow in preventing its burning?" The king, however, patiently bore her reproaches, and putting them all down to the account of his misery and penitence, bowed to the will of God, and answered, "It is as you say. I should indeed be dull if I did not know how to bake bread under the ashes." He then set himself seriously to the work before him, and applied his hands to a most unaccustomed labour, and took all care till the bread was properly baked.

In the meantime God looked down on the humble repentance of the king, and extended his holy hand to free him from the oppression under which he groaned. For the king, having been found out by some of his old soldiers, was persuaded by them to come forth openly: and there, in a few days, he made some fortifications strong enough for his purpose; and, having collected a good many soldiers and veterans, who had both experience and ability in military matters, he was enabled, in consequence of his late repentance, to show a more stubborn resistance. At first, indeed, he hovered about them, and came unexpectedly upon them out of woods and places fit for refuge, sometimes at twilight, sometimes in broad daylight, as if he cared but little whether he attacked the enemy secretly or openly. When they were on the move also, as if he well knew their plans, he came upon them before they had completed their operations, and when he had made his onset, if he saw occasion, he withdrew to a safer spot. Thus sallying at first with but weak forces and on the sudden, he afterwards waged war on his enemies openly and in great strength, and after some diversity of fortune, at first saw the way to victory open to him, and then was able to seize it and make it his own.

The soldiers, too, who had fled their country, hearing that king Ealfred was again warring with the invaders, in haste recrossed the sea, and came to his camp; and thus it came to pass that he daily became more formidable, and harassed the enemy more closely. He also sent ambassadors to Rollo, who was continually warring with the French, except when he chose to leave off for a while, and urged him to come to his assistance. He, because of the kind manner in which Ealfred had treated him, while, as I have before mentioned, he was coasting the shores of England, acceded to his

request, and gave up, for the present, the intention of besieging Paris, and crossed[1] over to England. Therefore, having received reinforcements from all sides, Ealfred preoccupied the towns upon the hills, and fortified the difficult passes, and shut up the roads against the enemy. They, however, on their part, used all their caution, and exerted their whole strength against the Angles. Gytrus [Guthrum] called together from all sides the Danes who had settled in many parts of England, and had possessed themselves of towns on the hills, and ordered them to leave their homes, and enrol themselves in his army, and began to rush headlong, as if on purpose, into danger: for he saw that his difficulties increased by delay, as the king's army grew daily larger. Therefore Gytrus also drew together a large army, and, careless of the lives of his men, wished only for the day of battle. Ealfred, however, though sure of victory, because of the saint's promise, still feared, like a good king, for his flock, and awaited the fulfilment of the saint's prophecy about the day of battle, on the summit of a hill which he had taken care to occupy beforehand, because it would have exactly suited the purposes of the enemy, if they had thought about it in time.

Of the Baptism of Gitrus.

King Ealfred, after a solemn triumph, returned to Eathelingei, and there built a very strong castle, where Gitrus, having journeyed thither to fulfil his promise, found him, three weeks after, and was baptized, with thirty of his chief men. After he had laid aside his baptismal robe, he was treated by the king with great magnificence, and returned in peace, with all his followers, to his own country,[2] and lived in quiet all the rest of his life. King Ealfred managed the affairs of his kingdom with strict justice, as he had been urged by St. Neoth; for he reduced to writing the laws and good customs of the kings before him, and handed them down to posterity to be observed by them; and had many of the laws and customs of the ancient Britons translated into the language of the Angles. Among these was the Merchene Leaga, which had been instituted by a noble and wise British queen, named Marcia.[3] He added also some of his own enacting, which are so based on equity that they can be found fault with by no one. From this fact it may be gathered how devotedly he lived in accordance with the advice of the saint, and followed in the path of justice.

Of Edward his Son, called the Elder.

When king Ealfred had completed twenty-eight and a half years of his reign, and fifty-one of his age, he paid the debt due to a

[1] This is another of Wallingford's hallucinations, in which he violates all history.

[2] Here again Wallingford has fallen into error; for, so far from returning homeward, Guthrum-Athelstan retained possession of East Anglia for twelve years, and died there in 890. See the Saxon Chronicle for that year.

[3] A singular blunder.

nature corrupted by Adam, and died in peace on the 25th of October, in the nine hundredth year after the incarnation of our Lord. He was succeeded by his son Edward, a modest, prudent and pious prince, who in all things followed the behaviour, customs and elegant tastes of his father. Having been taught by his father's example to devote himself to God's glory, he guided himself and the whole government of his kingdom by his laws. His dominion was extended wider than his father's; he had more abundant wealth, and enjoyed more continuous peace. All the South Angles submitted to him. For the Jutes of the Isle of Wight, who had been without a king from the time of Aelbert, the son of Aistulph, who died in the time of Ealfred, and the Jutes of Kent, who had had no king since the time of Baldred, who was conquered by Ethelwulf, the son of the forementioned Egbert, (for he had been sent against them by his father, at the head of a large army,) and the Midlanders and Mercians, who had been without a king since the time of Burthred, all submitted to him by agreement and for good-will, rather than because they were obliged to do so by the fate of war, or by his overpowering strength. For Ealfred, the father of Edward, had been the only one who had helped them when they were distressed by the Danes; and therefore they the more easily agreed to be subject to the son. Moreover, his kindness and courteousness of manner also persuaded them to take this step.

On the whole he passed his life in profound peace, except that he was troubled by other people's misfortunes: for, from the times of Swen, and Igguar, and Hubba, leaders of the Danes in their various invasions, many of that nation had settled on divers promontories and in other places adapted for defence, and had strengthened these positions so thoroughly that they did not fear attack. In the time of the leaders just mentioned, they had inflicted all the damage they could on the inhabitants of the country; nor indeed were they even yet slow in disturbing them. Wherefore, various provinces agreeing together, asked of king Edward, in the ninth year of his reign, that these enemies should be given up to them to be dealt with as they might choose, testifying with bitter complaints that they frequently carried off much plunder, and blockaded the roads, and robbed the merchants; and that indeed many others sallied forth for similar purposes, but secretly, and not in such a way as to call for a public complaint. The king, therefore, having given permission, all the provinces pulled down the fortifications behind which the Danes defended themselves, though not till after much warfare and long-continued labour, during which their strongest post in Mercia, named Wistoche,[1] was destroyed. But more about this hereafter.

During the times of the Danish invasions the kingdom of Northumbria was long unsettled, and till the time of Ethelstan had no king, with the sole exception of Gudred, who reigned for fourteen years. The sons of Hardecnut had sold him into slavery; but St. Cuthbert raised him from this lowly condition to be a king. I have

[1] Unnoticed by other historians; but possibly an error.

heard that it was he who slew Hubba, the brother of Inguar, in a pitched battle.

King Edward had by marriage, during these troublous times, three sons, and one daughter named Orgiva;[1] her the king of the Franks, Charles, married for two reasons. In the first place, he hoped that he should no longer have to fear the Angles, whose assistance Rollo and his followers had often invoked in their contests with him. This chief, however, died a Christian, in the time of Eadward, and was succeeded by his son Wilhelm. In the second place, Charles trusted that he should be able to recruit his army from Eadward's subjects, if he should be in need of men. The first-born of Edward's three sons was Ealstan, the second Eadmund,[2] and the third Eadred; and in their hands he left the entire disposition of the kingdom. Ealstan was conspicuous among them, not only by his priority of birth, but also by the vigour of his counsels, the elegance of his manners, and his capacity for ruling; for, permission having been given him by his father's council, he recalled Gytrus[3] into England. Gytrus came at his call from Denmark, with a large body of men, and submitted himself, with all his followers, to the king's wishes, and received from him, with Eadward's consent, East Anglia, the kingdom of St. Edmund, which had come under Eadward's dominion, as I have before said, on the same grounds and conditions as many other kingdoms. Ealstan also used the aid of Gytrus in subduing all the rebellions that broke out in South Anglia, and bringing the dissatisfied again under his father's yoke; but by this deed he laid a great stumbling-block in the path of his successors, as will be sufficiently plain from what follows.

Eadward reigned peacefully twenty-four years, and died in the nine hundred and twenty-fourth year after the incarnation of our Lord.

Ethelstan, his eldest son, succeeded him. He was anointed king by Eathelm, archbishop of Canterbury. Geoffrey of Monmouth[4] (though somewhat hostile to the nation and kings of the Angles) writes of him that he was the first of the Angles that wore a crown. This statement, though it may in some sense be true, must be supposed to have been said rather to detract from the former kings than to increase the praise of Ealstan. For afterwards, also, he leaves the history of the Angles to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, having "flattering lips and a double heart" [Psalm xii. 27]; and I fear much that "the Lord shall cut off all flattering lips" [v. 12]: but, however he might have been excused, because he says that he is merely executing the office of a translator, if the original author of the book, whom he calls a Briton, had continued his history to the time of Ealstan, I will commend my History of the Angles to God, and will write it, as He has given me strength, though I intend this only to be the outline and framework of another and fuller production.

[1] Eadgifu, married to Charles the Simple.
[2] These statements are to be received with caution.
[3] See p. 543, note [2].
[4] No such statement is made by Geoffrey.

So then, in Ealstan's reign, England became a monarchy; for both Northumbria, Scotland, and Cumberland, and all other regions in the island of England, by consent rather than by compulsion, became his subjects. For he was a lover of peace, and, in accordance with the advice of his grandfather, and the living example of his father, was righteous in his judgments; and from the meeting together in him of so many virtues, was so acceptable to all, that even to the present day Rumour (who loves to carp at the deeds of all, especially after their death) does not dare to utter anything against him.

The writer of the History[1] of the Normans has brought within the lifetime of this king the treaty with Rollo, which I have already related as happening in the reign of Ealfred. His statement is, however, impossible, as Rollo can be distinctly proved from the historian's own book, and the computations of the chroniclers, not to have lived so long. But it is a common fault of historians to refer to Ealstan, on account of his great fame, things that certainly did not happen in his time. He began to reign in the nine hundred and twenty-fifth year after the incarnation of our Lord. Then came to him Louis, with his mother Orgiva,[2] having fled in fear from France, because king Charles, the father of Louis, having a misunderstanding with his subjects, fell into their hands and was put to death by them. His son, fearing a like fate, betook himself to his uncle Ealstan, who received him honourably, as was meet, and did not delay to bring about a peace; for he sent ambassadors to William, duke of Normandy, the son of Rollo, and by his mediation reconciled all differences. Moreover, he gave his sister Orgiva in marriage to Sictric the Dane, and also conferred on him the title of king, that his sister might not descend from the rank of queen to that of countess. Sictric received for his kingdom the tract of country lying between the river Tees and the town of Edinburgh. It was in this king's reign that the Danes first had freedom of approach in England: for those of that nation, who, in the reigns of the preceding kings, wandered like strangers through England, had in Elstan's reign settled possessions; for both Gytrus in East Anglia, and Sictric in Northumbria, as was to be expected, were careful of furthering the liberty of their nation; and their object was much aided by the very excellent harbours, which were directly opposite to the land of Denmark, and furnished its inhabitants with a very easy means of approach or departure. Moreover Sictric and Gytrus obeyed Ealstan faithfully all their days. But because the prudence of a line of conduct is measured by results, we may surely say that the king ought to have more wisely provided for the safety of his descendants by shutting the door against such dangerous heirs. But as "no one is in every respect fortunate," their advantage was furthered by his desire to be on friendly terms with them, and by their constant

[1] See the chapter, "De Adelstano rege Anglorum Christianissimo, cum quo iniit Rollo fœdus indissolubilis amicitiæ," in Wilh. Gemiticensis, ii. 6; ap. Camden's Scripp. p. 612.

[2] This story concerning Eadgifu, the wife of Charles the Simple, is in some respects unsupported by history. See Limier's Hist. Genealog. ii. 26.

readiness to fulfil his wishes; for he had paid a visit to Gytrus, in Dacia, in his father's reign, and in addition to the customs of his own country had adopted some of the customs of the Danes.

* * * * *[1]

Furthermore, when Eathelm saw that Dunstan was a pleasant man, he stretched out to him the hand of friendship, and recommended him to king Ealstan, who, from that time, (on account of the filial reverence which he always entertained for the archbishop who had anointed him to be king,) counted Dunstan among his familiar friends, and soon noticed and praised his diligence, and the elegances of his manners. But the increasing difference with the Northumbrians came in the way; and the king was thus prevented from giving the wise an opportunity of "adding wisdom to him," and turned himself to preparations for war. The son of his sister and of Sictric, whom Ealstan had maintained under the title of king, for the reason above mentioned, now that his father was dead, rebelled against his uncle. This revolt of Guttred was caused by a suggestion made to him by the Northumbrians, that their country had always been wont to have a king of its own, and be tributary to none of the South Angles. Besides, it is certainly true that from the time when the Angles first came into this isle, they had been subject to no Anglian king but Ealfstan. Therefore, Guttred took to himself the name of king without consulting him, and turning out the garrisons that had been placed in the strongholds and castles of his territory, he put in soldiers of his own, and peremptorily refused to pay the tribute which had been imposed upon his father. Ealstan was moved by this conduct to set about crushing the rebellion; and, though he was well able to do this with his own forces, he still resolved to make trial of the faithfulness of his friends and of the provinces bordering on his own proper kingdom. Within a few days he collected from these quarters a large army. Be warned, however, here against the History[2] of the Normans, which states that Rollo came to aid in this rebellion, though it is certain according to the Chronicles that he died before the reign of Ethelstan. Guttred soon disappeared when he heard of the approach of Ethelstan; but afterwards, as we read in the [3]Acts of Saint Cuthbert, in consequence of that saint's exhortations, he aided the Angles against a piratical incursion of Danes, and reigned, as we are there told, many years. But the common opinion of historians is, that no one reigned in North Anglia after the time of Ethelstan. The fact appears to me to be fully proved on the authority which I have stated. Ethelstan reigned sixteen years, and died in the nine hundred and thirty-ninth year after the incarnation of our Lord. He was succeeded by his brother Eadmund, who began to reign in the nine hundred and fortieth year after the incarnation of our Lord. He, at the beginning of his reign, a

[1] Here some part of the manuscript is wanting.

[2] See Wilh. Gemitic. de Ducibus Norm. ii. 6; ap. Camd. Scriptt. p. 612.

[3] Reference is probably made to the "Historia Translationis S. Cuthberti," ap. Acta Sanctorum, mens. Mart. tom. iii. p. 130, although the circumstances of the two narratives do not accurately correspond with each other.

time when rebellions are commonly most rife, found that the Northumbrians had again risen in hopes of regaining their former liberty; but he attacked them vigorously, and soon brought them again under the yoke which his brother Eathelstan had laid on them.

Soon after the Northumbrians again revolted from Eadmund, relying on the aid of a Norwegian named Olaf, whom they had invited for this purpose from Norway, and presented with the empty title rather than with the substantial power of their king. Eadmund would have put an end to this rebellion by the execution [of Olaf], had not his army avoided the fate impending over them by taking refuge in baptism; for Olaf was a pagan, and found a means of escaping death through the mercy of the king, by putting on the baptismal robe. Notwithstanding, however, Eadmund was soon after conspired against by Olaf, the second son of Sictric, and of Orgiva, the king's sister, and Reginald, the son of Guthred, whom, as I have already said, Ethelstan drove from the kingdom. But these also were driven from the country by a numerous army, and from that time till the end of Eadmund's days the Northumbrians submitted quietly to his rule.

Of Dunstan.

Late in the same day, at the king's evening banquet, the abbot Dunstan saw the same person going about just like any other of the king's attendants. Moreover, after some days, the saint saw a young man, whose features he did not know, traversing the king's palace, and bearing in his hand a roll tightly rolled up, and covered with a small handwriting. When asked who he was, he said that he came from the eastern part of the kingdom, and spoke the Saxon tongue, and had some secret business with the king about his marriage; but, when asked to go to the king to perform his commission, he disappeared; so that to the present time it is a matter of doubt whether he was a spirit in a body that was not his own, or a real man in his own body. On the same day the king died, while at table, of a stab in the bowels by a dagger. But in what manner the blow was given, or who gave it, is to the present time uncertain. The king was laid with his fathers in the sixth year of his reign, and the nine hundred and forty-sixth after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

He was succeeded by his brother Eadred in the course of the same year. Eadred's first care was to have his brother Eadmund's sons, Eadwin and Eadgar, carefully brought up; and his whole conduct showed that he thought they would have been the proper heirs of their father's kingdom, if their tender age had not been against them. For he was very religious, advanced in age, and of a matured moral character. He held Dunstan in greater esteem, and was more friendly with him than either of his brothers Ethelstan and Eadmund had been. He seemed to look on him as his equal and companion; and Dunstan, on his part, strove as far as he could to make some return for the esteem in which he was held. The king,

in the confidence of his love for him, entrusted him with all his lands near Glastonbury, that they might have the benefit of his watchful superintendence, and placed for careful ward under the protection of his monastery the treasures collected by his ancestors and predecessors, together with what he had himself added to the pile. The abbot, as treasurer, was responsible for their safe keeping, and discharged all the duties of his office with great fidelity during the whole of king Eadred's life, and strictly paid in all that was due from the lands. Eadred was, like his predecessors, troubled by a revolt of the Northumbrians, who broke the faith which they had pledged in the beginning of his reign, and recalled Olav, whom Eadmund had driven from the country. Relying on Olav as their leader, they peremptorily refused to pay the taxes which the king had imposed on them. Upon this Eadred collected an army of South Angles to invade Northumbria, and tame their pride. By burning down their cities, razing their castles, destroying their forces, and driving out all suspected persons, he so afflicted the country that Olav was obliged to go into perpetual exile. When he was about to return to South Anglia, fearing the enemy might lay in ambush for him, he appointed a rear-guard for the protection of his army; but almost all the men composing it were cut off by the Northumbrians, who had lain in wait for it in a pass wherein much damage might easily be inflicted. They chose as their king a man named Heric, the son of Horold, who is said to have been the author of the ambush. But the king, when he heard of the slaughter of the troops composing his rear, was very wrathful, and turned his whole mind to avenge his injury. He led his army back to Northumbria, and prepared to lay it altogether waste; but their repeated entreaties, and many rich presents, and their entire and final submission, soothed the king's anger. From that time to the present, Northumbria has been subject to the South Angles, and has been grieving through want of a king of their own, and of the liberty they once enjoyed. Furthermore, the two kingdoms which formerly existed there were divided out into baronies and an earldom.

Meanwhile Eadwin,[1] the elder of Eadmund's two sons, aspired to his father's throne; his private friends suggesting to him that it was his own by hereditary right. Hence he looked with an evil eye on all his uncle Eadred's friends; and, though he dared not take any open step while the king lived, he yet betrayed the flame of envy that burnt within him by his fierce countenance and angry eyes; insomuch that several nobles, who were especially intimate with the king, retired in fear from the court.

Meantime old age came upon Eadred, and began to trouble him with all the discomforts which are wont to flock around the old. The chief thing that hastened his death was the decay of his teeth. For he could not masticate solid food, and the liquid food which was frequently prepared for him did not contain sufficient nourishment to support life. In addition to this, he was afflicted with a continual languor, and that common enemy of the old, a frequent

[1] Read, Eadwig, here and elsewhere.

cough. When he was near death he sent to the stewards of his estates, and to his treasurers, to collect enough money to pay for his funeral, and reward those of his dependents who were deserving, and give his friends presents to remind them of him after death. What remained was to be kept for his successors. Upon this, while Dunstan was hastening to the palace, an angel's voice in the midst of the journey spoke from on high, and said, "Lo! now is king Eadred departed in peace;" and, while all who were present wondered and remained standing still, the horse on which the saint sat fell down in the middle of the road and died, though the other horses in the company were not affected. The cause of this strange event would have remained unknown to history, had not the saint, who alone heard the voice from heaven, told his companions what had happened. He turned them from wonder at so sudden and unheard-of an occurrence to weeping and grief for the king's death; and, indeed, with respect to both the fact itself, and the hour at which it took place, it was found that the heavenly messenger spoke the truth. For they found that the king had died at the very hour that the voice was heard. Moreover, although many of the bishops did not attend the funeral of the king, on account of the feelings of his successor [Eadwig] towards him, the holy abbot faithfully fulfilled all the requirements of friendship, as if he had been his only friend, and executed all that he knew that the king had ordered. He also watched with all due respect by the body of the deceased monarch, and buried him royally among his fathers and his brethren, in the ninth year of his reign, and the nine hundred and fifty-fifth year after the incarnation of our Lord.

Eadwin, the eldest son of Eadmund, succeeded him the same year. But at the very beginning of his reign, that is to say, on the very day on which he was anointed and crowned, he showed what kind of a king he would be. For though, after the coronation and the celebration of the mass, the thanes and earls, as well suits so solemn an occasion, were sitting down with him, as if linked to him by the bonds of strictest friendship, at a grand and sumptuous feast, when they had finished eating, and were at their cups (a habit to which the English are far too prone), the king jumped up and left them, and went to his own chamber for wanton purposes. The thanes waited a long time in vain for his return: at last the bishop,[1] who had anointed him king, hastily left the room with abbot Dunstan, and went to his chamber to bring him back to the feast. They found the crown fallen from his head, and the king himself seated between two women, one of them named Ethelgiva, and her daughter, and he was embracing them wantonly and shamelessly by turns. They[2] at once began to reprove him, plainly telling him that it was by no means becoming to have stained the [commencement of his reign] by such an interlude; and, while they were reproving him, they put the crown upon his head, and brought him back, more against his will than

[1] This was Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. See Vita S. Dunstani, ap. Acta Sanctorum, Maii, tom. iv. p. 368.

[2] At this point the narrative is slightly defective.

with it, to the banquet. Algiva, who was petulant of tongue, and knew Eadwin's mind well, assailed Dunstan with reproaches, and foully mocked at him in order to please the king. But Dunstan, placing all his hope in God, and not fearing for her words, returned, when the feast was ended, to his abbey. But the shameless woman did not long put off vomiting all the venom of her wrath against the holy abbot, and under the cover of her dissimulation carried out the will of the king. For Eadwin had always suspected Dunstan, because during Eadred's lifetime he had had charge of the treasures of his ancestors. Using, as a pretext, the suspicion thence attaching to him, this abandoned woman obtained leave from the king to confiscate all the property and household goods belonging to the holy man. Then lifting her hand still higher against him, she turned the greater part of the monks against their abbot, and procured from his own familiar friends the means of following up her malicious plans, and increased to the utmost the means she had so obtained, and carried matters to such a pitch that she at last compelled the saint to flee. What else, indeed, could he do among so many enemies? He perceived that the king's anger was blazing secretly against him, that the queen was more boldly and openly lashing at him, and that among his brethren the furnace of sedition was only so much the more perilous, because it was lighted by the hand of a seeming friend. Those, too, who were most intimate with him did not come forward to give him advice, because they feared to incur the anger of the king and queen: for every one who tried to aid or console him was looked on almost as a public enemy. Amid these plots against him, the wiles of his old adversary could not lie hidden. For in what seemed to be a woman's voice mocking at him in the midst of the multitude who were proclaiming him an outlaw, the gibbering laugh of the fiend was plainly discernible, exulting over the fall which appeared to him final and irretrievable. But the man of God, having his mind stayed firmly on Christ as his foundation-stone, hurled back the insult of the mocking demon, and answered, "You shall have more sorrow, if it be God's will, at my return than you have joy at my banishment." As the storm against the holy man continued on all sides to increase, he was compelled to hide himself and cross the sea privately, in order that he might buy off the fear of death by the serious evils of exile. But the relations of that wicked woman, through the hatred which she had stirred up in their minds against him, followed him even down to the sea-side, with the intention of putting out his eyes. But it was in vain; the intervention of the waves saved him from all further fear of their designs. And the Lord was with the exile, and directed all his plans; for Earnald, a man of saintly life, sprung from the royal race of the Franks, took him under his protection, and most excellently showed that compassion and pity which are so commonly found among the kings and royal family of the Franks. Just at this time Earnald[1] had restored, and adorned with finer

[1] This was Arnulf, count of Flanders, concerning whom see Anderson's Royal Genealog. p. 594.

buildings, a monastery named Blandinum,[1] founded in former times by bishop Saint Amand.[2] In this he placed Wandregesilius[3] of blessed memory as abbot, with other confessors for the faith, and endowed it with gold and silver. Saint Dunstan, abiding with this man, "heard a tongue which he had not known," and learnt to speak it, and being well taught in the wisdom of the nation, gained some good even from the bitterness of exile. But the means of happiness so abundantly afforded him in a strange land, and the well-cultivated genius of the people, did not take from him the remembrance of his native land, or quench his longing for it; for such desires are wont to thrust themselves into the minds of exiles, and the image of their country draws them towards it, however unwilling they may be. But the Lord meanwhile often comforted him by visions and revelations; and Saint Andrew, frequently appearing to him, would not suffer him to be cast down.

In the meantime, by the will of God, there arose a general falling off from Eadwin; and almost all the nobles flocked to Aedgar. His appearance seemed to point him out as fitted for command, and it was set off by powerful eloquence and a noble moral character. He was also prudent in government, truthful in speech, far-sighted in counsel, and just in judgment; and by the exercise of great virtue in all ordinary events, he let it be seen that he would not be wanting in extraordinary events if an opportunity should occur of showing what was in him. On the other hand, his brother Edwin loved the peace of this world, which panders to all vices, and is the mere ape of virtue; and to it he limited his tastes. For, as I have before said, he was given to the pleasures of the flesh, was negligent, loved only those who favoured his excesses, and hated the good. These causes continually acting on the chief men of his kingdom, made them at length cleave to Eadgar as their king, and revolt from Eadwin. At the same time, [before Eadgar][4] rebelled against Eadwin indeed before any open difference or war took place, in order that he might enjoy peace on any terms, Eadwin declared himself willing to share his kingdom with his brother; and besides this, when the whole council urged it on him, he divided the realm with him, reserving, however, to himself the crown with which he had already been formally invested. The Thames, that well-known river, divided their territories; and Eadwin reigned in the southern part. The Jutes of Kent remained faithful to him, and the Jutes of the Isle of

[1] St. Pierre de Gand. Concerning the history of this monastery see the Gallia Christiana of the Benedictines, v. 184, ed. fol. Paris, 1731.

[2] See Vita S. Amandi episcopi Trajectensis, ap. Mabill. Acta Sanct. ordinis S. Benedicti, ii. 678.

[3] Another of Wallingford's errors; for the abbot under whom St. Dunstan took shelter at Ghent was Womar, or Wultmar, who presided over the monastery from 953 until 982. See Gallia Christ. v. 192, Mabill. Annal. Bened. lib. xlv. § 90. His death is entered in the Saxon Chronicle as having occurred in the year 981. See p. 74. The mistake respecting Wandregisil probably arose from the circumstance of the body of that saint having been translated a few years previously to this monastery. Id. lib. xliv. § 70.

[4] The text being here imperfect, the words enclosed within brackets have been added to complete the sense.

Wight, and all the western Angles up to the boundary-line made by the Thames, together with Cornwall and all the small states connected with it. This part of the country is far superior in abundance of corn and fruit to that which was given up to Eadgar; but it is far inferior in population, and is but thinly sprinkled with important places. For with Eadgar held all the northern part of England from the river Thames upwards, namely, Essex, Norfolk, and all Mercia with its shires, Bernicia, and Deira, with Louthian, (these last were formerly governed by kings of their own,) as far as the Castle of Maidens.[1]

Eadgar, immediately that he was confirmed in the government of his part of the kingdom, being led by the grace of God, gathered to himself all those who had been faithful to his predecessors, and recalled Saint Dunstan from exile, as he had long desired, and sent an escort to meet him and all his friends who had gone into banishment with him, with all the honour that was due to so holy a father: and, because their possessions mostly lay in the kingdom of his brother Eadwin, (for Dunstan and his people were of Eadgoreslei, near to Glastonbury: and his father was named Heorstan, and his mother Kynedrith,) as he was unable to give him back what his brother held, he made it up out of his own portion. For he gave all of them lands, sufficient for each; but, being unable to reinstitute the saint in the abbey of Glastonbury, he retained him at his court, till, by the aid of God, he should be able to promote him to a higher post. About the same time he called together a council, to consult about the affairs of the kingdom, at Bradamford. At this council the saint was present, and distinguished himself among those who treated of the laws and customs of the kingdom, by the soundness of his advice, and opened out to the great profit of the king and the realm much that had been before dark and involved. At the same council he also preached a sermon to the people, which was a most suitable beginning for a well-ordered council; and so eloquent was the peroration, that all present demanded that he should be raised to the dignity of a bishop. The king assented to all the advice which had been given by the saint, and was especially pleased with the shouts with which the people had hailed the election of Dunstan to the episcopate; for he had long been wishing to raise him to that office. Accordingly, as the favour of the people went along with the wish of the king, Dunstan became bishop of the see of Worcester, which at that time was deprived of its former bishop, Kenewold.

After a little while the bishop of London[2] died: and the king put his see and bishopric under Dunstan's care; so that he was the shepherd and bishop of one diocese, and the foster-father and guardian of another. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, declared himself well pleased that he should have the charge of two dioceses; for he knew in the spirit that the care of much greater things awaited him. Almost immediately after,[3] the archbishop

[1] That is, Edinburgh. See Wyntown, i. 54.
[2] Namely, Brihthelm. See Godwyn de Præsul. p. 173.
[3] In 958. See Florence of Worcester, p. 245.

died, and Ealsin, bishop of Exeter [Winchester[1]], was chosen to fill his place. He, being one of the partisans of king Eadwin (who was still in the vigour of youth), set out for Rome in order to be invested with the pall according to the custom of those who are chosen to be archbishops of Canterbury, and died of the extreme cold which he had to endure while crossing the Alps. Brithelm, bishop of Dorchester, was chosen in his place. He was mild, kind-hearted, gentle, merciful, and modest, and altogether given to a virtuous life, without any intermixture of external show or suppositious austerity. But God took care that his too gentle rule should not hurt the church. For when Eadwin died, after having reigned three years before the division of the kingdoms, and three afterwards, king Eadgar obtained the whole power; and the entire inheritance of his predecessor, by the grace of God, came into his hands. He then thinking that the archbishop's backwardness and excessive lenity were faults, because they were hindrances to his right discharge of his judicial duties, made him come down by the same road by which he had mounted so high. For having called a council about the matter, he brought several charges against Brithelm, arguing much remissness of conduct, and with the agreement and approval of his barons made him descend to the humble post of bishop of the church of Wells.[2] Then, with the consent and acclamation of all, Saint Dunstan was chosen to be archbishop, and received the pall at Rome from the hands of the pope, and was instituted by him with every mark of honour and respect.

About the same time king Eadgar called a council of the Northumbrian barons at York, and laid down many excellent laws for the better government of the state. He also divided into two earldoms the earldom of Osulf, whom his uncle Eadred had placed over all Northumbria with the title of earl. Now that Osulf was dead, the king was unwilling that that part of his dominions should fall to any one by way of inheritance, being apprehensive that the people of Northumbria were longing for their ancient liberty.[3] Therefore he gave Oslach[4] the country from the Humber to the Tees, and girded him with the sword of the earldom. At the same time he gave to Eadulf, who was surnamed Ewelthild,[5] the maritime part of Deira from the Tees to Mireforth, with the title of earl. Thus the two ancient kingdoms became two earldoms, and remained all the time of the Anglican kings under their rule and in their gift. Louthion, however, always lay open to the incursions of the Scots and Picts, and therefore was but little regarded by its kings. Furthermore Kineth, the king of Scotland, hearing from common report, and the praises of the two earls, Oslach and Eadulf, and Elfsi, bishop of Durham, of the greatness of king Eadgar, desiring greatly to see him, asked and obtained a safe-

[1] This correction is made upon the authority of Florence, as above.
[2] In the original, "Casinæ ecclesiæ."
[3] Here again the narrative is slightly imperfect.
[4] Compare the Northumbrian account contained in Dugd. Monast. i. 40.
[5] Probably Evil-child.

conduct to London that he might converse with him. Thus conducted, at the command of the king, by the two earls and the bishop whom I have just mentioned, Kineth, the king of Scotland, came to London, and was honourably received by king Eadgar, and treated with high consideration. While they were conversing familiarly and pleasantly together, Kineth suggested to Eadgar that Louthion was an hereditary possession of the kings of Scotland, and therefore ought to belong to him. King Eadgar, being unwilling to do anything hurriedly, for fear of repenting of what he had done afterwards, referred the cause to his counsellors. These men having been well instructed in the wisdom of their ancestors,[1] . . . unless the king of Scotland should consent to do homage for it to the king of England, . . . and chiefly because the means of access to that district for the purposes of defence are very difficult, and its possession not very profitable, . . Kineth, however, assented to this decision, and sought and obtained it on the understanding that he was to do homage for it; and he did homage accordingly to king Eadgar, and further was obliged to promise under pledges, in solemn form, that he would not deprive the people of that region of their ancient customs, and that they should still be allowed to use the name and language of the Angles. These conditions have been faithfully observed to the present day; and thus was settled the old dispute about Louthion, though a new ground of difference still often arises. Thus for the reason I have mentioned did king Kineth become the vassal of king Eadgar; as also did Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians, and Oricc [or Mackus], who governed many islands, and various kings of the Orcades. All these did homage to Eadgar.

Thus did England enjoy the blessings of peace during the times of king Eadgar and archbishop Dunstan; and by the dispensation of God and the rule of good governors, he made it so prosperous that he became a pattern to all succeeding monarchs; and that was in every way fulfilled which Saint Dunstan had heard an angel foretell about him, saying, "There shall be peace to the church of the Angles during the lives of the boy that is now born, and of Saint Dunstan." Then did England enjoy happy times, for she rejoiced in a king of her own, sprung from her own people, and she heard those who cared for the souls entrusted to them, reading the word of life, and preaching it in her own tongue. But what the fearful effects of sin are, may easily be guessed from what follows.

Meanwhile Eadgar had taken to himself two wives; by the first he had a son called Eadward, who was his most worthy successor; by his second wife, who was named Gunnild,[2] he had another son called Ethelred. During the whole lifetime of Eadgar, Gunnild hated her step-son Eadward with all a step-mother's hatred, because he stood nearer to the crown than her own son Ethelred. But she never hoped to succeed in her plots while the king lived, for she

[1] An imperfect sentence here occurs in the original.

[2] Her name was Alfthryth; Wallingford is the only authority for the name of Gunnild.

knew that the God whom he had served from his youth up kept watch over him, and would preserve him as long as He should will to do so. Now Eadgar reigned prosperously sixteen years, and then died, and was buried with his fathers; and his eldest son Edward succeeded him the same year, that is, the nine hundred and seventy-ninth[1] after the incarnation of our Lord. He was anointed king by Saint Dunstan, now somewhat advanced in years, and ripening for his eternal reward. By him he was urged to follow in the steps of his father and his predecessors, and in all his works to seek the grace of God above all things, to welcome all proofs of true faith with all joy and delight, and to show a good example to the nation over whom he ruled. And so indeed did Edward do during his whole reign; for he was a pattern of virtue, guided rather by the Spirit of God than by his own will; and by every motion and gesture, by his love of justice, and his good works, he showed forth a pattern of holiness, which though soon most excellently completed, was yet too speedily snatched away. For the Holy Spirit made beautiful the vessel which He had chosen, and brought him on as it were by the leading of nature to increase in virtue; but in this respect, indeed, God showed his heavenly skill, that in a short space of time He brought to maturity what is mostly the work of many years. For to such a degree was he warmed by the fire of charity, that he extended the hand of kindness even to his step-mother, who, he knew, hated him. He gave her, as a fitting dowry from his father, the whole of Dorsetshire,[2] and bade her hold it with the title of queen, and be answerable to no one for it, but dispose of all things in it, even those affecting the rights of the royal crown, as its queen and mistress. But this loving generosity did not ward off from him the venom of a step-mother's hate. She did not alter her feelings or conduct towards him all his life, as will be more fully evident from the sequel.

Of the Passion of Saint Aedward, King and Martyr.

While therefore the king watched over the affairs of his kingdom, and was studious in all things to maintain peace, his step-mother, caring but little for the consequences, did not care to govern her people with justice, but with womanly levity pretended. . . . . .[3]

Moreover, she herself troubled her own people, being desirous that many complaints should come before the king, and even rejoicing if she could in any way disturb his peace of mind. Therefore, when many matters of this kind occurred, many complaints were frequently brought before the king, and were referred by him to his step-mother's decision. But in vain: for the complainants returned to the king with their business unsettled. He then began to conceal as far as possible his having anything to do with his step-mother's portion, that he might not seem to be acting unfairly

[1] Edgar died on the 8th July, 975, and was immediately succeeded by his son, Edward. See the Saxon Chronicle, pp. 71, 72, and Florence of Worcester, p. 248.

[2] This statement appears to rest upon the sole authority of Wallingford.

[3] The text is here slightly imperfect.

towards her; but, when the complaints continued to increase, the king was forced to reprove her by messages, and afterwards by commands put down in writing. When he found she cared but little for these, that he might not seem to be wanting in dutiful affection, he hastened to pay her a visit in person. Alas! for him, he did not reflect on the fraud and treachery she had been practising against him even when his father Eadgar was alive: but his noble heart was led into error by his innate goodness; and he would not suspect in his step-mother a crime which he would never commit himself. He even went down to her with but few attendants, lest he should seem to wish to use force. She, on the other hand, cloaking for a time the dark deed she revolved in her evil heart, under a bright and smiling countenance, received him with outward reverence and a glorious show of attendance. The king then, having given the advice which he came to give, and having reproved her remissness with all filial respect, while preparing to return to his own home, was struck by her[1] with a dagger which she had concealed about her, and killed upon the spot. The crowd of followers, who had come with him, at once fled, and, neglectful of their duty, left his body behind. She, however, wrapped it, it is said, in lead, and for a long time hid it in the river Stour.[2] The occurrence was at once hushed up through fear of Ethelred, who, as all men knew, must by law succeed to the throne; so that no man either strove to find the king's body, or to avenge his death. For Ethelred immediately succeeded him in that same year, being the nine hundred and eighty-third[3] from the incarnation of our Lord, and the fourth of the reign of Eadward.

Eadward's body was afterwards found by means of a revelation from an angel, and was translated to Safthebery [Shaftesbury], where he was gloriously enshrined as a martyr, and received as an eternal possession the honour that he gave to his step-mother as a temporal portion; for, having had a convent for devout women built to his honour, he triumphs far more gloriously now throughout eternity, than ever he did when he fought the fight of faith during his short life as a king.

Ethelred was anointed king by Saint Dunstan, who had before placed upon the throne both the peace-loving Eadgar, and his martyred son, Saint Eadward, and his mother [Elfleda].

King Ethelred's first wife was taken from his own nation; by her he had a son named Eadmund, who afterwards, on account of his goodness and hardihood in war and the use of arms, received the surname of Ironside. Ethelred also had a daughter named Algiva. He afterwards gave her in marriage to Hurthred,[4] earl of

[1] Huntingdon too, but without giving any weight to it, mentions the report that the king was stabbed by the hand of his step-mother; ap. Petrie and Hardy, p. 748.

[2] A small river running through Dorsetshire and Hampshire. See Camd. Brit. col. 54, 60, 61. The mention of this circumstance is peculiar to Wallingford, and its accuracy may fairly be questioned.

[3] Edward was assassinated 18th March, 978, and was immediately succeeded by his brother.

[4] More generally called Uhtred; this marriage is mentioned also by Simeon of

Northumberland, who succeeded his father Waldev the elder in the earldom, on the presentation of the king. The king's chief reason was, that he might have in Northumbria a bulwark against the Danes.

About this time king Ethelred founded the monastery of Celisige at the suggestion of archbishop Siric, and when he had built and endowed it in a spirit of piety worthy of his father, he gave it in charge to Germanus,[1] abbot of Winchelcumbe, to be set in order. This Germanus his father Eadgar had translated from the monastery of Fleury; and so Ethelred translated him to his new abbey of Celisige, after everything at Winchelcumbe had been put into proper order. He founded this monastery for the repose of the soul of his brother Eadward, who had been killed in the way before mentioned.

About the same time earl Ethelwin,[2] by the advice of Oswald, archbishop of York, founded the monastery of Ramsey, and transferred thither the bodies of the two kings and martyrs Ethelbrict and Ethelred, who lie enshrined there.

Upon the death of Ethelred's first wife, he married another, named Emma, of Norman extraction, the daughter of Richard, surnamed the Old, duke of Normandy, who was the son of William, and the grandson of Rollo, first duke of the Normans. By her he had two sons, Eadward and Ealfred. His reign was marked by dangers and calamities which came upon him by reason of the perfect liberty of access granted to the Danes by his predecessors; and it became evident that the Lord in mercy removed the holy martyr Eadward, that he might not witness the times of Ethelred. For the Danes had increased in the land ever since the time of king Ethelstan, who had held them in high favour; and now they possessed the best cities in the island. Indeed, as all the kings of the West Angles made use of them in their attacks on the provinces of their neighbours, a law had been passed that every house that was able should support one Dane, that there might always be a sufficient force to serve in the royal campaigns. Thus did the Danes increase by degrees, till they oppressed the people of the land.

During the whole of this period East Anglia was especially open to them, because it is opposite to their country, and the excellence of its ports gave them easy means of access or departure; so that, if they were diminished in number either by the effects of old age, or any accident, they could at once gain fresh recruits by this ready method of approach. They had also either seized, or prepared to seize, all the best towns in the island, and caused much trouble to the natives of the land; for they were wont, after the fashion of their country, to comb their hair every day, to bathe every Saturday, to change their garments often, and set off their persons by many such frivolous devices. In this manner they laid siege to the virtue

Durham, ap. Decem Scriptores, col. 80. From it descended the illustrious family of the Nevilles. Dugd. Bar. i. 287.

[1] See Dugdale's Monast. Anglic. i. 188; Mabill. Annal. Bened. lib. xlviii. § 37.

[2] According to the History of Ramsey, it was founded 12th Nov. 969, by Ailwin, earl of East Anglia. See Dugd. Monast. i. 231, 233.

of the married women, and persuaded the daughters even of the nobles to be their concubines. For these and other like causes there arose many quarrels and wars in the realm. The king, however, smoothed the matter over, because the Danes were always in the wrong. At length, from the constant influx of their countrymen, they had so increased in numbers and strength, that they paid but little respect to the king; so that at last he was so provoked by the numerous complaints arising from their insolence, that he gave them all up to the English to be dealt with as they might think fit. But the plot did not turn out well, for not fearing the judgment of God, and counselling but badly for their own safety, they agreed together that each province should kill the Danes at that time resident within its limits; and they appointed a certain day on which they should rise up against them. This day was the Saturday, on which (as has been before said) the Danes are in the habit of bathing; and, accordingly, at the set time they were destroyed most ruthlessly, from the least even to the greatest. They spared neither sex nor age, destroying together with them those women of their own nation who had consented to intermix with the Danes, and the children who had sprung from that foul adultery. Some women had their breasts cut off; others were buried alive in the ground; while the children were dashed to pieces against posts and stones. The Danes themselves were so utterly destroyed that there survived no one to tell what had been done, with the single exception of twelve young men, who escaped from the slaughter in London, and, fleeing to the Thames, threw themselves into a small boat, and, seizing the oars,[1] quickly rowed themselves out of sight, and when they came to the sea-coast, they exchanged it for a ship, and spreading sail as quickly as they could set off for Denmark.

With weeping and mourning did they tell Swen, their king, what had been done in England. Immediately, he, burning to be revenged, summoned his council, and bent them to his will, and fired them with the desire of revenge. He also wrote letters describing the cruel deed, and sent them through the neighbouring provinces and regions. The people, being fond of havoc and bloodthirsty, when they heard the news, all with one consent agreed to help Swen, and came together at the appointed time. They consisted of the Alans, the Scits, the Swatheds, and the tribes from the Hyperborean mountains, and the country which is first blown upon by the north wind.

Of the approach of Swein the Dane, and Onlaf, the King of the Norwegians.

The Norwegians came with their king Onlaf; and within a short time a very large army was brought together. But Swein[2] alone was moved by the desire of revenge; the others were rather urged

[1] The words, "sisâ retracti usque," are here left untranslated.

[2] The whole of this narrative respecting Svein, and the transactions in which he took a part, must be received with considerable caution.

by desire of gain, and the hope that the rich spoils of England would minister to their greed. Meanwhile the report of the massacre of the Danes had stirred not only the regions mentioned above, but also all those in the neighbourhood of England; for men, not taking into account the sufferings which the English had sustained at the hands of the Danes, held their slaughter to be a most unholy deed. None, therefore, of his allies would arm to aid him: nay, even those who, like the Normans, were allied to king Ethelred by the tie of marriage, gave him no help. For king Ethelred, on hearing of the junction of so many nations against him, crossed over the sea, and came to his wife Emma's brother, Richard, the son of Richard, asking for assistance, and, being received honourably by him, tried to show him that the cause of the English was bound up with his own. Now the duke was very pious, so that he was often called the father of the monks, and therefore heard him make his request with great attention, though he did not move in the matter. The king then returned to England, expecting that he should have aid from the duke; but the future proved he was altogether mistaken. However, he left his two sons, Edward and Ealfred, whom he had had by the duke's sister, in Normandy, to be brought up at their uncle's court, and returned himself to Winchester, waiting for the day and season of divine judgment, which, heralded by many a rumour and the certainty of coming woe, was so soon to break on England for the greatness of the sins of its king and people.

But Swen, king of the Danes, and Olaf, king of the Norwegians, sailing up the Humber, and landing at York, or rather in its territories, rested their men for some days there, till they were recovered from the labours and discomforts of a long sea-voyage; and then attacking York itself, in a few days reduced it to submission. For the inhabitants of this province had for a long time before this had much intercourse with the Danes, and intermarried with them, and become like them in speech. Then the Danes spread their sails to the wind, and, entering the Thames, strove to bring it under their dominion on the same terms, but they were for the time repulsed by the valour of the citizens. They then attacked Kent, and made it tributary to them; and when they had much increased, from the multitudes of Danes who kept flocking to them from all sides, they at length returned to London in sufficient force to lay regular siege to it. But king Olaf was reconciled to king Ethelred during the siege, and was baptized, Ethelred himself being his godfather, and immediately returned to his own country. This sudden change of conduct on the part of Olaf opened out a stream of indignation and hatred against him in the breasts of Swein and his son Cnut.

Of the Devastations committed by King Swen.

But Swen remained behind much longer, to satisfy his feelings of revenge, and wasted every place he could come at. The war between the English and the Danes lasted a long time; but the

invaders became more terrible every day, and a plague also pressed hard on the land, so that no part of it was safe or secure all the days of Swein. For, as he possessed York entirely, and exacted tribute from Kent for the uses of his army while it lay before London, he made most dreadful incursions, at intervals, into the territories of the South Angles and West Angles. He would indeed have been king of England, even during the lifetime of king Ethelred, had not the mockery of fortune grudged him so high a dignity, and death interrupted his successes. For, whilst he was parcelling out the realm, he died,[1] in a part which had already submitted to his jurisdiction. The efforts of the Danes were in consequence put a stop to for a time. In order to show due honour to their king's remains, they all left England with the dead monarch, and Cnut, his son and successor, and conveyed him to Denmark. After his burial, Cnut took up his cause, and again had recourse to arms. He brought his army together again, and like another Antæus, came with renewed strength, mightier and fiercer from contact with his mother-earth. For the sin which Elfrida had committed in murdering St. Edward clung, as we must think, in part to her son Ethelred; and the wrath of God was kindled against the people of the land for their unheard-of cruelty in the Danish massacre.

Of the Return of Cnut the Dane, the son of Swen.

Cnut then returned to England with a great army, aided by Lacman,[2] king of the Suevi, and the Norwegian forces. He had expelled their most christian king Onlaf from his kingdom, because he had left Swen at the siege of London, contrary to the oath of mutual alliance which they had taken against the English. At the same time he had taken possession of his dominions, and now led out his troops with him on his expedition. He landed in upper Northumbria, and there fell in with its earl, Huctred, and put him to death, but kept his wife Algiva, the daughter of Eathelred, by him all the time the war lasted, and had by her Horold,[3] who was his first successor on the throne.

He immediately reduced under his dominion all that his father had gained in war, and prepared, with the forces he had drawn together from all sides, again to lay siege to London; but the English met him in great force at Auxedune; and a pitched battle took place, in which by the judgment of God the English were all given unto the hands of their enemies, and an immense number of them was slain. Then he sailed up the Thames and besieged London. Eathelred was then in the city, supplying the citizens with arms and troops, and strengthening them by his bodily presence. He could not help them more actively, as he was very

[1] Svein died 2d Feb. 1014.

[2] Here again the narrative of Wallingford should be tested by collateral authorities before being accepted.

[3] Namely, Harold Harefoot, who reigned from 1035 to 1039.

ill; and, indeed, he breathed his last during the siege. He died and was buried in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the thousand and twenty-first[1] after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Of Edmund Yreneside, son of King Aethelred.

His son by his first wife, Eadmund Ireneside, succeeded him, and during his brief lifetime reigned admirably. He was most active in arms, and a very thunderbolt in war. In the short time that the English were subject to his rule, he fought five battles with Cnut, and, had he not been hindered by disturbances among his own people, would have brought the war to its fitting end. But the English would no longer bear with a mortal struggle and dreadful war, which had been prolonged through almost eighteen years, and in a cowardly manner determined to submit, and compelled their king, Eadmund, to make peace. Thus did he, against his will, come to terms with Cnut. The conditions of peace were, that Cnut should possess in peace all that either he or his father Swein had won while invading the kingdom, and that king Eadmund should keep what came to him by hereditary right, and that the one who died first should leave his share to the survivor. In confirmation of this agreement Emma,[2] the queen of Ethelred, was given in marriage to Cnut, who rejoiced much at the affinity to the Normans which he gained by this means.

But Eadmund, alas! a month after peace was made, put off this mortal body,[3] and left his nation to long-continued slavery, with no hope of regaining their former liberty save by the divine favour.

He was succeeded, according to the terms of the forementioned treaty, by Cnut the Dane, who was rather the enemy of the English than their king. He immediately changed the statutes, and written laws, and customs of the country, and made the people, who had flourished in all honour and liberty in the time of their own kings, to bow beneath a most heavy yoke. He would not listen to any of the institutions of the good and just king Alfred, who had collected and reduced to writing what seemed good in the customs of other nations from all quarters. But whatever either he or his successors had legally sanctioned, Cnut endeavoured to bring down to the standard of his own will. And thus it came to pass that he took into his own hands the estates, and possessions, and ancient abodes of noble and rich men. And besides this, how many and how great deeds of injustice were done under cover of his protection, no written statement can possibly declare. Just in the beginning of his reign ambassadors came from Normandy on the part of Eadward and Ealfred, the sons of Eathelred, and the brothers of Eadmund Ireneside, whose lawful heirs they were, to dispute Cnut's right to the kingdom, and claim it for the youths just mentioned. Cnut, having called together a council to deliberate about the

[1] He died 23d April, 1016. See Saxon Chronicle, p. 89.
[2] Aelfgifu-Emma.
[3] He died 30th Nov. 1016. See Saxon Chronicle, p. 91.

matter, refused to give up the kingdom; and so the ambassadors returned to Normandy without effecting the object for which they had come.

Of the Sons of Eathelred, King of England, and the Marriage of their Mother with Cnut the Dane.

But the two brothers, Eadward and Ealfred, conversed with their uncle, Richard the Second, about their right to the kingdom, till they at last prevailed so far as to make him try the fortune of war in their behalf. For, pitying their long exile, and being indignant at the proud and presumptuous demeanour of Cnut, he thought that he ought to punish him, and accordingly he prepared a fleet for the purpose, and set sail for England, as he had intended. But he was not successful; for a tempest suddenly arose and put the sailors into confusion, so that they were driven out of their course by an adverse wind; and so it happened that, after a long interval of time and much danger, they at length with difficulty came back to Mount St. Michael.

Meanwhile Cnut, having heard the threats of the sons of Ethelred about the armament, and being sensible that it was put off rather than abandoned, and being at the same time doubtful about his right to the throne, after putting many circumstances together, got ready ambassadors, and sent them to Eadward and Ealfred to treat with them about the advantage of remaining at peace. They also, before all those whom duke Robert had assembled to give audience to the ambassadors, offered to give the princes half the kingdom of England,[1] in order to secure the maintenance of peace; for Cnut was somewhat troubled in mind, and feared for himself and his cause, and, being in daily fear, was anxious to put an end to the danger of attack which he perceived impended over him from that quarter.

We have before told how Olave, king of the Norwegians, took refuge in baptism at the time that London was besieged by Suen, and went back to his own country, and, on the return of Cnut with the body of his father Suen, was banished from Norway, and fled to Russia. About the time of which we have just been speaking he was inspired by an angel to return to Norway. There he found that a large number of the nation, who had before conspired with Cnut against him, were adverse to his return. They faithlessly strove to keep him from the throne, and still more faithlessly slew him in battle. However, he is now reverenced as a holy martyr by the Norwegians (as indeed is most fitting), and is renowned for frequent miracles.

Of Hardecnut, the son of Cnut.

And now with respect to the children who were born to Cnut by Emma, the duke's sister, they strove to impress upon the duke's mind that they were not less nearly related to him than Eadward

[1] Here is a slight hiatus in the text.

and Ealfred; for Emma, after her marriage with Cnut, had given birth to a son named Hardecnute, and a daughter Gunild, who was afterwards married to the Roman[1] emperor.

The reign of Eadward was therefore put off for a long time, and for many reasons. The chief reason, however, was thought to be the duke's journey to Jerusalem, which he had vowed long before. Thus of all that was promised to the duke by the ambassadors, nothing was fulfilled; for the duke put the whole matter off till his return; but he came back no further than the city of Nice, where he died, in the thousand and twenty-sixth[2] year after the incarnation of our Lord.

[1] She was married to Henry III. emperor of Germany, and died 16th July, 1038.
[2] Duke Robert died at Nice, A.D. 1035. See Wilhelm. Gemitic. v. 13 (p. 648).

THE HISTORY OF INGULF.

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WHEREAS, I, Ingulph, by the long-suffering and mercy of God, abbot of the monastery of Croyland, by reason of the office imposed upon me, being bound to give my attention to its ecclesiastical affairs, in the first place it seems to me expedient to ascertain the founders and benefactors of our monastery—the date of its foundation, the persons who charitably provide us with victuals and other necessaries, and also the estates or possessions which we have received from the bounty of individual donors, that both you and our descendants may be made aware for whom we are constrained to implore and importune the mercy of God. But since it will be too tedious a task to linger upon each of these topics, abounding as they all do in copious materials for discussion, at all events I will in no wise refrain from briefly inserting in my work such statements as shall be found to be most necessary for the information as well both of us of the present day as of our successors, according as I have heard them both from my aged brethren who are still living, and who received the information in a true narration from their immediate predecessors, and also from a diligent examination of ancient memorials, in agreement with the prophecy of the Psalmist—"As we have heard and known these things, and our fathers have told us." [Ps. xliv. 1.] And likewise, "The sons shall arise and tell it to their sons, that it may be known from generation to generation." [Isa. xxxviii. 19.] And elsewhere—"Whatsoever things were written, were written for our learning." [Rom. xv. 4.]

Hence, in the first place I have determined to write some account of certain of the kings of the Mercians, who in the last times have been converted to the catholic faith. And although Penda was an irreligious heathen, an usurper of the title of king, and of the kingdom of the Mercians, and the furious and tyrannical murderer of the king Saint Oswald, yet I mention him as he had sons most devoted fosterers of the christian religion, Peada Wulfhere, Ethelred, Merwald, Mercellm, and daughters, Kynenburga and Kyneswitha, both distinguished for holy chastity. The unbridled ambition of Penda, after he had long been stimulated by the fury of a heretic, found an end suitable to its deserts. For through the power of God he was destroyed by Oswy, the brother and successor of Saint Oswald ([1]may his memory be ever blessed

[1] This clause does not occur in Saville's text.

by Him who alone will reward every man according to his works,) and thus increased the number of infernal spirits.

His eldest son Peada succeeded him in the kingdom. This Peada had formed a resolution of founding the monastery of Medeshamsted, but being prevented by a premature death,[1] he bequeathed his ardour to Wulfere, his brother and successor, and to the powerful Saxulf. These persons are well known to have founded the monastery in question, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ's incarnation six hundred and sixty-four. Wulfhere reigned sixteen years, and died a natural death in the seventeenth. After his decease Ethelred his brother succeeded to the kingdom, and after reigning thirty years was made a monk in the monastery of Bardeney. He was succeeded by Kenred, the son of Wulfhere, who reigned four years, and in the fifth year of his reign, he left his kingdom, set out for Rome, and there ended his life at the threshold of the apostles. After Kenred, Celred, son of Ethelred, the former king, reigned eight years.

At this time lived in exile the etheling Ethelbald,[2] the grand-nephew of Penda by his brother Alwy, a man of graceful stature, great bodily strength, and a martial disposition, but it is much to be lamented that he was so puffed up with pride of heart, and so excessively rash and immoderate in his pursuits, that in punishment for so great a fault, (as we may piously believe,) he suffered many reverses, and even endured a banishment of some continuance from the helm of his kingdom. Being vehemently pursued from one place to another by the above-named king Celred, and having exhausted his own strength and that of his followers amid hazards and perils, he came (according to custom) to a man of God, his confessor Guthlac,[3] and humbly laid open to him his troubles and complaints, in order that when the counsel of man failed, he might receive that of God. The saint, having listened to his tale, gently consoled him, and, as the interpreter of the divine oracle, detailed to him the events of his future life in order, promising him rule over his nation, the trampling down of his enemies, and the government of his people. He bade him, however, not to put his trust for the accomplishment of this promise in war or blows, or the effusion of blood, but in the power and aid of God. And he concluded with the exhortation—"Acknowledge the Lord your God, and above all fear, study to reverence holy church; constantly deplore the iniquity of your sins, and observe a resolution of leading a good life; and place your hope in the firm assistance of God, if you offer before Him the merits of good works." By these words and this exhortation the spirits of the before-named Ethelbald were so greatly rekindled, that without delay, in the presence of his father Guthlac and others then standing round, he promised with his mouth to put in practice an idea he had conceived in his heart, that is to say, that when he returned in peace to the helm of

[1] He died in Easter, 656. See Beda, iii. 21, 24.

[2] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 716.

[3] This incident is found in the Life of Guthlac, by Felix of Croyland, which will be given in its due place. See also the present volume, p. 527.

his kingdom he would found a monastery of religious persons, to the praise of God and the memory of his aforesaid father Guthlac —a promise which he afterwards effectually and devoutly fulfilled.

In the meanwhile, after the lapse of some time, while the aforesaid exile Ethelbald was still lying concealed in some distant parts of the country, he heard of the death of the holy man, and with mourning and lamentation came to visit the place. As he was watching with tears and lengthened prayers in a neighbouring cell, the saint appeared to him and comforted him with these words— "Be of good cheer, and cease to sorrow, for God has by my intercession heard your prayers, and before the present year has finished its circling round, you shall sway the sceptre of your kingdom in happiness, and enjoy it for the space of many days." But he answered—"O Lord, what sign shall I have that these things will come to pass?" And the saint replied—"To-morrow, before the third hour of the day, the inhabitants of the island of Croyland shall be furnished with unexpected provisions." Ethelbald, laying to heart all that had happened, believed with unwavering hope that all this would come to pass. Nor did his faith deceive him, for all fell out according to the prophecy of the man of God.

After Guthlac, the servant of God, was dead and buried, miracles of power and healing began continually to shine forth through invoking his intercession, as in the Book [1] concerning his Life and Miracles, (according as I have been able to collect the particulars from your annals,) more clearly and lucidly is set forth in order. But king Ethelbald, when he found his blessed comforter thus shining forth by his miracles, sought out the place of his burial with joy and devotion, and the promises he had made to the aforesaid man of God when alive, he, now that he had obtained the kingdom, fully performed. For having sent as quickly as possible for a monk of Evesham of remarkable piety, Kenulph by name, he granted, gave, and confirmed to him and the servants of God for ever, the whole island of Croyland, to the intent that he might assemble a religious community there; and he exempted it entirely from all taxes and secular customs, and in the presence of the bishops and nobility he ratified the charter which follows:—

"Ethelbald,[2] by divine appointment king of the Mercians, to all the fosterers of the catholic faith wishes perpetual greeting.

I return thanks with great exultation to the King of all kings, and the Creator of all, who, when I was compassed about with wicked men, constantly sustained me even to the present day, mercifully drew me to Himself, and raised me up by little and little to the acknowledgment of his name. Hence it is good for me to cleave unto the Lord and in Him to place my hope. But what shall I return unto the Lord for all his benefits, which He has

[1] Reference is here made to the legend by Felix, which has already been mentioned.

[2] This charter (which is spurious) is printed in the Codex Diplom. No. lxvi. (i. 77), from the Arundel MS. 178, fol. 25, by a comparison with which the text has been corrected in a few particulars.

bestowed on me? I will do his pleasure before Him in the light of the living, since without Him we have nothing, we are nothing, and our power is nothing. For with great eagerness does the Author of our salvation, and the Giver of all things, accept from us that which is least, that He may have a reason for bestowing upon us in return that which is greatest, and joys which are eternal. He thus consoles those who obey his teaching by performing works of mercy with these words,—'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' [Matt. xxv. 40.] Accordingly, having been counselled by the devout anchorite and my beloved confessor Guthlac, and stimulated by his entreaties, I gladly acquiesced in his request in the following terms:—

For the eternal memory of this privilege, I by this patent charter give, deliver and grant to Almighty God, to the blessed Mary, and Saint Bartholomew, out of my demesnes, for the foundation of a monastery of black monks, serving God under the rule of Saint Benedict, the whole island of Croyland for the seat of an abbey, separate, and to be held separately, within four waters included—to wit, with the water which is called Schepishee towards the east, and with the water which is called Nene towards the west, and with the water which is called Southee towards the south, and with the water called Asendyk towards the north, where is the common sewer between Spaldelyng and the aforesaid island. And the said island contains four leucæ in length, and three leucæ in breath, with the marshes adjacent towards the east on the opposite side of that island, on each part of the water of Weland; of which, one part towards the north, called Goggislound, contains two leucæ in length, from the bridge of Croyland, where is the entrance to the island, as far as Aspath, and one leuca in length from the water of Weland, in the southern part, as far as Apenholt, towards the north, near the bank, and it has the whole length equal to the breadth; and the other part of the marsh, in the southern part of the water of Weland, contains two leuca in length from the bridge of Croyland as far as Southlake, near the bank on the opposite part of Aspath, and it has two leucæ in length from the water of Weland, as far as Fynset, near the water of Nene, in the southern part of that marsh, with a several right of fishery in the waters of Weland and Nene, as far as the aforesaid boundaries of each marsh, and in all the waters surrounding the aforesaid island.

Accordingly I have appointed a monk of Evesham, a man of tried piety, Kenulph by name, as abbot, in order that he may collect there approved monks of the same order; and I have given them from my treasury for the building of that monastery, in the first year three hundred pounds of the coin of the realm, and for the ten years next following in each year one hundred pounds; and I have also given them liberty to build a town there, or to inclose it, as far as from these two marshes towards the west, for them and theirs, as to the aforesaid monks may seem good.

Therefore I will that the aforesaid monks shall hold these my gifts with all appurtenances, free and exempt from all secular burdens, as my alms for ever, together with all advantages which may

accrue or be produced within the said boundaries, either beneath or above the earth, with commons of pasture for all kinds of animals, at all seasons, for themselves, their men, or their tenants residing in the same place with them, on each part of the water of Weland; to wit, from one part as far as the territory of Medeshamstead, and from the other part to the dwelling-houses of Spaldelyng, together with all liberties and free customs which the royal power has freely granted to any church in my kingdom in time past.

And I stringently enjoin that if any one shall presume to contrive any impediment to this my authoritative testament, with a view to prevent their peaceful possession of any of my donations and grants, he shall pay one hundred pounds of the current coin of the realm to my treasury; and shall also for their loss and expense make due satisfaction to the aforesaid monks. And I beseech all my successors in the kingdom to maintain this my penalty and censure inviolate, as they wish to receive the due reward of justice, and escape the punishment of rapacity. And whosoever shall increase or defend these alms of mine shall be reckoned eternally in the number of God's elect.

This my charter was ratified in the year of the incarnation of Christ seven hundred and sixteen, and is subscribed with the sign of the cross by the following trustworthy witnesses:—

✠ I, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, by free consent, have confirmed it.

✠ I, Brithwald, archbishop of Canterbury, have ratified it.

✠ I, Wynfred, bishop of the Mercians, have approved it.

✠ I, Ingwald, bishop of London, have given my entire consent to it.

✠ I, Aldwin, bishop of Lichfield, have adopted it.

✠ I, Tobias, bishop of Rochester, have approved it.

✠ I, Ethelred, abbot of Bardeney, have greatly desired it.

✠ I, Egbald, abbot of Medeshamstead, have devoutly asked that it might be done.

✠ I, Egga, earl of Lincoln, have counselled it.

✠ I, Leuric, earl of Leicester, have assented to it.

✠ I, Saxulph, son of earl Saxulph, have corroborated it.

✠ I, Ingulph, called to be a presbyter and humble minister, have heard it.

I, Ethebald, who, though unworthy, yet by the long suffering of God hold the helm of the kingdom of the Mercians, humbly return it with the greatest confidence to Christ, my Creator, concerning whom it is prophetically written in the Psalm, 'His mercy is over all his works.' [Ps. cxlv. 9.] I submit myself entirely to his mercy, and to the prayer of holy mother church, and commend myself to her spiritual offices."

Hence a certain poet has thus said:—

"I, king Ethebald, who (under God) rule the Angles, build this abbey to Thee, O Christ; and this land which I deliver unto Thee, O Jesus, being a part of the royal wastes, is named the isle of Croyland; and all this land, with the waters which surround it and

shut it in, I give to Thee, O Almighty God. Moreover, I give to the stone-masons employed upon the fabric for the first year three hundred pounds, and for the next ten years I give one hundred pounds annually for the masons thereupon employed for the time. Kenulf, a professed monk of Evesham, shall be the first abbot, and to him I grant the site; and I confirm all the lands and tenements which any of my nobles may give to God. If any Angle oppress this Kenulf he shall forfeit all his chattels to me, the king; and moreover, until he shall have satisfied my monks for all injuries done to them he shall suffer imprisonment. My nobles and bishops of the Angles are witnesses before God to this my donation. St. Guthlac, confessor and anchorite, in whose hearing I say thus much, lies here. May that most holy priest, at whose tomb I have made this donation, pray for us."

And because the soil of Croyland is marshy (as indeed the name itself, which signifies crude and boggy land, indicates), and was unable to bear an edifice of stones, the aforesaid king Ethelbald caused numberless vast stakes of oak and ash to be fixed down in the ground, and ordered hard soil to be carried in skiffs nine miles by water from Uplande, (that is, the higher land,) and to be mixed with the marshy soil. And thus he began and completed a stone church, (for Saint Guthlac was before contented with a wooden oratory,) and he built a monastery, and enriched the place with decorations and estates, and other resources, and loved it most tenderly during the whole of his life. Nor from its first foundation by this king to the present day did the monastery ever lack religious monks to dwell therein. There were also at that time in the same island, some living the life of hermits, who, cleaving with holy intimacy to the man of God, as long as he lived, as the weak cling to the physician, kept their souls continually in a healthy state by means of his instruction and example. One of these, Cissa by name, was a recent convert to the catholic faith. He was a man of noble birth, and formerly exercised great influence in worldly affairs; but he left all and followed his Lord Christ. Another was Bettellinus, a most intimate servant of the aforenamed father. Another was Egbert, who, above all others, was cognizant of his private affairs. A fourth was Tatwin, formerly his guide and pilot to this island. All of these in single cells, not far from the oratory of the holy father Guthlac, occupied by licence from the aforenamed abbot Kenulph separate dwellings to the end of their lives. But Saint Pega, sister of our aforesaid holy father Guthlac, quickly after the revolution of the first year from his death, (having previously left there in the hands of Kenulph, the abbot, the scourge of Saint Bartholomew, and the Psalter of her brother, together with some other relics,) sailed by a boat to his cell, which was distant from the oratory of the aforenamed brother four leucæ on the western shore, and after having spent here two years and three months in lamentation and mourning, she set out in the midst of cold and with much abstinence for the threshold of the apostles Peter and Paul. And when she entered the city of Rome, a peal of all the bells suddenly resounding through the air

for the space of one hour, testified to all the citizens the merit of her sanctity. Here, subject to the divine yoke, she at length concluded her days in the fear of God. Her holy body was there committed to the earth, in the midst of many other Roman tombs, but her spirit ascended from the labours of this present life to its eternal rest.

The aforesaid king Ethelbald having finished and fully completed his monastery of Croyland, constantly turned his attention to promote the interests of holy church everywhere throughout his kingdom, and bestowed dignities and privileges upon other communities of religious persons, both male and female. Accordingly, in order to establish the liberty of the church throughout his kingdom, we read that in the third year of his reign he put forth the following statute :—

"Since it often happens through the uncertain vicissitudes of times, that those things which have been confirmed by the testimony and advice of many faithful persons, by the contumacy of very many and their fraudulent artifices, without any regard to justice, are made of none effect, to the peril of their own souls, unless they be consigned to eternal memory by the authority of writing and the testimony of charters,—therefore, I, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, out of love to heaven, and for the redemption of my soul, have deemed it necessary to determine, how I may, by good works, set it free from every chain of sin. For since the omnipotent God, through the greatness of his mercy, without any antecedent merit on my part, has bestowed on me the sceptre of this kingdom, therefore I willingly pay Him back from his own gift. On this account I grant in my lifetime that all monasteries and churches of my kingdom shall be exempted from public taxes, works, and burdens, excepting the building of castles and bridges, from which no one can ever be excused.

"Moreover, the servants of God shall have perfect liberty in the produce of the woods and the fruit of the fields, and the right of fishing; nor shall they offer presents to the king or princes, unless voluntarily, but they shall serve God unmolested, in peaceful contemplation, through the whole of my kingdom even to the end."

After the aforesaid king Ethelbald had reigned forty-one years, according to the prophecy of the holy father Guthlac, having entered into war without due forethought, he was killed at Seggeswold by the tyrant Bernred. This man, however, did not long glory in his excessive tyranny, for he perished in the same year. King Ethelbald was buried at Ripadium, (that is, Ripedune,) at that time a very celebrated monastery, and left the kingdom of the Mercians to the grandson of his uncle, namely, Offa, the son of Dingfert, the son of Aenulph, the son of Osmond, the son of Eoppa, the son of Wibba, the father of king Penda, with the full consent of the nobility of all Mercia. This Offa reigned forty years, and founded a monastery of black monks in the city of Verolameum, to the honour of God and of the proto-martyr of the Angles, Saint Alban. And being everywhere much devoted to God's saints, and

ever inclining his ears to the prayers of religious men, he, at the request of Patricius, lord abbot of Croyland, who had succeeded Kenulph, its first abbot, confirmed the monastery of Croyland by his charter[1] in these words:—

"Offa, king of the Mercians, to all lovers of Christ, through the whole kingdom of Mercia, sends eternal greeting.

Ceaselessly recollecting that the days of men are short, and that in these few days of ours, whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap, I desire by the holy works of my present life to purchase for myself and to reap in the future eternal rewards. Accordingly, I take under my protection Patricius, abbot of Croyland, and his monks serving God there, and all his servants, and the place Croyland itself, and everything which is his; and I enjoin that they, like my brethren the monks of Saint Alban, be free and exempt from all secular burdens, and held excused from all taxes everywhere throughout my kingdom. And I confirm to the same the aforesaid monastery, together with all its possessions and other things whatsoever my kinsman, the former renowned king Ethelbald, the founder of the said monastery, conferred upon them, and whatsoever his or my nobility afterwards conferred, or shall confer in the future, or whatsoever the faithful of Christ shall confer on the said monastery of Croyland for ever.

✠ This charter I, Offa, king of the Mercians, have granted and confirmed in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, seven hundred and ninety-three.

✠ I, Aethelard, archbishop of Canterbury, have consented.

✠ I, Aegbald, bishop of Winchester, have subscribed it.

✠ I, Aldred, bishop of Dorchester, have placed my mark under it.

✠ I, Aldulph, bishop of Lichfield, have approved it.

✠ I, Benna, abbot of Medeshamsted, have ratified it.

✠ I, Ceolburga, abbess of Berdea, have prayed for it.

✠ I, earl Heabricht, at the command of my lord the king, have signed it.

I, Tilherus,[2] presbyter of my lord king Offa, and at his command, wrote this charter with my hand."

In the year next following, the aforesaid Offa, king of the Mercians, having died[3] on the fourth of the kalends of August [29th July], his son Egbert[4] succeeded to the dignity of the kingdom, and after reigning one hundred and forty-one days was carried off by disease. His successor Kenulph, a noble man and blessed with a holy offspring, most gloriously held the helm of government, in peace, piety, and justice, for twenty-six years. After Kenulph, its first abbot, the before-named Patricius succeeded to the pastoral duties of the monastery of Croyland, but in the time of the aforesaid king Kenulph, the third abbot of the said

[1] Printed by Kemble, No. clxiii. (i. 199), from the Arundel MS. already quoted. The charter is spurious.

[2] In the text given by Kemble the name of Tilhere is not mentioned, and the charter is said by earl Heabricht to have been written by himself.

[3] Offa died on the 10th Aug. 796.

[4] Read, Ecgferth.

monastery, named Siward, who was related to king Kenuulph, and his religious and most intimate confessor, obtained by his entreaties from the munificence of the king, in the twelfth year of his reign, the following charter :—

"Kenulph,[1] by the mercy of God king of the Mercians, to all the Midland Angles throughout the whole of Mercia, who confess the faith of Christ, wishes perfect peace and eternal salvation.

Let all and singular know that the Lord by wondrous miracles and remarkable prodigies has magnified his saint, the most blessed confessor of Christ, Guthlac, whose body rests in the monastery of Croyland; and by innumerable recent miracles, as I and my queen lately saw with our eyes in our journey, has caused him lately to shine forth day by day more clearly to the knowledge of the whole world. Therefore, at the petition of that most religious man, and our spiritual father and adviser, Siward lord abbot of the said monastery, with the advice and counsel of the venerable father lord Uulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, who was our companion in our journey, I take under the keeping of my protection the aforesaid monastery of Croyland, with all the island adjacent, as in the charter of the former king Ethelbald, its founder, it is by boundaries distinguished, together with the monks of the said monastery, and the lay brethren, and all the servants. Moreover I will that all pilgrims coming there for purposes of devotion, and marked with the sign of Saint Guthlac on their hoods or mantles, shall be for ever free and exempt from all payment of toll and tax, into whatever part of the whole kingdom of Mercia they come. And I also grant, bestow, and confirm, to God and Saint Guthlac, and the said monastery, and monks serving God therein, for a perpetual possession, the alms which Thorold, sheriff of Lincoln, gave to the said monks in Bokenhale—likewise the alms which Geolphus, son of Maltus, gave to them in Halington; likewise the alms which the most valiant knight Fregestus, formerly my master, gave to them in Langtoft; and the alms which Algar, also formerly my knight, gave to them in Baston and Repingale.

✠ In the year of the incarnation of Christ eight hundred and six, I, Kenulph, king of the Mercians, have signed this charter with the holy cross.

✠ I, Ulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, have advised it to be done.

✠ I, Kynebert, bishop of Winchester, have placed my mark under it.

✠ I, Wonwona, bishop of Chester, have consented.

✠ I, Celred, abbot of Medeshamsted, brother of Siward the lord abbot, have procured it.

✠ I, Cuthred, king of Kent, at the command of my lord king Kenulph, have given my assent.

✠ I, Celwulph, brother of my lord king Kenulph, have approved it.

✠ I, Algar, thane, was present.

I, Sigga, presbyter, at the command of lord king Kenulph, have

[1] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. No. cxcii. (i. 235); a forged charter.

given the charter, written by my hand in the presence of the said venerable fathers and lords, to the aforesaid venerable lord Siward, lord abbot of Croyland."

In the year of our Lord Christ eight hundred and nineteen, the renowned king of the Mercians, Kenulph, after having reigned twenty-six years, and having in the course of his life performed many good works with equal piety and energy, made an end of this temporal life, to the grief of all, and his body was delivered for burial at Wynchelcumb, a monastery of black monks which he had raised from its foundations, but his blessed soul sought the kingdom of heaven. He left his son Saint Kenelm (a boy of seven years old) heir to the kingdom, who, after the lapse of a few months from the death of his father, by the fraud of his sister Quendreda, a most wicked woman, who ambitiously aimed at obtaining the sceptre of government, was led into a wood and there barbarously murdered[1] by Ascebert, to whom he had been entrusted. He was found with a large halo of light miraculously glowing over his martyred body, and was magnificently buried at Winchelcumb near the tomb of his father.

After his martyrdom Ceolwulph, his uncle, brother of king Kenulph, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, and reigned one year; and in the second year of his reign he was expelled by Bernulph, a foolish person, and one in no manner connected with the royal family, but wealthy and powerful. Bernulph, however, in the third year of his reign, was conquered in battle and put to flight by Egbert, king of the West Saxons; and striving to avenge his folly, he led an army against the East Angles, who by entreaties and bribes had stirred up the West Saxons against him; but he was soon vanquished and slain in a pitched battle. He was succeeded in the kingdom by his relation Ludecan, who after having reigned two years led an army against the East Angles to avenge the death of Bernulph, but was by them overcome and killed.

After the speedy removal of the tyrants who had unjustly assumed the purple, who, having vehemently oppressed the kingdom, had by their want of prudence wasted its military force, which was formerly very numerous and victorious, Witchtlaff, duke of the Wiccii, (whose son Wymund had married Alfleda, the daughter of the former king Celwulph, brother of the most noble king Kenulph,) was unanimously raised to the kingdom, and reigned thirteen years, subject however to the power and tribute of Egbert, king of the West Saxons. For as soon as he was made king, before he was able to levy an army, he was sought by the generals of Egbert throughout the whole of Mercia, but by the care of lord Siward the abbot, he was for the space of four months, without any one else being privy to it, concealed in the cell of the most holy virgin Etheldritha, daughter of Offa, formerly king of East Anglia, in whose name the episcopal see of Hereford is now dedicated, but who then for the love of her spouse Christ was a recluse in a part of a cell situate in the south of the church of Croyland, opposite to the great altar. After lying there securely hidden, at length by the

[1] He was killed 17th July, 819.

intervention of the said venerable abbot Siward an agreement was made with the said king of the West Saxons, and on a promise of the payment of an annual tribute he was permitted to return in peace to his kingdom. Upon which he afterwards made for the same monastery of Croyland a charter containing most excellent privileges, in these words :—

" Witlaf,[1] by divine appointment king of the Mercians, to all worshippers of Christ inhabiting the whole of Mercia sends eternal greeting.

To preach and publish the great things of God seems to me by no means a shameful but truly an honourable and glorious task. Hence I will openly confess to God, who dwelleth on high, and yet beholdeth the humble things in heaven and earth, now that his fury has been turned away, and He has consoled me, after I had been for a time subject to his wrath, humiliating me a sinner, even to the earth, and drawing me down even to the dust, and again in his mercy raising up the poor man from the dust and the mire, to set me with princes, and give me possession of the throne of glory. In the day therefore of prosperity I will not be unmindful of adversity. I will be mindful of Raab and Babylon who know me ; I do not mean to speak of Rahab the harlot, but of Etheldritha, a most holy virgin, my kinswoman, who, being for the love of her spouse, the Immaculate Lamb, a recluse at Croyland, carefully hid me in her cell for the space of four months from the face of my enemy and persecutor. I will be mindful also of Babylon, not of the tower[2] of confusion, but the holy church of Croyland, which as a tower ascending to heaven with vigils and prayers, with psalms and lessons, with discipline and mortification, with tears and sighs, with alms and innumerable other acts of devotion and piety, day and night invades the kingdom of heaven by violence in behalf of the sinful world. Therefore, since the venerable father lord Siward, abbot of Croyland, protected me in his tabernacle in the day of adversity, hiding and preserving me from the face of him who troubled me ; over and above the privileges, and liberties, and gifts with which my predecessors, the kings of the Mercians, nobly adorned the aforesaid monastery, I also of my poverty offer to the great altar of the said monastery a golden cup and cross, and a gilded table with golden plates, from my own chapel ; and I declare myself to the utmost of my power the defender of the said church for ever. Moreover I command all my constituted ministers throughout the whole of Mercia, that if the abbot of Croyland, his monks, or any of the brethren of that most holy monastery, should come to the cities and royal forts for any purpose, they shall obey and minister to them in all things, as they would do to my son Wymund or myself, taking nothing from them for the expenses which either they or their servants have incurred there, but on the receipt of a letter or token from the said monks my treasurer shall reckon all expenses of that nature as so much money paid into the treasury.

[1] Kemble, Cod. Diplom. No. ccxxxiii. (i. 301), also a spurious document.
[2] See Bedæ Hebraic. nominum interpretatio, Opp. iii. 526, ed. Basil.

I will also and command that if any one in my kingdom, who has been accused of any crime and become subject to the laws, shall flee to the said monastery, and in the presence of the abbot of the said monastery for the time being shall invoke the favour of the most holy confessor Guthlac, whose body rests there, and shall swear to him eternal fidelity and service, he shall be safe and secure under the protection of the abbot and his monks, in whatever service throughout the whole island of Croyland they shall place him, and he shall rejoice peaceably and with impunity, as in an asylum, or as in my own chamber; and none of my ministers shall venture to pursue him further, or in any way to molest him, under the penalty of losing his right foot, for having in my kingdom attempted to violate my prerogative. And the said fugitive shall have permission to sail and fish in any of the five waters which surround the island, and otherwise to labour in whatever way he shall be appointed by his masters, without claim or oppression either from my ministers or any other person. But if he shall be at any time caught beyond the same waters and boundaries of the said monastery, he shall suffer, without any favour, the penalty he formerly deserved, whether death or the mutilation of his limbs; provided that my ministers, or any of his adversaries, shall be able to prove that he was found beyond these bounds, by the oath of six trustworthy witnesses. The said boundaries of the monastery of Croyland, and the five waters aforesaid, I have accordingly caused to be described and marked out, as well for my ministers as for the abbot and monks, and this for the benefit of the said fugitives. For the said waters are called by these names,—to wit, Schepishee to the east, on whose western bank stands an old wooden cross, distant from the water itself ten feet, and equally placed in the middle between two corners of that island, namely, Aswiktoft, which is the corner and boundary of the said island over against the south-east, and Tedwarker, which is the corner and limit of the said island over against the east. The second, which encloses the said island to the south, is called Southee, on whose bank is placed a stone cross, distant from Namanlandhirne five perches, and from Southee six perches, to the place where Southee enters the water of Neene, which runs to the bridge of Croyland. But the boundaries of the fugitives in that part extend in a straight line to the western marsh, through Fynfet, over against the south-west, and so as far as Folwardstakyng, over against the north-west, and then turn aside to the north, to the place where Southlake enters the water of Weland, opposite to the stone cross which stands on the north bank of the said water of Weland, distant five feet from the water itself, which runs from thence to the aforesaid bridge of Croyland. But the boundaries of the fugitives extend in a straight line from that cross towards the northern marsh as far as Oggot, which is the corner of the bounds over against the west, and thus returning towards the east through Wodelade as far as Apynholt, and there ascending by the water of Weland, which is the fourth water enclosing the island in that part, as the third water of Nene encloses it on the other part of the bridge of Croyland, as far as the sewer of Asendyk, which falls into the Weland, where stands a

broken stone cross, distant from the actual water of Asendyk three perches on its southern bank. And the water of Asendyk is the fifth water enclosing the aforesaid island in that place over against the north as far as Aswyktoft. If the fugitive shall be found beyond these five waters and afore-noted bounds, as Shimei outside Jerusalem, he shall become subject to the public laws, and suffer the punishment he has deserved. But if within the aforesaid bounds, and the outer banks of the aforesaid waters, he shall have committed homicide, or theft, or other transgression, he shall be liable to be taken by the bailiffs of the said monastery, and there, in the island itself, the immunities of which he has forfeited, he shall according to his deserts be condemned, and punished in the prison of the abbot. And that this privilege may be more rigidly and firmly preserved to posterity, I have caused it to be confirmed by my lord Egbert, king of West Saxony, and his son Athelwulph.

I offer also to the sacristy of the said monastery, for the service of the most holy altar, the scarlet cloak with which I was invested at my coronation, to make therefrom a cape or chasuble; and, as an ornament for the most holy church, my golden curtain, on which is worked the destruction of Troy, to be suspended on the walls (if he think well), on my anniversary. I offer also to the refectorer of the said monastery, for the use of the daily president in the refectory, my golden cup, embossed over all the outer part with savage vine-dressers fighting against dragons, which I am wont to call my cross-bowl, on account of the sign of the cross which is impressed across in the interior, with the four angles projecting with a like impression; and also I offer the horn of my table, that the elder monks may drink thereout on the festivals of the saints, and in their benedictions may sometime remember the soul of the donor, Witlaff.

I confirm also to the said monastery all the lands, tenements, possessions, properties, and all other gifts which my predecessors, the kings of the Mercians, and their nobility, or others (whether faithful Christians or Jews) gave, sold, pledged, or in any other manner bestowed, as a perpetual possession; and specially the gift of Thorold, formerly sheriff of Lincoln, in Bokenale,—to wit, two and a half carucates of land, and twenty-six acres of meadow-land, and fifty acres of woodland, and seventy acres of brusche. Likewise also the gift of Geolphus, son of Maltus, in Halyngton, to wit, four bovates of in-land, and ten bovates subject to service, and thirty-three acres of land in Gernthorpe. Likewise the gift of Fregistus the knight,—to wit, the whole town of Langtoft, and in the fields of that town six carucates of arable land, in length fifteen quarentenes, and in breadth nine quarentenes, and one hundred acres of meadow-land; and a wood and marsh, two leucæ in length, and two leucæ in breadth: also the church of that town, and forty acres of the same fee in the field of Deyping. Likewise the gift of Algar, knight, son of Northlang; namely, Northland in Baston, to wit, four carucates of arable land, containing in length eight quarentenes, and eight quarentenes in breadth; and forty-five acres of meadow-land, and a marsh containing in length sixteen

quarentenes, and eight quarentenes in breadth; and the church of that town; and one mill and the half of another mill; and the entire right of fishing in the water from the mill towards the west, as far as the end of the marsh of that town towards the east, Likewise the gift of the said Algar the knight, in Rypyngale,—to wit, three carucates of arable land, and forty acres of meadow-land. Likewise the gift of Norman, formerly sheriff, in Sutton, near Bosworth, two carucates of land, and one windmill. Likewise the gift of the said Norman in Stapilton,—to wit, a manor of two carucates of land. Likewise his gift in Badby,—to wit, four hides of land, with the appurtenances. Likewise the gift of lord Algar, earl, in Holbecke, and in Cappelade,—to wit, four carucates, and six bovates, and eighteen acres of meadow-land, and a marsh. Likewise his gift in his own town of Spaldelyng,—to wit, three carucates of land. [1] Likewise his gift in his own town of Pyncebeck,—to wit, one carucate of land; likewise his gift in Algar-kyrke, his town,—to wit, eleven bovates of land; and in the parish of Sutterton, three carucates of land, and one bovate, and twenty-six acres of meadow-land, and four salt-pits, together with the church of that town. Likewise the gift of Oswy the knight, in Drayton,—to wit, eight hides of land, and four virgates, and the church of that town. Likewise the gift of Asketel, my cook, in Glapthorn,—to wit, three virgates of land. Likewise the gift of Ulget, formerly my butler, in Peiekyrke, three virgates of land. Likewise the gift of Edulph, my messenger, in Laithorp, one bovate of land. Likewise the gift of Siward, sheriff in Kyrkeby, three bovates of land, one mansion and three cottages. And in Staundon, the gift of the countess Sigburg, five hides of land. And the gift of Uulnotus, my sewer, in Adyngton,—to wit, two hides of land and the right of fishing, with the advowson of the church of that town, and his gift of one virgate of land in the other Adyngton.

These lands and tenements I grant, and give, and confirm, to the aforesaid monastery of Croyland, and the monks serving God in the same, to be held of me and my heirs, the kings of the Mercians, whoever shall succeed after me, in pure and perpetual alms, freely, quietly, and exempt from all secular burdens, exactions, and taxes, under whosesoever name they may be levied. But if any adversary, at the instigation of the devil, shall hereafter lay claim to any of the aforesaid lands or tenements which have been peacefully held during the reigns of so many kings, and confirmed by their authority, I profess and promise by this present charter, that I and my successors, the kings of the Mercians, will be the defenders of the said monastery for ever.

This my charter, which was formerly promised in the presence of my lords Egbert king of West Saxony, and Athelwulph his son, before the bishops and greater nobility of the whole of England in the city of London (where we were all assembled to take counsel against the piratical Danes, then assiduously investing the shores of England), I have confirmed with the sign of the holy cross to lord

[1] This sentence, as far as the word "meadow-land," is wanting in the Arundel MS.

Siward the abbot, my father, and to the most holy virgin Etheldritha, a recluse for Christ in that place, my kinswoman, indeed, according to theflesh, but (what is more) my very dear sister inChrist.

✠ I, Celnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, have advised it.
✠ I, Enbald, archbishop of York, have consigned it.
✠ I, Osmund, bishop of London, have approved it.
✠ I, Helmstan, bishop of Winchester, have given my assent.
✠ I, Herewin, bishop of Lichfield, have consented.
✠ I, Cedda, bishop of Hereford, have desired it.
✠ I, Adelstan, bishop of Sherburn, have procured it.
✠ I, Humbricht, bishop of Helmam, have approved it.
✠ I, Wilred, bishop of Dunwich, have assented.
✠ I, Herferd, bishop of Worcester, was pleased with it.
✠ I, Godwin, bishop of Rochester, have promoted it.
✠ I, Hedda, abbot of Medeshamstead, have ratified it.
✠ I, Ambert, abbot of Ripadium [Repton], was present.
✠ I, Kynewinus, abbot of Bardeney, have aided it.
✠ I, Egbert, king of West Saxony, have granted it.
✠ I, Adelwulph, son of the king of West Saxony, gave my consent.
✠ I, duke Ulhard, was present.
✠ I, duke Athelm, have heard it.
✠ I, duke Herenbricht, have accepted it.
✠ I, Swithun, presbyter of king Egbert, was present.
✠ I, Bosa, the scribe of king Withlaff, wrote this charter with my hand.

✠ I, Withlaf, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ king of the Mercians, for the honour of holy mother church, and for the exalting of the worship of God, in the year of the incarnation of our Saviour eight hundred and thirty-three, on the feast of St. Augustine, [May 26th,] confessor, doctor, and apostle of our nation, offer these few gifts, and would offer more; and moreover would promise my body at my death to so holy a monastery, had I not devoted it before my burial to Ripadium [Repton]. However, my spirit shall abide with you for ever."

This king Withlaf perseveringly continued up to the time of his death in the same love which he had entertained for the monastery of Croyland, so that every year of his life he at least once visited the shrine of Saint Guthlac, with great compunction, and offered some precious valuable jewel. And when he first heard of the death of the most holy virgin Etheldritha, he was overwhelmed with such excessive grief, that as he lay for a long time on his bed, his friends feared that his death was nigh at hand. At length, having by the favouring grace of God been in some degree restored, he came to her sepulchre, (for she had been buried at the head of the holy man Tatwin, formerly the guide and boatman of the holy father Guthlac in the said island,) and there, as though in an ecstasy, he shed as many tears over her tomb as if he had lost wife and son, or his whole family had perished by a sudden misfortune; until lord Siward, the abbot, whom he always most tenderly venerated as his father, having rebuked him with some severity, led him away

unwillingly and reluctantly from the tomb to his own chamber. And not long afterwards he entombed his son Wymund, who had died of a tedious attack of dysentery, at the right side of the virgin. His wife Celfreda also dying within the space of one year, he buried her, with royal pomp and unavailing tears, at the left side of the virgin. But he himself, on his death, in the thirteenth year of his reign, was buried, according to his previous vow, in the monastery of Ripadium [Repton].

Bertulph[1] his brother succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned likewise thirteen years, tributary to Ethelwulph, king of West Saxony, but he did not embrace either the saints of God or Croyland in the same manner, or with the same love, as his brother king Withlaf had done. For Berfert his son, on the holy vigil of Pentecost, with the consent of his father Bertulph, (such was his ambition for reigning,) cruelly and impiously murdered his kinsman the holy Wistan, son of Wimund, son of king Withlaff by Alfleda, daughter of Ceolwulph, a former king. The body of the innocent martyr was then carried to Ripadium [Repton], and there buried near his grandfather Withlaf; but by the devotion of the faithful in after years it was transferred to Evesham.[2] This Bertulph, the father, was a plunderer of monasteries, and passing also through Croyland, he most wickedly seized upon all the numerous jewels which his brother Withlaf or other kings of the Mercians had conferred upon it, as an ornament to the holy church, together with the whole of the money which he could find in the monastery, and levying soldiers from thence he engaged in war against the Danes, who were then raging round London, and was by these Pagans overcome and put to flight. As some return, however, for the money which he had plundered, he granted this charter to Croyland, containing the following excellent privileges from his lands and liberties.

"Bertulph,[3] king of the Mercians, to his venerable father lord Siward, abbot of Croyland, and to all his brother monks of that monastery, present and future, wishes eternal greeting in the Lord.

I most deservedly return due thanks to you all for the money which you, as I was passing by your monastery, with willing and liberal minds bestowed upon me in my great want, in order that I might oppose the violence of the Pagans. You then made to me a grievous complaint about the injuries and losses which you had sustained from certain malicious enemies, who wickedly lay wait on the outer banks of your waters to seize any of those who from fugitives had become your servants, should they climb the said bank in fishing, and who in like manner often kept watch at the boundaries of your marshes for any of your said servants who might go forth to bring back sheep, or oxen, or other of your cattle which had strayed; and if they found any of these servants outside

[1] Compare Florence, Genealog. p. 397.

[2] This translation to Evesham is an addition to the narrative of Florence.

[3] This charter (a spurious one) is printed in the Cod. Diplom. No. cclxv. (ii. 36), from the Arundel MS. 178, fol. 33.

your island they subjected them to the public laws and condemned them as having forfeited their right to its sanctuary; and thus it was very frequently necessary either for your said servants to fall into the hands of the enemy and perish, or for you to lose the due advantage of their labours. When such a complaint, then, was openly brought forward by brother Askill, your fellow-monk, in the presence of the prelates and nobility of the whole of my kingdom of Mercia, lately assembled together at Benigndon, all most tenderly sympathized with you on the injuries you had sustained; and it was determined, with a view to give increased honour to God, and for the relief of holy mother church, all considering also and applauding the perfection of your most holy religion, and for the greater peace and quiet of your holy monastery, to declare and extend (as alms for my soul) the privileges which were granted to you by my lord king Withlaf, my brother and predecessor, concerning the right of sanctuary granted to you, and having declared and extended them, to confirm them by my charter.

Wherefore I ordered Radbot, sheriff of Lincoln, and my other appointed ministers in that country, to make a circuit of your island of Croyland and to mark out the boundaries of your marshes, and faithfully and clearly to show it to me and my council at whatsoever place we happened to be on the last day of Easter. They, having fulfilled my commands, laid the survey of the marshes of your island, clearly marked out by the following names, before me and my council while we were keeping our holy Easter at Kyngesbury. According to the endowment of your monastery (made in time past by the renowned Ethelbald, your founder, formerly king of Mercia, as confirmed by the charters of the other kings of the Mercians his successors), the water of Schepishee encloses your island of Croyland to the east from Aswyktofthirne as far as Tedwarthar, having the said island on its western part, and the marsh of Cappelade on its eastern part: and from Tedwarthar as far as Namansland-hirne the water of Southee encloses it, having the said island on its northern part, and the wood of Ancarig on its southern part: and from Namansland-hirne as far as the bridge of Croyland the water of Neene encloses it, having the said island on its eastern part, and the marsh called Alderlound on its western part: and from the bridge of Croyland as far as Wodeladmouth the water of Weland encloses it, having the said island on its eastern bank, and the marsh called Goggislound on its western part: and from Wodelademouth as far as the common sewer of Asendyk the aforesaid water of Weland encloses it, having the said island on its southern part, and the marsh of Spaldelyng on its northern part: and from the aforesaid sewer as far as Aswyktoft the aforesaid water of Asendyk encloses it, having the said island on its southern part, and the marshes of Spaldelyng, Weston, and Multon on its northern part. But the limits and boundaries of your marshes lying opposite to the island of Croyland to its west, as marked out by my ministers, have been laid before me under these names—to wit, from Namansland-hyrne as far as Einset,[1] and

[1] This is the reading of the Cod. Diplom.; Gale reads, Fynset; more correctly.

from thence as far as Greynes, and from thence as far as Folwardes-takyng, and from thence towards the north as far as the Weland where Southlake enters the Weland, and thus passing along the water of Weland and ascending to Aspath, and from thence towards the north as far as Werwerlake, and then through Harynholt as far as Mengerlake, and from thence as far as Oggot, or Dedmanslake, and then through Apynholt and Wodelake, which is the boundary of the island in that part over against the north, as Namansland-hyrne is the boundary of the island over against the south. The right of common for the pasture of the cattle extends at all times of the year beyond the said boundaries of the marshes towards the south as far as the land of the monks of the church [[1]of Medeshamstead, and towards the west as far as the land of the monks of the church] of Saint Pega in the southern part of Weland, and in the northern marsh extends towards the west as far as the buildings of Spaldelyng; according as from the foundation of the monastery you have hitherto had peaceful possession of the afore-mentioned privileges.

In behalf then of those servants of yours, who having been fugitives you shall make fishers or shepherds, I, together with the common council of my whole kingdom, grant to your holy monastery five fields enclosing your island beyond the outer banks to the extent of twenty feet in length from the water itself, at whatever part they shall climb them to draw out their nets, or perform any other necessary duties on dry land. In like manner also the impunity of your fugitives extends over the whole of the right of common for the cattle in the aforesaid marshes, so that if perchance they shall have been driven by a storm, or any other misfortune, or by theft, into the neighbouring fields, I, with the unanimous consent of all my prelates and nobles, grant to your fugitives a right of following your aforesaid cattle, like any other free-men, and seeking them and bringing them back in the best manner they can. And they shall enjoy impunity and freedom from injury throughout the whole of the way, as if they were in their own church; and no one shall dare to molest or oppose them in anything under pain of suffering the mutilation of his most necessary member.

Moreover, for the redemption of my own sins, and of those of the aforesaid late king Withlaf, my brother and predecessor, with the common counsel and free consent of all the nobles of my kingdom, I grant to God and his most blessed confessor Saint Guthlac and your sacred monastery of Croyland, that, throughout the whole of my kingdom of Mercia, the abbot, monk, or convert of your holy monastery for the time being, or those who shall succeed them in the service of God in that place in the time to come, may lawfully make and promote any of the said fugitives to be their servants in their journey, whatever be the business on which they shall be engaged. And in the presence of the said abbot, monk, or convert, they shall remain safe and secure throughout the whole of my kingdom as in their own church of Croyland,

[1] The Arundel manuscript omits the passage here enclosed in brackets.

and they shall be entirely free and secure from all peril, under pain of the mutilation of the most loved member of any one who shall attempt, in any respect, rashly to violate this my deed of privilege. But if one of the above-mentioned fugitives shall be found outside the aforesaid twenty feet on the outer banks of your waters, or outside the vills which the commonalty claim along with yourselves in your western marshes on each part of the water of Weland or elsewhere, when you are not with him, and without a letter of passage from the abbot of your monastery, he shall become subject to legal punishment according to his deserts.

Having thus set forth the boundaries both of your islands and marshes, and also the noble privileges which were granted to you by king Withlaf and the other kings of Mercia my predecessors, for the honour of God, I and all my council have unanimously determined to confirm you in the possession of all your territories by the authority of my royal charter. I accordingly confirm to you and all your successors, who now profess or shall hereafter profess the rule of Saint Benedict in their habit, your principal church of Croyland, in which the venerable bodily remains of the most holy confessor of Christ and your blessed patron Guthlac lie intombed in joyful hope of the resurrection of the last day. And I also confirm the whole of the island adjacent, as by the above-mentioned boundaries is through the diligence of my ministers fully described, to be held in severalty for the seat of your abbey, for the special site of your monastery, and for your full demesne to be possessed singly and for ever, together with two marshes lying to its west—to wit, Alderlound, in the southern part of the water of Weland, and Goggislound, in the northern part of that water, as by boundaries is above described. This is the inheritance of the Lord, the dowry of the church of Christ, the land of Saint Mary and the blessed apostle Bartholomew, the most sacred sanctuary of Saint Guthlac and his monks, a monastery most free from all earthly service, a special alms of the most illustrious kings, an exclusive place of refuge for all in every time of tribulation, a perpetual mansion of the saints, a possession specially set apart for religious men, by the common council of the realm, and on account of the frequent miracles of the most holy confessor an ever fruitful mother of balsam among the vineyards of Engaddi, and on account of the privileges granted by kings a Bosor in the desert, and a city of grace and refuge to all penitents. And if any one shall violate or in any respect act injuriously to this monastery, my right hand, and my heirs, whoever shall succeed me in swaying the sceptre of the kingdom of Mercia for ever, shall take vengeance upon him.

I confirm also to God and Saint Guthlac and to the holy monastery of Croyland, the gift of Fregist, formerly a knight of my lord king Kenulph, the church of Langtoft and six carucates of land belonging to the same in the fields of that town, in length fifteen quarentenes, and nine quarentenes in breadth, and one hundred acres of meadow-land, and a wood, and a marsh two leucæ in length and two leucæ in breadth, and forty acres of the same

fee in the fields of Deyping. I confer also to God and Saint Guthlac and to your holy monastery, the gift of Algar the knight, the son of Northlang—to wit, the church of Tetford, with the chapel of Saint John the evangelist, in Baston, and in the same parish four carucates of land, containing in length eight quarentenes, and eight quarentenes in breadth, and forty acres of meadow-land, and a marsh containing in length sixteen quarentenes, and eight quarentenes in breadth, and one mill, and half another mill, and the whole right of fishing in the water as it winds round your meadow-land towards the east: and also the gift of the said Algar the knight in Repingale, three carucates of land and sixty acres of meadow. I confirm also to God and Saint Guthlac and to your holy monastery of Croyland, the gift of earl Algar, the father of the younger Algar who is now living, that is to say, the church of Cappelade, with the chapel of Saint John the Baptist in the same town; and in the fields both of Holbech and of Cappelade, four carucates of arable-land, and six bovates, and eighteen acres of meadow-land, and a marsh of two thousand acres, and a marsh of three thousand acres: and the gift of the said earl Algar the elder, namely, a wooden chapel of Saint Mary, near Spaldelyng, which is called in English Stokkym, situated on the eastern part of the river of that town; and in the fields both of Pynchbek and of Spaldelyng, four carucates of land, and the whole right of fishing in the aforesaid river, from the bridge which leads from the cemetery of the aforesaid chapel of Saint Mary, to the cemetery of the stone chapel of Saint Nicholas, called in English Stonyn, which is situated on the western bank, in the manor of the aforesaid earl Algar, who gave the right of fishing from the aforesaid bridge, as far as the sewer of Asendyk, to God and Saint Guthlac of Croyland, for an annual commemoration of his father, to be for ever solemnly celebrated in your monastery. I confirm also to God and Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery, the gift of the said earl Algar the elder, namely, the church of Sutterton, and both in the fields of Algarkyrk and of Sutterton three carucates of arable-land, and twelve bovates, and twenty-six acres of meadow-land, and four salt pits. And the gift of Oswy the knight, in Drayton, eight hides of land and four virgates. I confirm also to God and Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery, the gift of Asketyl, that is to say, three virgates of land in Glapthorne. And the gift of Uulget, three virgates of land in Peiekyrk. And the gift of Edulph of Laithorpe, one bovate of land. And the gift of Siward, sheriff in Kyrkeby, three bovates of land, one mansion, and three cottages. And the gift of countess Sigburge, in Staundon, five hides of land. And the gift of Uulnot, in Adyngton, two hides of land, with the advowson of the church of the same vill, and in the other Adyington, of the gift of the same, one virgate of land. I confirm also to God and Saint Guthlac and to your holy monastery, the gift of Thorold, sheriff of Lincoln, in Bukenhale, two and a half carucates of land, and twenty-six acres of meadow-land, and fifty acres of wood-lands, and seventy acres of brusche. I confirm also to God, and Saint Guthlac and to your holy monastery, the gift of Geolph,

son of Maltus, in Halyngton, namely, four bovates of land of inland, and ten bovates subject to service, and thirty-three acres of meadow-land in Gernthorpe of the same fee.

All these things aforesaid, churches, chapels, lands, tenements, pastures, fisheries, manors, mansions, mills, ponds, and marshes, I grant to you and your successors for ever, free and exempt from all secular services and earthly burdens, and by my present charter I confirm this as my royal alms for the soul of lord Withlaf, the late king, my brother and predecessor, and for the souls of all my progenitors, kinsmen, and friends. And I free it from all dues to the king, or any other lord or man of any dignity, degree, or honour whatsoever, so that none shall be able to exact anything from this time forward from the monks, literates, laics, servants, or tenants of your holy monastery, excepting your prayers and spiritual offices, whereby we may in our necessities continually merit the grace of the most blessed confessor of Christ, Saint Guthlac, whose body resteth in your monastery.

So then, with the unanimous consent of all my council present at Kingesbyry, in the year of the incarnation of Christ our Lord eight hundred and fifty-one, on the sixth day of the week, in Easter week, where we were assembled together on the affairs of the realm, I firmly and immutably confirmed this my charter with the sign of the holy cross.

✠ I, Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, safe and sound both in mind and body, have signed it with my hand.

✠ I, Swithulph, bishop of London, having experienced in my own person the grace of God and of his most holy confessor Saint Guthlac, hereby, at the command of my lord the king, humbly and devoutly have dictated this charter, and among the rest of the lord bishops, in my order have subscribed it.

✠ I, Swithun, bishop of Winchester, full of joy and gladness so often as the most merciful Lord gladdens by miracles his city, holy mother church, have put my mark to this charter of the king.

✠ I, Elstan, bishop of Sherburn, ever the humble debtor of Saint Guthlac, and rejoicing in the privileges of his holy church, have made my sign to it.

✠ I, Orkenwald, bishop of Lichfield, ever cheerful in all the prosperity of holy church, have readily approved it.

✠ I, Rethune, bishop of Chester, the son and servant of Saint Guthlac during my whole life, have readily procured it.

✠ I, Godwin, bishop of Rochester, have fervently desired the honour of God by this charter.

✠ I, Wulfard, abbot of Evesham, have approved it.

✠ I, Living, abbot of Winchelcumbe, have commended it.

✠ I, Hedda,[1] abbot of Medeshamsted, have diligently procured it.

✠ I, duke Enulph, have consented to it.

✠ I, duke Osrith, have advised it.

✠ I, earl Serlo, have given my assent to it.

[1] This and the six following attestations are wanting in the Arundel MS.

✠ I, earl Elher, have assented.

✠ I, earl Huda, have given my assent.

✠ I, Oslac, cupbearer of king Ethelwulph, and ambassador of my lord and of his sons, in the name of them and all the West Saxons, have greatly commended this charter of my lord king Bertulph.

✠ I, Bertulph, king of the Mercians, before all the prelates and nobility of my realm, pray the divine majesty, that, by the intercession of his most holy confessor Saint Guthlac, and of all his saints, He may free me and my people from our sins: and as He has vouchsafed openly to manifest his mercy by his miracles, so may He also vouchsafe to give us victory in every contest over the Pagans, and after the uncertain course of this present life, may He bless us in the company of his saints with eternal glory. Amen."

In this council God wrought a celebrated miracle in honour of his most holy confessor Saint Guthlac, at the fame of which the devout feelings of the whole land were stirred up to such a pitch that the roads through all the provinces were daily alive with crowds of persons engaged on a more than usually devout pilgrimage to Croyland. Now it chanced that many who were present, both small and great, were labouring under a certain disease, like paralysis, which that year was wearing away the whole of England. It affected men, women, and children, with a sudden and severe chill, more intense than that of an eastern winter, and an intolerable pain in the diseased members was an infallible sign of its approach. No remedy or application was of any avail, but for the most part it attacked the arms and hands, and withered and disabled them. It happened that at this council very many, both of the higher and lower ranks, were afflicted with this disorder. When the affairs of the realm were brought forward, lord Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, who was afflicted with the said disease, openly advised that the affairs of religion should be first decided, so that thus, by the gracious aid of Christ, secular matters might have a prosperous issue. An unanimous consent was given. And when inquiries were made for lord Siward, abbot of Croyland, who, on account of his great eloquence and rigid piety, had for many years acted as divine interpreter in their councils and synods, and most readily explained and discharged the innumerable business of the whole clergy, his brother and fellow-monk, Askill,[1] presented a letter in which the abbot humbly excused his absence on the plea of the infirmities of old age. Then king Bertulph, calling to mind the complaint made by the church of Croyland, in the presence of the council clearly explained the injuries which had been inflicted on lord Siward, the abbot of his monastery of Croyland, by the infatuated fury of their foes, and commanded that a suitable remedy should be decreed by the common council. While they were still occupied with this business, and the petition of lord Siward the abbot on this subject, which had been presented by the aforesaid

[1] Saville gives Askitell as a various reading.

brother Askill, was passing from hand to hand among the prelates and nobles of the whole council, and one advised one thing, and another, another, lord Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, cried out with a loud voice that he was cured and freed from his disease by the merits of the most holy confessor of Christ, the most blessed Guthlac, whose interest then formed the topic of discussion. Many others likewise, in the same council, both bishops and nobles, who had been labouring under the same disorder, exclaimed that they now, by the grace of God and the merits of the most holy Guthlac, felt no pain whatever in any of their limbs. On this all present bound their consciences by a most stringent vow, to make a devout pilgrimage as soon as possible to the sacred tomb of the most holy Guthlac at Croyland. Accordingly the lord king Bertulph commanded the bishop of London (who was then esteemed a most excellent notary and eloquent speaker, and who, moreover, proclaimed with the utmost joy that he was now cured from the said disease, with which he had previously been afflicted,) to take under his protection the privileges of Croyland, and to honour his physician Saint Guthlac with his charter according to the decree of the council. This command was carried out. And it is on this account that in the subscriptions of the royal charter Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, confesses himself "safe and sound,"—that Saint Swithun, bishop of Winchester, rejoices in the miracles of the Lord,—that Aelfstan, bishop of Sherburn, and Orkenwald, bishop of Lichfield, offer their congratulations at the prosperity of the church,—and that Rethune, bishop of Leicester, promises to be the servant of Saint Guthlac during his whole life. And the chief men in the whole council with the most ardent zeal entirely assented to the benevolent intentions of the king towards Saint Guthlac.

Now when an innumerable throng of sick persons kept daily flocking up from the whole land to the sacred tomb of Saint Guthlac, and the Lord, on their devoutly imploring the divine grace through the merits of his most holy confessor, mercifully opened to all a most copious fountain of health, so that oftentimes in one day more than one hundred of these paralytics were cured, the abbot Siward was so much enriched, and became so excessively powerful, that, having been tried like the blessed Job in the depths of poverty, and spoiled of the whole treasure of his monastery, even to the last farthing, because he cursed not his days, nor spake anything foolishly against the Lord, but ever preserved his patience unmoved, he began to receive at his hands abundance of all good things, so that in treasures and stores, lands and tenements, he received twice as much as he had lost at first, and his old age became far more fruitful and twice as prosperous as the beginning.

This prosperity of his old age was also increased by another circumstance. Ethelwulph, the renowned king of the West Saxons, having lately returned from Rome, where, in company with his younger son Alfred, he had devoutly gone on a visit to the threshold of the apostles Peter and Paul and the most holy pope

Leo, with the free consent of all his bishops and nobles, who in subjection to him presided over the various provinces of the whole of England, then, for the first time, enriched the whole of the Anglican church with the tithes of all the land and other goods or chattels, and ratified this gift by his royal charter in the following terms:—

"[1]Our Lord reigning for evermore. Since we perceive that perilous times are pressing upon us, that there are in our days warlike conflagrations, plundering of our wealth, and most cruel depredations by devastating enemies from barbarous and pagan nations, and manifold tribulations to afflict us for our sins, even to our utter extermination; therefore, I, Ethelwulph, by the advice of my bishops and nobles affirming a salutary counsel and uniform remedy, have consented and determined that there shall be given to the servants of God, whether male or female, or the poor laity, a certain hereditary portion of the lands, with a priority over every other tenure, namely, the tenth manse always; but when that may happen to be the least, then the tenth part of all their goods shall be given in perpetual freedom to holy church, that it may be safe and exonerated from all secular services, all royal tributes, great and small, or those taxes which we call 'wynterden.' And let it be free in all things for the release of our souls and the remission of our sins, that it may be employed in God's service alone, saving expeditions, the building of bridges, or the fortification of castles, in order that they may the more diligently pour forth their prayers to God for us without ceasing, inasmuch as we have in some degree lightened their servitude. This charter was drawn up at Winchester, in the church of St. Peter, in the year of our Lord's incarnation eight hundred and fifty-five, in the third indiction, on the nones of November [5th Nov.], before the great altar, in honour of Mary, the glorious virgin and mother of God, and of St. Michael, the archangel; and also for the honour of the blessed Peter, the chief of the apostles, and of our blessed father pope Gregory. Moreover, the whole of the archbishops and bishops of Anglia, Beorred king of Mercia, Edmund king of the East Angles, together with an infinite number of abbots, abbesses, dukes, earls, and the nobility of the whole land, were present, and all approved this royal charter; but the dignitaries subscribed it with their names."

And king Ethelwulph, for greater security, offered this written charter on the altar of Peter the apostle, and the bishops received it in behalf of the faith of God, and afterwards transmitted it to all churches, to be published in their dioceses.

After a reign of thirteen years, Bertulph, the king of the Mercians, died, and was succeeded in the government by Beorred. During the reign of this king, the aforesaid venerable father, lord Siward, after having most energetically discharged his pastoral

[1] Collated with the text given in the Cod. Diplom. No. cclxxv. (ii. 56), from Wilkins's Concilia, i. 183. This charter also is spurious.

duties for seventy-two years, and being now full of days and in a state of decrepitude, departed this life. Lord Theodore succeeded him in the office of abbot of the monastery of Croyland. In his time the Danes committed depredations throughout the whole of the land, and particularly devastated Northumbria and Mercia. At the same time, also, died Ethelwulph, king of the West Saxons, and his sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert, who succeeded him, made a partition of their father's kingdom between them. The former was guilty of a crime unheard-of, even among the heathen. Ascending his father's bed, he took to wife his own stepmother Juditta, the daughter of the king of the Francs, who had been joined in wedlock to his father Ethelwulph, while all his countrymen were overwhelmed with abhorrence at the enormity of his wickedness. After having for two years wallowed in the mire, he died, and his portion of the kingdom was united entire to that of his brother Ethelbert. This most valiant youth, and unconquered conqueror of the Danes, energetically defended the kingdom for the space of five years, and then Ethelred, his third brother, was elevated to the government. In the days of this king, the afflictions caused by war became intolerable. The Pagans were bursting upon them on all sides. They had invaded a part of Northumbria, had seized on York, depopulated East Anglia, attacked Mercia, and were now wintering at Nottingham, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and sixty-six. To oppose their invasion Beorred collected a large army, and having strengthened himself by the forces of Ethelred, king of the West Saxons, and his brother Alfred, whose sister he had married, he compelled the Pagans to quit Nottingham and retire to York. In this expedition earl Algar the younger performed mighty achievements of military prowess, and, on account of his gallantry, gained much influence, and was highly esteemed by Beorred the king, and his two brothers of West Saxony. He was also most friendly disposed to the monastery of Croyland, and on most intimate terms both with lord Siward, the previous abbot, and with lord Theodore, and ever a most ready helper in all the affairs and necessities. He obtained moreover, for the said abbot Theodore, from king Beorred, a confirmation not only of the manor of Spalding, which a few days before he had granted him in behalf of the soul of earl Algar the elder, his father, but also of all the lands and tenements then belonging to the monastery of Croyland, in the following terms:—

"[1]Beorred, by the gracious gift of God king of the Mercians, to all the provinces, and to the people who inhabit the whole of Mercia, and preserve the catholic faith, wishes eternal greeting in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Since in punishment for our sins we perceive the extended hand of the Lord daily impending over our heads with an iron scourge, I think it necessary and salutary to appease his anger by

[1] Collated with the text in the Cod. Diplom. No. ccxcvii. (ii. 89), from the Arundel MS. 178, fol. 35, b.

the pious prayers of holy mother church, and the free donation of alms, and to implore his assisting grace in our necessities by worthy acts of devotion. Therefore, on the petition of the most valiant, and my deservedly well-beloved earl Algar, I have devoutly and freely consented to confirm by my royal charter, to Theodore, abbat of Croyland, both the gift of the said earl Algar, and also the gifts of other faithful persons, both past and present, to his said holy monastery, as an alms for the good of my soul, and for the remission of my iniquities.

Accordingly, I confirm to God and his most holy confessor Guthlac of Croyland, and the monks now serving God there, or who shall serve Him there for ever, the whole island adjacent to the monastery, as in the charters of the former renowned Ethelbald king of Mercia, its founder, and other kings my predecessors, is by metes and bounds marked out, for a several site of his abbey, with two marshes lying opposite to that island to the east, on each side of the water of Weland—to wit, with Alderlound on the southern side, and Goggeslound on the northern side, and with the same boundaries within which they possessed them from the beginning. I confirm, also, to the aforesaid monastery of Croyland, the gift of my afore-named renowned and well-beloved earl Algar, that is to say, his manor which is situated on the east of the river in Spaldelyng, with four carucates of arable, twenty-four mansions, and eighty cottages, in the same town of Spaldelyng; and I confirm the gift of earl Algar the elder, his father, that is to say, the wooden chapel of St. Mary, situated on the same side of the river of Spaldelyng, with four carucates of land adjacent to each side of the river, both in the fields of Pynchebek and of Spaldelyng; and the gift of the said earl Algar—to wit, the church of Cappelade, with four carucates of land, and six bovates, and eighteen acres of meadow, and two acres of marsh land on the sea-shore, and a marsh of three acres contiguous to the water of Schepishee, shutting in the island of Croyland to its east; and the gift of the said earl Algar—to wit, the church of Sutherton with the chapel of Salteney, and three carucates of land, twenty-two bovates, and twenty-six acres of meadow, both in the fields of Algarkyrke and of Sutherton, with four saltworks in the same town. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monastery of Croyland the gift of Oswy, knight, in Dreyton, to wit, eight hides of land, and four virgates, and the church of that town. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monastery the gift of Morcard, my knight—to wit, his whole land of Depyng, with two hundred mansions, and four hundred cottages, and two churches—that is to say, the whole of his possessions in the said town and in its fields, from the water of Weland to the south as far as the fields of Langtoft to its north, and between the fields of Talington to its west, as far as to Aspath in the marsh to its east. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monastery the gift of Fregist, knight—to wit, the whole town of Langtoft, with all the lands and marshes which the aforesaid Fregist possessed in the said town, together with the church of the said town. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monas-

tery the gift of Algar, knight, the son, of Northlang in Baston, and in Tetford all the lands and tenements which the said Algar possessed in the church and the chapel of St. John in the said town; and also the gift of the said Algar in Repyngale—to wit, three carucates of arable-land, and sixty acres of meadow. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monastery the gift of Norman,[1] formerly sheriff in Sutton, near Bosworth—to wit, two carucates of land and one windmill; and the gift of the said Norman in Stapilton—to wit, his manor and two carucates of land; and the gift of the said Norman in Badby—to wit, four hides of land, with the manor, and thirty acres of meadow. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monastery the gift of Thorold, formerly sheriff of Lincoln, in Bokenhale—to wit, two carucates of land and a half, twenty-six acres of meadow, and fifty acres of brusche, and seventy acres of brusche. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monastery the gift of Geolph, son of Maltus, in Halyngton—to wit, four bovates of inland, and ten bovates subject to service, and thirty-three acres of meadow-land of the same fee of Gerunthorpe. In like manner I confirm to the aforesaid monastery the gift of Asketel, in Glapthorne—to wit, three virgates of land; and the gift of Wulget in Peykyrk—to wit, three virgates of land; and the gift of Siward in Kyrkeby—to wit, three bovates of land, one mansion, and three cottages; and the gift of Edulph, in Laythorpe—to wit, one bovate of land; and the gift of Wulnot, in Adyngton—to wit, two hides of land and a fishery, with the advowson of the church of the town; and in the other Adyngton one virgate of land; and the gift of countess Sigburg, in Staundon—to wit, five hides of land; and the gift of Grymketel—to wit, one hide and a half in Thyrming.

All these gifts aforenamed—to wit, the island, marshes, fens, churches, chapels, manors, mansions, cottages, woods, lands, and meadows, I grant, establish, and confirm to God and St. Guthlac, free, exempt and exonerated from all earthly burdens and secular service, in behalf of the souls of the donors of the aforesaid gifts, and for the merit of my soul and of the souls of all my progenitors and heirs, as an eternal alms to abbot Theodore and his monks serving God in the monastery of Croyland for a possession for ever. This my royal charter, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ eight hundred and sixty-eight, on the kalends of August [1st Aug.], at Snothryngham [Nottingham], in the presence of my brethren and friends and all my people assembled together at the siege by the Pagans, I have confirmed with the ratification of the holy cross.

✠ I, Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, have put my mark under it.

✠ I,[2] Elshan, bishop of London, have corroborated it.

✠ I, Edmund, bishop of Shirburn, have approved it.

✠ I, Alcuuin, bishop of Winchester, have commended it.

[1] Here the texts vary: Gale's has been followed.

[2] The following attestations, as far as that of Beorred (more properly Burgred), are omitted in the Arundel MS.

✠ I, Kynebert, bishop of Lichfield, have signed it.
✠ I, Ethelbert, bishop of Hereford, have made my cross.
✠ I, Wulfy, abbot of Evesham, have approved it.
✠ I, Hedda, abbot of Medeshamstead, have given my consent.
✠ I, Tiuin, abbot of St. Alban's, have advised it.
✠ I, Ethelred, king of West Saxony, have given my assent.
✠ I, Alfred, brother of the king of West Saxony, have consented.
✠ I, Edmund, king of East Anglia, have procured it.
✠ I, duke Adelred, have favoured it.
✠ I, duke Osbirt, have assented.
✠ I, earl Algar, devoutly praying that it might be done, graciously have obtained it from my lord the king.
✠ I, earl Wulkelin, have assisted.
✠ I, earl Adelwulph, have granted it.
✠ I, earl Turgot, have consented.
✠ I, earl Alcmund, have considered it.
✠ I, earl Diga, was present.
✠ I, earl Lefwin, witnessed it.
✠ I, earl Burkard, signed it.
✠ I, earl Ascer, was present.
✠ I, earl Thurstan, ratified it.
✠ I, earl Reynard, advised it.
✠ I, earl Tilbrand, have subscribed it.
✠ I, Beorred, king of the Mercians, with the inmost feelings of my mind and with my whole heart, return special thanks to all my army; above all, however, to the ecclesiastics in it, the bishops and abbots, and others of lower state and dignity; since, though my father the former king Ethelwulph of most pious memory rendered you free from all military expeditions, and entirely exonerated you from all secular services, yet, benignantly filled with compassion and becoming pity at the oppressions suffered by the people of Christ, and at the mournful destruction of churches and monasteries, you readily and spontaneously assembled together in the army of the Lord to oppose the bands of the iniquitous Pagans, in order that, like martyrs, the worship of Christ might be augmented by your holy blood, and the superstitious cruelty of the barbarians be put to flight."

In the siege before touched upon, as the chronicles[1] relate, when the Pagans, trusting in the fortification of their strong walls and their impregnable citadel, refused to come out to battle, and the Christians were unable to break the walls, a peace was made between the Christians and Pagans, and the latter left the fort and returned to Northumbria with immense spoils. [2]And Ethelred and his brother Alfred, with their forces, returned to West Saxony. But in the year[3] next following, the army of the Pagans, after having delayed some time at York, so soon as the winter was past,

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 868, upon the hint furnished by which the above charter is based.
[2] This sentence does not occur in Saville's text, but is found in Gale's.
[3] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 869.

crossed over by ship to Lindissy, and going up to Humberstan, laid waste the whole of the country. It was at this time that they destroyed the renowned and ancient monastery of Bardeney, and slew all the monks without any mercy, in the church. The whole of the summer was spent in reducing the land to ashes, and devouring it with fire and sword; and about the festival of St. Michael they entered Kesteven, and everything there they destroyed, slaughtered and committed to the flames. At length, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord eight hundred and seventy, in the month of September, the most intrepid earl Algar gathered together the whole of the youth of Hoyland, and two knights, his seneschals, Wibert and Leofric (whose names the old men and rustics who survived gave to the towns in which they had lived, viz. Wiberton, that is, the town of Wiburt, and Lefrinkton, that is, the town of Leofric, and these names they retain to this day), together with one band from the monastery of Croyland, viz. two hundred most sturdy warriors, the greater part of whom had been fugitives. These were led by Tolius, one of the lay brethren of that monastery, who before his conversion had been a knight renowned through the whole of Mercia for his military skill, but who then had for the love of heaven quitted the world and become subject to heavenly warfare at Croyland. In addition to these they collected also from Depyng, Langtoft and Baston about three hundred brave men, well appointed for battle, and, above all, Morcard, lord of Brunne, with his retinue, which was both valiant and numerous. The sheriff of Lincoln also, Osgot by name, a veteran and valiant warrior, met them with a band from Lincoln, five hundred in number. These all assembled at Kesteven, and on the festival of St. Maurice the martyr [22d Sept.], engaged in battle with the Pagans, and by the gift of God obtained the victory. Three of the kings of the enemy and a vast multitude of their army were slain, and the Christians pursued the barbarians with slaughter even to the doors of their tents. The Danes made a desperate resistance, but night put an end to the battle, and the victorious earl drew off his army.

During that night all the rest of the kings came into the camp of the Pagans from the country, whither, having divided the province between them, they had gone for the purpose of plunder, namely, Godrun, Baseg, Oskitel, Halfden, and Hamond, and the same number of earls, viz. Frena, Unguar, Ubba, and the two Sidroks, the elder and the younger, together with their armies, an immense quantity of booty, and a large number of women and children. As soon as their arrival was known, the greater part of the Christians, stricken with fear and terror, fled away by night, and out of eight hundred men only two hundred remained with the aforesaid earl Algar and his leaders. All of these, however, at dawn of day, having heard divine service and received the holy viaticum, went forth into the field against the barbarians, ready to die for the faith of Christ and the defence of their country. The intrepid earl, seeing his own army but ill accoutred, a second time placed brother Tolius and his five hundred men on the right wing,

on account of their valour, assigning to him also a very brave band, namely, the illustrious knight Morcard of Brunne with all those who followed his standard. He placed also Osgot the renowned sheriff of Lincoln with his five hundred men on the left wing, giving him a sturdy band, viz. the knight Harding of Rehale, with all the men of Stamford, in consideration of their youth and warlike qualities. And he himself, with his seneschals, took up his post in the centre, ready to assist either wing, whenever he saw it to be necessary. The Danes, infuriated at the slaughter of their men, buried their three kings early in the morning in the town which before used to be called Laundon, but now on account of the sepulture of the three Danish kings is called Trekyngham. Among them likewise were four kings and eight earls; for two kings and four earls were keeping the camp and the captives.

The Christians, on account of the smallness of their numbers, gathered their forces into a single wedge-shaped troop, and under the excellent arrangements of their leaders, remaining stationary and immovable during the whole day, stretched before them a firm covering of shields to ward off the flights of arrows, and a dense line of lances to oppose the violent attacks of the cavalry. When they had triumphantly stood out in this way till the evening, and the archers of the enemy had expended their weapons in the empty air, and the cavalry, now wearied with their lengthened exertions, began to fail, the barbarians on a previously concerted signal feigned flight and commenced quitting the field. Seeing this, the Christians, contrary to the earnest words and persuasions of their leaders, broke up their line, and scattering themselves over the plain, pursued after the Pagans without any order, and separated from the guidance of their leaders. Then the barbarians, turning back, raged against them like lions against a few sheep. The valiant earl Algar and the above-named renowned knights and brother Tolius arranged themselves in a compact band on the top of a little hill on the field, which was higher than the rest of the plain, and here for some time sustained the assaults of the barbarians. But when the aforesaid most illustrious and ever-to-be-remembered earl Algar and the above-named six sturdy leaders perceived that all the bravest of their army had fallen, they rushed simultaneously to a dense heap of the corpses of the Christians, and there to the utmost of their strength avenging their blood on whoever approached, they at length fell pierced with innumerable wounds upon the bodies of their brethren. A few youths of Sutton and Gedeney having cast away their arms in the neighbouring wood, escaped with difficulty, and on the night next following entered the monastery of Croyland. They found the abbot Theodore and his convent performing their morning vigils, and while they were thus engaged, with tears and mournful ejaculations they related to them at the door of the church the news of the slaughter of the Christians and brother Tolius, and of the utter destruction of his whole band.

Now when everything was thrown into confusion by these tidings, the abbot, keeping with himself the elder monks and a few of the children, in the hope that, perchance, the sight of their helpless-

ness might move the barbarians to mercy—not recollecting that verse of the poet—

"Nor faith nor pity move the warrior's breast,"—

bade all those who were in the prime and vigour of age to take along with them the sacred relics of the monastery, namely, the holy body of St. Guthlac, his scourge, his psalter, and the other principal valuables and monuments, viz. the charters of the foundation of the monastery by king Ethelbald, and the ratifications of them by other kings, and also certain gifts of king Witlaf, and thus to flee into the nearest marshes, and there await the result of the war. With deep sorrow of heart they obeyed his bidding, and having laden a boat with the aforesaid relics and the charters of the kings, they cast the great altarpiece, (which was covered with golden plates, and had been the gift of king Witlaf,) ten chalices, together with basons for washing, pots, dishes, and other brass vessels, into the well of the cloister; but when they sank down, the end of the altarpiece, on account of its length, always appeared above the water, and therefore, (as they perceived the fires from the towns in Kesteven approaching nearer and nearer, and fearing lest the Pagans should come upon them suddenly,) they drew it out and left it with the abbot and elder monks; and taking their boat, they came to the wood of Ancarig, which was contiguous to their island towards the south, and here, with brother Toretus, an anchorite, and other brethren, who were then living there, they stayed four days, thirty in number, ten of them being priests, but the rest of inferior rank. The abbot Theodore, having taken with him two old men, and hidden the aforesaid altarpiece outside the church on the northern side, for a time was not visible. But afterwards both he and all the rest, clad in their sacred vestments, congregated in the choir, and kept the regular hours of divine service, and then went through the whole of the psalter of David entire. After this the abbot himself celebrated high mass, brother Elfget the deacon, brother Savinus, subdeacon, and the brethren, the boys Egelred and Ulric ministering as taper-bearers.

Now, when they had finished mass, and the abbot and his aforesaid ministers had communicated in the sacred mysteries, the Pagans burst into the church, and the venerable abbot was sacrificed upon the altar, by the hand of the cruel king Osketul—a true martyr and victim of Christ. All his attendants, standing round, were beheaded by the barbarians; and the old men and children, beginning to flee from the choir, were taken, and examined with the severest tortures, to induce them to discover the treasures of their church. The lord prior Asker was slain in the vestry, and lord Lethwyn, sub-prior, in the refectory. The latter was followed close upon his heels by his brother Tugarius, a child of ten years old, and of an elegant form and a beautiful countenance, who, when he saw his elder brother slain, urgently supplicated that he might die and be put to death with him. But the younger earl Sidroc, moved with compassion for the boy, stripped him of his cowl, and giving him a Danish cloak, bade him imitate his gait: and thus of

all those who remained in the monastery, whether young or old, he alone was preserved, entering in and going out among the Danes during the whole time of his stay, like one of themselves, through the favour and protection of the aforesaid earl.

Now, when all the monks had been put to death by tortures, without the discovery of the treasures of the monastery, the Danes, with ploughshares and spades, broke open all the tombs of the saints who reposed round that of St. Guthlac, on its right and left. On the right was the tomb of St. Cissa, priest and anchorite, and the tomb of St. Bettelin, a man of God, and formerly the attendant upon St. Guthlac, [1]and the tomb of lord Siward, of pious memory. And on the left of the most holy father St. Guthlac was the tomb of St. Egbert, formerly secretary and confessor of St. Guthlac; the tomb of St. Tatwin, formerly the guide and pilot of St. Guthlac to Croyland; the tomb of the most holy virgin Etheldrithe; the tombs also of Alfreda, formerly the queen, and Wymund the son of king Withlaf. All these the barbarians burst open, and when they did not find the expected treasures, they were filled with indignation, and, piling up in the most pitiable manner the whole of the bodies of the saints into one heap, they set fire to them; and on the third day after their arrival, that is to say, on the seventh of the kalends of September [26th Aug.], they utterly consumed them, together with the church and all the buildings of the monastery.

At length, on the fourth day [27th Aug.], taking with them countless herds of animals and beasts of burden, they proceeded towards Medeshamstead. Here they attacked the first precinct within the monastery and the barred gates, and assaulted the walls on all sides with their archers and engines. On the second assault the Pagans burst in; but Tulba,[2] brother of earl Hulba, fell, grievously wounded by a stone, at the very entrance. He was carried off by the hands of his servant into the tent of Hulba, his brother, and his life even was despaired of. On this, Hulba, foaming with irresistible fury, and, above all, enraged against the monks, slew all those who were clad in the garb of their holy religion with his own hand; they were heaped together one upon another, and not one out of the whole monastery was saved. The venerable father lord Hedda, the abbot, as well as all his monks and the whole of their countrymen, were put to the sword. But brother Tugarius was enjoined by Sidroc, his lord, wherever he went, to be careful to avoid earl Hulba. All the altars were uprooted, all the monuments broken, the vast library of holy books burnt, the vast number of charters of the monastery torn to pieces, the precious relics of the holy virgins Kyneburga, Kyneswita and Tibba trampled under foot, the walls entirely rased to the ground, and the church itself, with all its buildings, continuing to blaze up through the whole of the fifteen days following, was consumed by the flames.

On the fourth day after this, the assembled army, carrying with them an immense booty, collected together from the whole country,

[1] Saville's text does not contain the following particulars respecting the tombs of Siward and Egbert, which are derived from Gale.

[2] A various reading (noticed by Gale) gives Lubba.

proceeded towards Huntyngdoun. It was the custom of the two earls Sidroc to march last in the passage of rivers, in order to protect their rear. And when the whole army had already crossed over the river Nene, they also attempted it. But in the passage they lost, by a sudden misfortune, two of their chariots, laden with vast wealth, which were swallowed up in the whirlpool of the stream, which, at the left of the stone bridge, is exceedingly deep. Besides these, the whole of their beasts of burden sank in the stream, and before they could be pulled out were drowned. While the whole of the retinue of the younger Sidroc was occupied in drawing out the said chariots in order to transfer all the booty contained in them to other waggons and vehicles, brother Tugarius escaped by flight into the nearest wood, and walking through the whole of the night, he entered Croyland at break of day. He then found that his brother monks had returned the day before, from Incarig, and were now strenuously exerting themselves to extinguish the flames which still prevailed in many of the ruins of the monastery. When they saw him safe and sound, they were somewhat comforted; but on hearing where their abbot and the rest of their elders and brethren lay slain, and how all the tombs of the saints were broken down, and all the monuments and sacred volumes burnt, with the bodies of the saints, they were overwhelmed with inexpressible grief, and made for a long space mourning and lamentation. At length, when they had stopped their tears, they returned to the extinguishing of the flames. While they were drawing out the ruins of the roof of the church, on the eighth day from his murder, they found round the great altar the body of the venerable father Theodore, then abbot, beheaded, stripped of his garments, half-burnt, bruised by the fall of some beams, and crushed to the earth. He was lying in the midst of some extinguished firebrands, at some little distance from the place where he was killed, together with the rest of the ministers who fell with him, with the exception of the taper-bearer, Wulric, whose bodies were, in like manner, crushed to the earth by the weight of the rubbish. But these discoveries did not all take place at the same time; for when half a year had elapsed from the day of their martyrdom, the bodies of some of the brethren were found, and even in different places from those in which they had been killed. For lord Paulinus and lord Herbert, who were very old, and decrepit through age, having been in vain diligently sought for in the choir, where they had suffered mutilation of their hands, and been tortured to death, were at length found in the chapter-house, and lord Grimketul and lord Agamund, both of whom were more than a hundred years of age, and had been transfixed with swords in the cloister, were discovered in the parlour; but the rest, both children and old men, though a long search was made for them in different places, were only found at last by the full information which brother Tugarus gave concerning the death of each of them. Then the whole of them, except Ulric only, were discovered, amid deep grief and countless tears. Lord Bricstan, formerly the chanter of the monastery, and a most skilful musician and eloquent poet, the chief among the survivors, wrote,

amid the ashes of the monastery of Croyland, the following dirge, which is found in many places. It begins as follows :—

> "Desolate now is the seat where once was the monarch of houses;
> Low is the noble church, which of late was by God befriended."

When the monastery, after long and painful labour, was cleared of rubbish, and, as far as time would allow, cleansed from ashes and filth and dust, a conference took place about the choice of a pastor; and an election being held, the venerable father Godric (though with great unwillingness and reluctance on his own part) was unanimously made abbot. He received a visit from the venerable old man Toretus, prior of Incarig, and his sub-prior, lord Tisa, both most holy anchorites, who besought him to go to Medeshamstead, and out of affectionate regard to commit to christian burial the corpses of their abbot and brethren, which were still lying unburied and exposed to the beasts and birds. In compliance with their request, the venerable abbot Godric, with many brethren, among whom was brother Thurgar, arrived at Medeshamstead, where they were met by the whole of their brethren of Ancarig; and after all the corpses of the monks of the said monastery had, with great labour, been carried into the midst of the cemetery of the said monastery, he buried them there, over against that which was formerly the east front of the church, in one very large tomb, prepared for the purpose, on the festival of the virgin St. Cecilia [22d Nov.]. Over the body of the abbot, who lay in the centre of his sons, Godric placed a pyramidal stone, three feet in height, three in length, and one in breadth, having the images of the abbot with his monks standing round engraved upon it. This, in memory of the monastery which had been destroyed, he commanded thenceforth to be called Medeshamstead; and every year, as long as he lived, he paid a visit to the place, and, pitching his tent over the stone, he with constant devotion for two days celebrated mass for the souls of those who were buried there. The king's highway lay through the middle of the cemetery, having the said stone on the right to persons going up from the aforesaid stone bridge towards Hoyland, and a stone cross in like manner engraved with the image of the Saviour, which the aforesaid abbot Godric then placed there, on the left, to remind passing travellers of the most holy monastery, and to warn them to offer up prayers to God for the souls of the faithful who rested in the cemetery, and to abstain, out of reverence to Christ, from all evil deeds and robberies within the ruins of the said monastery.

Meanwhile, the Pagans continuing their depredations upon the provinces as far as Grantebrigia, came to a celebrated monastery[1] for holy persons, situated in the isle of Hely. All who were found within it, whether men or virgins, were cruelly put to death. And after they had plundered the chattels and the immense riches, which, on account of the security of the place, had been brought thither from the whole country, the barbarians at length committed it to the flames. Passing into East Anglia, they encountered vehement

[1] Saville's text omits the word "monastery," which is here supplied from Gale.

opposition from the intrepid earl Ulketul, who came against them with his army, but he was at length slain with all his men. They also took captive the most holy Edmund, the king of that province, and having bound him to the stump of a tree, as a mark, they attacked him with their darts and arrows, and after perforating him with horrible cruelty, they cut off his head, and made him a martyr for the faith of Christ and the defence of his country. Having thus obtained and taken possession of all East Anglia, they quartered there for the whole of the winter. But in the year next following, they all attacked West Saxony, and engaged in some severe battles with king Ethelred and his brother Alfred, with various success; but after the slaughter of the kings Baseg and Orguil, and of many earls, (namely, the two Sidrocs, elder and younger, earl Frena, earl Osbern, earl Harold, and earl Fungus,) with a great multitude of the Pagans, the Christians obtained the victory.

During the interval, Beorred, king of the Mercians, was engaged with the Britons, who were harassing the western side of his kingdom of Mercia by frequent irruptions; and hearing that the Danes had struck a grievous blow against its eastern shore, he came to London, and having assembled a very large army, he passed through the eastern part of his kingdom, and applied the whole of the isle of Hely to his treasury. Proceeding thence into the country of the Girvii, he took into his hands all the lands of the monastery of Medeshamstead, that is to say, whatever had formerly belonged to the said monastery between Stanford and Huntyndoun and Wysbeck; but the more distant lands, which lay scattered about through the country, he assigned to the soldiers of his army. This he did with the lands of the monastery of St. Pega, at Peykyrk; some he retained for himself, some he gave to his soldiers. The same he did also with the lands of the monastery of St. Guthlac of Croyland; some he distributed to his mercenary soldiers, some he confiscated for himself. And although the venerable father, abbot Godric, spent much labour in repeating before the king and his ministers the charters of the donors and their confirmation by the kings, and in frequently showing these, together with Beorred's own charter, he gained nothing but empty words, and at length altogether despaired of attaining his purpose. Accordingly, perceiving the excessive wickedness of the times, and that the soldiers of the king were full of covetousness for these lands, he at length determined with himself to let pass these royal donations at a period when no one would listen to him, and thenceforth to remain in silence till better times should come, greatly rejoicing and exulting that the royal favour had granted the whole of his island lying around him, free and exonerated from all royal exactions in a much more absolute manner than to many other monasteries.

At that period, then, the following possessions departed from the said monastery of Croyland, and have not returned to it to the present day; that is to say, the manor of Spaldying, which was given to earl Adelwulph, with all its appurtenances; the manor of

Depyng, which was given to Langfer the knight, the provider of the king's table, with all its appurtenances; the manor of Croxton, which was given to Fernod, knight, the standard-bearer of the king, with all its appurtenances; the manor[1] of Kyrketon and Kymberby, in Lyndesey, with all its appurtenances, which was given to earl Turgot. But Bukenhale and Halyngton, which were then applied to the treasury, were afterwards, by the diligence of lord Turketul, abbot of Croyland, and by the gift of the most pious king Edred the restorer, returned to the said monastery. In like manner, all the residue of the lands sometime belonging to Croyland, which king Beorred had taken for his treasury—to wit, Quappelade, Sutterton, Langtoft, Baston, Repingale, Kyrkeby, Drayton, Chirning,[2] Glapthorn, Adyngton, Staundon, and Badby, were, by the favour of the renowned king Edred, and the diligence of the abbot Turketul, restored to Croyland. After this, king Beorred, passing over with his army into Lyndesey, received for his treasury the broad lands formerly belonging to the monastery of Bardeney; but the distant ones, and those lying scattered about in different parts of the country, he gave to his soldiers.

In the eight hundred and seventy-second[3] year of our Lord's incarnation, king Ethelred, harassed by many battles against the Danes, though never conquered, died, and was buried at Winburne. He was succeeded in the kingdom by his last brother, Alfred, younger son of king Ethelwulph, who had formerly gone to Rome with his father, and was there anointed by pope Leo, who adopted him as his son. Being now elevated to the throne, he reigned twenty-eight years and a half laboriously, and with the utmost bravery. For though during nine continuous years he was engaged in war with the Danes, and was frequently deceived by their fallacious treaties, yet he as often took vengeance on his deceivers. At length he was reduced to such a strait, that, with difficulty retaining the fidelity of three counties, namely, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire, he fled to a certain island in Somersetshire, named Adelyngia, and he afterwards, in memory of his sojourn, and for the exaltation of holy church, transformed the fortress erected here into a monastery of monks.

It chanced on one occasion, that having sent the whole of his attendants to fish in the neighbouring marshes, he was left alone in the house: while he was engaged (as was always his custom) in reading holy things, or the deeds of illustrious men, or in recording the annals of his fathers, he heard a poor man knocking at the door, and praying him, for the mercy of God, to give him some food. Calling his mother, who was then staying with him and happened to be near, he bade her go to the pantry, and bestow something on the poor Christian for the love of Christ. When she was about to do his bidding, she found only one loaf in the pantry, and told him that this was less than enough for his own attendants,

[1] This word, "manor," does not occur in Saville's text.

[2] Thyrnyng.

[3] Gale remarks that this date is incorrect, although supported by the authority of the MS., and that we should read 871.

who would soon return from fishing: such was the dearth of bread in the store of the king! But he, hearing this, gave most devout thanks to God, and ordered half of it to be immediately given to the poor man of Christ, and he added, "Blessed be God in his gifts; He is able, if He please, to increase this half loaf into an immense supply, who could, when He willed it, satisfy five thousand men from five loaves and two fishes." With these words he dismissed the poor man, and, wearied with care or lengthened reading, he fell asleep, and in a little while saw in his slumber St. Cuthbert the bishop approach, and, as sent by the Lord, deliver the following message: "O pious king Alfred, the Lord is moved with compassion for the misery of the Angles, now for a long time and grievously bemoaning their sins; and to-day having tried your long-suffering in the form of a poor man, and graciously accepting your liberality in such a scarcity of bread, has promised you, by me, that you who are now a wretched exile shall very shortly conquer your foes, and exult upon the throne of your kingdom; and this shall be a sign to you; your attendants, who have been sent to fish in the marshes, (though the ice of winter is a great hindrance,) shall, by divine appointment, obtain their wish, and bring back into your palace, about the third hour of the day, a wonderful multitude of fishes." Having thus spoken, the saint disappeared. But the king waking up, and declaring his vision to his mother, found that she also, as she lay down to sleep at the same hour, had seen the same vision, the same holy bishop in like manner having appeared to her. And while they were still conversing, the fishers, coming in from the marshes, brought such a multitude of fishes as might have sufficed for a large army.

Not long after this, the king himself, pretending to be a minstrel, took a harp and entered the tents of the Danes. Having thus gained admission into their hiding-places, and become acquainted with all the secrets of the foe, when he had satisfied his wishes he returned unknown and in safety to Adelyngia. Then, collecting an army, he suddenly attacked the enemy and slew them with incredible slaughter. King Godroun, whom we call Gurmound, with a great multitude of their great men, and even of the common people, was taken alive and received baptism. The king standing for him at the holy font, out of his royal munificence presented him with East Anglia, (that is, Northfolcia,) for himself and his followers to dwell in. The rest, refusing to be baptized, left England and took ship for France.

Meantime, while king Alfred was still sojourning in Adelyngia, and the Pagans, returning into Mercia, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy-four, were wintering at Rypadium [Repton], and had entirely destroyed that most renowned monastery, the most sacred burial-place of all the Mercian kings, Beorred, after having reigned twenty-two years, seeing the whole of the land of Anglia in his quarter devastated by the slaughter and rapine of the barbarians, and either despairing of victory, or disgusted at the labyrinth of labours in which he was involved, resigned the kingdom and went to Rome; but having died a few days after, he was buried

there, in the school of the Angles. His wife quickly following her husband, died on her way to Rome, and was buried at Ticinum. The successor of Beorred in the kingdom was one of his servants, appointed by the Danes, Ceolwulph by name, an Angle by family, but a barbarian in irreligion. For he had sworn fealty to the Danes, on condition of paying the taxes they imposed, and promising, on pain of losing his head, to resign the kingdom into their hands, whenever they called on him to do so. Making a circuit of the whole land, he rooted out the few rustics that remained, robbed the merchants, oppressed the widows and orphans, afflicted with numberless torments all the religious persons, to induce them to discover their treasures; and among many other evils which he did, he imposed a tax of a thousand pounds on Godric, the venerable abbot of Croyland and his poor brethren, and almost reduced the monastery to nothing. For from this time, on account of the excessive poverty of the place, none would become converts. But the abbot Godric, unable to support his own professed monks, distributed many of them throughout the whole of the country, among his relations and other friends of the monastery: a few, however, remaining in the monastery with him, passed their lives in the midst of deep indigence. All the chalices of the monastery, except three, the whole of the silver vessels, except the cross-bowl of king Withlaf, and other very precious jewels, were either turned into money or sold for money; but they hardly availed to satisfy the insatiable avarice of the deputy-king Ceolwulph. He was at length deposed by the Danes (in this respect, at any rate, most just), and having been stripped even to his privy parts, he miserably ended his life. At this time, king Alfred having got the better of the Danes, the kingdom of the Mercians was joined to his own kingdom of West Saxony, to which it remains united to the present day. Thus came to an end the kingdom of the Mercians, which had lasted from the first year of Penda, the first king, to the end of the reign of this wretched deputy-king, Ceolwulph, a period of about two hundred and thirty years.

When all the Danes were either reduced to subjection or driven out, king Alfred restored his cities and forts, and constructed towers and fortifications in the most necessary spots, and having improved the appearance of the whole country, he rendered it insuperable to the barbarians, by means of walled towns and other well-fortified places.

Enjoining upon himself a life according to rule, he daily applied himself for eight hours early in the morning to the service of God; then for eight other hours he attended to the business of the kingdom; and finally, the last eight hours of the natural day he gave up to the refreshment of his body. He kept in his chapel a wax candle continually burning before the relics of the saints, portioned out according to these three periods of eight hours each, and as each portion was consumed and finished, a servant, appointed for that purpose, informed him aloud of the succeeding portion, acting the part of a clock. And daily, early in the morning, when one wax candle was consumed, another whole one was lighted, and this was

done every day. Following the footsteps of the saints, he held in high veneration Saint Neot, and Saint Werfred, bishop of Worcester, who had, by the command of the king, translated the books of the Decalogues of pope Gregory into the Saxon tongue.

So assiduous was he in reading the Scriptures or godly books, that he always carried the psalter of David, or some other edifying volume, in his bosom with him; and drawing to himself literary men from foreign lands, he kept them with him for some time in the palace, to explain the Holy Scriptures, and then promoted them to different prelacies and dignities. In this way he summoned from France St. Grimbald, a highly-skilled musician, and learned in the Holy Scriptures, and made him abbot over the new monastery which he had founded at Winchester. In like manner also, having allured to himself from Old Saxony John, surnamed Scotus, a most keen-witted philosopher, he appointed him prelate of his monastery at Adelyngia. Both of these were most literary doctors, priests by rank, and by profession most holy monks. And in addition to them, he invited from Mercia two most holy priests, named Athelstan and Werwulph, and also introduced near his person Plegmund, afterward promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Asker, abbot of Bangor, but afterwards bishop of Sherborne, who were in those days most celebrated doctors. And enjoying the conversation and the teaching of all these for some time in the palace, he penetrated to the very depths of the knowledge of all the liberal arts.

Alfred was moreover most skiful and acute in the management of the affairs of his kingdom. Following the example and fashion of the Danes, some even of his own countrymen had been stimulated to robbery and rapine; and desiring to restrain them, and put a stop to the excesses of this nature, he was the first to change the districts and provinces of the whole of England into counties. The counties he divided into centuries, that is, hundreds, and into tens, that is, tithings, in order that every native might belong by law to some century or tithing; and if any one were suspected of any robbery, he should incur or escape the appointed punishment, according as he was condemned or acquitted by his own hundred or tithing. The prefects of provinces (who before used to be called vice-lords), he divided into two offices, that is to say, into judges, whom we now call justiciaries, and into sheriffs, who still retain that name. By the care and industry of these officers, such was the peace that in a short time flourished through the whole of the land, that if a traveller had in the evening lost a sum of money, however large, in the fields or highways, even if he did not return for a month afterwards, he would be sure to find it entire and untouched.

In the distribution of his own family he followed the example of David and Solomon. [1]He divided it into three bands, and placed a single ruler over each. Each ruler, with his band, continued in the service of the king and kept the palace for one month. At the end of this time he went forth with his band to his own estate, and

[1] See Asser, p. 474.

applied himself to his private affairs for the space of two months; and in the meanwhile a second ruler ministered in the palace of the king for one month, and a third for another month after him, and afterwards each band was at liberty to attend to their own interests for two months. This succession of his servants and rotation of his entire family, he continued during the whole of his life. Such was the prudence with which he was endowed, and so powerful was he by his profound skill in literature, that when the Danes, thirteen years afterwards, being ejected from France by Arnulph the emperor, again infested England, he repelled them in every conflict with greater ease than he had before done, since, while they by their wars with the Franks had become weaker and less energetic in invading, he, with his men and forces, was better prepared and more skilful in resisting. Moreover, the state of the country itself, now strengthened by walled cities and fortified towns, was greatly improved. And thus the Danes, being easily expelled and quickly overcome, fled to their own territories in Northumberland and Norfolk.

King Alfred himself, after being continually intent on the frequent bestowing of alms, and on other good customs, died in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and was buried at Winchester. He was succeeded in the kingdom by Edward his son, afterwards called the elder, because after him reigned many kings of that name, of whom he was the first. Though inferior to his father in letters, he was much greater in the glory of his government. He took into his own hands Mercia, from duke Ethelred, to whom his father had before given it with his daughter, and also subjugated in war Northumberland, Norfolk, Scotland, and Wales, and having ejected the Pagans from all the cities and fortified castles, he introduced Christians. He was greatly assisted by his sister Ethelfleda, widow of Ethelred, formerly duke of London, a most prudent woman, and superior to the ancient Amazons; for having great difficulty in bringing forth her first child, she so strenuously abstained from all carnal connexion, that from that time forward she never returned to her husband's bed, but observed the strictest celibacy: and so occupied was she in building cities, fortifying castles, and leading armies, that one might have thought she had changed her sex. Edward died in the twenty-third year of his reign, and was buried with his father at Winchester.

He was succeeded by his first-born son, Athelstan, who, having collected an army to oppose the Danes from Northumberland and Norfolk, (who had conspired against him, and had associated with them Constantine, king of the Scots, and many others,) led his forces into Northumberland, where meeting several pilgrims from Beverley going to their own homes, and being certified by their relation of the miracles of St. John, he himself, with great devotion, visited the said saint. Offering him his dagger on the altar, he promised that if God gave him victory over his enemies, he would on his return redeem the said dagger at a fitting price—a promise which he afterwards fulfilled. For when God had bestowed victory upon him, he redeemed his dagger with the immunity which

that place now possesses, and in honour of God enriched it immensely with many other gifts. There fell in that war Constantine, king of the Scots, and other kings five in number, twelve earls, and an infinite rabble of the common people. And when the contest was brought to a prosperous ending, there was no one who henceforth dared offend the king. But after he had made arrangements for the marriage of his sisters, he exerted himself to ameliorate and promote both the old and new monasteries of England by some special contribution. And as Godric, the abbot of Croyland, still survived, though weighed down by old age, he took him and his fellow-brethren, then reduced to seven in number out of twenty-eight, into his own palace, and purposed to have restored the monastery of Croyland, but being prevented by sudden death, he left his design to be carried out by his brethren. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried at Malmesbury.

His brother Edmund, a youth of eighteen years of age, succeeded him, and reigned six years and a half. In the same year [A.D. 940] Godric, abbot of Croyland, died; and within a month of his death, two old men followed him, brother Swein and brother Osgot; and there only remained five old men, brother Clarembald, brother Swertting, brother Thurgar, brother Brun, and brother Aio. The two last of these, perceiving that king Athelstan, their patron, and their abbot Godric were dead, and altogether despairing of the restoration of their monastery, and of a succession of spiritual sons, left the community of their brethren; and the former of these went to the monastery of Winchester, and the second to the monastery of Malmesbury, and being severally received into these convents, remained there some years.

But the holy trinity of these three brethren remaining in the monastery of Croyland, ever put their trust in the Lord, that mindful of his mercy, He would at some time send to them some saviour, to restore to its pristine state a place so holy, and which also contained the sacred relics of his most holy confessor Guthlac, and make his most holy monastery fruitful with a spiritual offspring, and gather together again according to his good pleasure their brethren who were now dispersed abroad. King Edmund conferred the monastery of Glastonbury,[1] which was at that time lying almost desolate, and occupied only by a few clerks, together with all its appurtenances, on St. Dunstan, then his presbyter, that he might restore it, and re-collect there an order of monks, such as it formerly possessed. Going to Fleury, he was made a monk there, and having fully learned the regular observances, he bade farewell to the brethren and returned to Glastonbury, of which he was made abbot, and receiving brethren of his own order, in a short time united a most holy monastery. And when the most illustrious youth, king Edmund, proposed to commit Croyland also to some powerful man, who was a lover of holy religion, to resuscitate it from the ashes of its desolation, he was, alas! by a sudden misfor-

[1] Florence of Worcester ascribes this incident to the year 942, and the Saxon Chronicle to 944.

tune, on the festival of Saint Augustine [26th May], killed at Pucklechyrch, by a certain robber, and was buried at Glastonbury.

He was succeeded in the kingdom by his brother Edred, third son of king Edward, who reigned nine years. In the second year of his reign, the Northumbrians having raised a certain Hircius[1] to be king over them, threatened to rebel; while Wulstan,[2] archbishop of York, was reported to be conniving at their rebellion. Accordingly the renowned king Edred sent thither his chancellor, by name Turketul, a man of the greatest prudence, and a follower of all virtue and equity, and who was moreover his own relation and kinsman, (being the son of Cilward,[3] formerly his uncle,) and who held a very rich prebend in the said church of York, that he might admonish them in an earnest and friendly manner to maintain their allegiance to him and his kingdom. The venerable chancellor, therefore, went forth upon this business of the king with a large attendance of horse, as became a person ennobled by royal blood, rich in farms and possessions, and moreover the master of sixty manors; and through divine grace disposing his journey, he took his way towards York through the monastery of Croyland. As he was intending to pass it by, the three venerable old men of the said monastery met him, and with many supplications compelled him, as the day was verging towards evening, to come in to them; and taking him for prayer into their oratory, which they had built in a corner of the ruined church, they showed him the relics of the most holy confessor Guthlac, and related to him the whole history of its desolation. He pitied them, and kindly listened to their whole tale with the greatest devoutness. Then the old men, taking their holy guest into their guest-house, with the utmost humility and politeness gave to his servants and cooks all the victuals they possessed, to prepare supper for their lord; which, though ill adapted and very insufficient for so great a retinue, were still offered as their two mites with a liberal mind; for they were anxious, to the utmost of their power, and even beyond their power, to make their holy guest pleased and joyful, and to move him to such good feeling towards them as to vouchsafe to be their intercessor before their lord the king, and by his alms to procure for the good of his soul, either the rebuilding of their church, which his brother, king Ethelstan, (if life had still been spared him,) had purposed to have effected, or some other benefit. The venerable chancellor, greatly compassionating their misery, and embracing the assembly of old men in his inmost bowels, gave his assent to their petitions, agreed to intercede for them, and promised some assistance from his own property on his return. And at his departure, early in the morning, he bade his servants leave victuals enough to last till he should come again, and to pay out of his treasury one hundred shillings to buy other necessaries: and at length bidding them farewell with many tears, he commended himself to their prayers;

[1] Yric. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 948.

[2] See the same authority, A.D. 952.

[3] Ethelweard, the uncle of the king, died 16th Oct. 922, (see Florence, p. 240;) but of this Thurcytel there is no mention save in the pages of Ingulf.

and from that day forward his mind was united to these old men and the monastery of Croyland with such intimate and undivided affection, that he daily related to whomsoever he happened to meet through the whole of his journey, whether at the inns or in the highways, the courtesy of the old men of Croyland; he extolled their sanctity, proclaimed their charity, and deplored their calamities. And from him it first arose that Croyland received the surname of Curteys.

On his arrival at York, the venerable Turketul performed the command of his lord the king with much care and judgment in the presence of the archbishop and the whole of the people of the city; and after this prosperous issue he returned through Croyland; and, led by the Holy Spirit, he again turned aside with his followers to enjoy the hospitality of the aforesaid old men, by whom he was welcomed with immense joy. He again comforted them regarding their maintenance, proclaiming that the hand of the Lord was ever powerful and ready to assist his own; and he promised them that divine succour was nigh at hand. And having given twenty pounds of silver to the said old men, he returned early in the morning to his lord the king.

Now when he had given the king full information of the answer of the archbishop of York, and of all the people of that city, at last, having invoked the Holy Spirit, he judiciously turned the discourse to the raising up the monastery of Croyland from its ruins. And as soon as his chancellor and chief counsellor had made an end of speaking of this matter in the ears of the king, the said king gave his full consent, but was for deferring the work till the fierce war, which he had then in hand, should, by the assistance of the divine favour, be brought to a prosperous conclusion; for then he said he should be at leisure to apply himself to such acts of devotion, and to promote to the utmost of his power the interests of the church of Christ everywhere throughout his kingdom. On this the chancellor replied,—"My lord, those energetic kings your predecessors and brothers, and my lords, wrought in their days many good works in honour of God and for the exaltation of holy mother church, and our Lord God, the most just judge, in return for these good works, both gave them victory over all their enemies, and caused them also to abound in all good things. Thus also, you, (if you believe me,) by meritorious works most worthy of recompense will bind God to you; and so protected by the prayers of the saints, and assisted by their favours, you will go forth to war, when it please you, with a securer conscience." These and such-like discourses the venerable chancellor frequently uttered in amicable converse with the king; and at length he induced his lord the king to exclaim in those words of the Gospel, "Have ye a watch [Matt. xxvii. 65]; watch these old men and that place as ye best know how, for my hand shall be with you in all things, if ye require my assistance." Receiving the answer as a divine oracle and proceeding from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, he so understood the God-spoken words that he openly promised he would become a monk there, and with devout mind sought the favour of the king to be with him

in his purpose. Hearing this, the king was beyond measure astonished, and tried in every way to dissuade him from his intention; and above all because he was now sinking into old age, and having been nourished in delicacy was not accustomed to the rigour of a religious life; and besides this, since all the urgent affairs of the kingdom depended on his aid and counsel, there was much reason to fear that it would be endangered if he were removed. To whom the chancellor answered,—"My lord the king, I have hitherto, as God is my witness, who knoweth all things, warred to the utmost of my ability, and with due fidelity, for my lords your brethren and for you; now, for the welfare of your soul, I pray you of your clemency to suffer me to war at least in this my old age for my Lord God. But as for my advice and all the aid which my poor efforts can afford, these, so long as life shall continue in this my body, shall readily be rendered in your service; but for the rest, may it please your highness to know assuredly that from henceforth my hand shall never handle warlike weapons." The pious king hearing this was grievously affected, and perceiving that his holy desires towards the Lord daily increased, and fearing to quench the Holy Spirit, (for he was a man remarkable above all the kings, his predecessors, for a pure conscience,) he called him one day into his private chamber, and falling at the feet of his servant, he supplicated and exhorted him, even with many tears, to have pity upon him, and not leave him in the day of his tribulation. The chancellor seeing his lord, the king of all England, prostrate on the ground at his feet, threw himself also to the ground, and begged him with sighs and numberless groans to have pity upon him; and at length from his heart adjuring him by St. Paul, (to whom the king was ever specially devoted,) he overcame and obtained what he wished. Both of them then rising from the ground, appointed a day to visit Croyland, and mutually to consummate their holy vow in the most secure and honourable manner possible. And accordingly, after the lapse of a few days, with the consent of the king, the venerable chancellor Turketul caused it to be proclaimed with the voice of a herald through the midst of London, that if he was held bound to any one by any debt, he was ready at a certain place and on an appointed day to discharge it to the full; and if he had at any time done any injury to any one, he promised to give satisfaction threefold, like another Zacchæus, and as the demands of justice required, to make amends for the loss incurred. All his creditors and debtors being thus appeased, he conferred his sixty manors upon the lord the king, always reserving the tenth manor to his Lord Christ. He reserved therefore the six manors out of the sixty which were situated nearer to Croyland,—to wit, Wendlingborough, Elmyngton, Worthorp, Kotenham, Hokyngton, and Beby; the rest he gave to the king.

Coming with the king to Croyland, on the vigil of the Assumption of the blessed Mary [14th Aug.], he at once sent off messengers in the name of the king to Winchester and Malmesbury for the two brethren,—to wit, Bruno and Aio, who, hearing that the Lord had looked down from heaven on Croyland, returned with joy

and alacrity to their monastery, and coming to their brethren on the vigil of the blessed Bartholomew [23d Aug.], their patron, they were received with great joy. For they were both very learned men, and in morals honourable and religious. On the next day then, viz., on the festival of the holy apostle [24th Aug.], when the venerable Turketul had laid aside the secular dress, and assumed the monastic habit among the aforesaid five old men, he was also presented with a pastoral staff by the king, and blessed according to the custom of the church by Ceolwulph, bishop of Dorchester, his diocesan, who was then present. And on the same day, by the will of the king, and the advice of persons skilled in the law, in order to establish it on a more secure foundation for the future against the violence of the wicked, the venerable abbot Turketul and the aforesaid five old men, his monks, resigned entirely and spontaneously the whole of their monastery, with all lands and tenements, goods and chattels pertaining to it, into the hands of their lord the king. And the king receiving all into his hands, hired on the morrow carpenters and masons, and appointed a certain clerk, by name Egelric, (one of his own retinue, and a kinsman of lord Turketul, the abbot,) over the workmen and the whole place, and appointed that the expenses should be taken from his treasury, and wood and stones abundantly supplied from the neighbouring woods and stone quarries then pertaining to his royal manor of Castre. And such was the diligence with which Egelric applied his mind to the work enjoined him, that the church and the cloister, with the other necessary offices being shortly built, he earned for his labour thanks from the king, and a blessing from the Lord. But no sooner had the king himself appointed the several workmen to their various tasks, and set the faithful clerk over the workmen, than the day of the council which he had appointed to be held next in London on the public affairs of the kingdom drew near, and taking with him the venerable Turketul, the abbot, with the two old men his monks, that is to say, Turgarus and Aio, he went to London on the festival of the bishop and renowned doctor Saint Augustine [28th Aug.].

Accordingly on the festival of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, [8th Sept.], when all the nobles of the kingdom, as well archbishops, bishops, and abbots, as the other nobility and chief men of the whole kingdom, summoned by royal edict, had assembled at London to treat on the public affairs of all the realm; and when all these were brought to an end, king Edred, in the presence of them all, having sent for lord Turketul the abbot and his monks, gave to them the monastery of Croyland by his charter, dictated by the said Turketul the abbot, formerly the chancellor, and most intimate counsellor of the king, and written in these words:—

"[1]Peace in the name of the supreme Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

I, Edred, earthly king under the imperial power of the King and eternal Ruler of the worlds, holding the temporal government

[1] Collated with the text in the Cod. Diplom. No. ccccxx. (ii. 280.)

of Great Britain, to all Christians present and future, with the blessing of salvation in the Author of salvation. Be it known to you all, that on the divine suggestion and frequent exhortation made to me by my beloved clerk and kinsman, Turketul, regarding the repair, restoration, and liberty of the sacred church and monastery of Croyland, in which are stored the relics of Saint Guthlac, confessor and anchorite, I was filled with grief and compassion both at the desolation of holy mother church, and the diminution of spiritual benefits, which by works of mercy used to be abundantly and frequently bestowed for the souls of my predecessors; recollecting that there a monastery of black monks had, by the noble king of the Mercians, Ethelbald by name, formerly son of Alwio, been founded, copiously enriched, and amply provided with royal privileges—as by the inspection of the charters of the said Ethelbald, framed for the security of the said monks, was sufficiently declared to my council, but which, after the course of a long time, was by the army of the Pagans devastated, and with all the ornaments and many monuments, burnt and consumed with fire. Now when the aforesaid Turketul, who, according to the prophetic voice of the Psalms, 'hateth the assembly of the malignants, and loveth the beauty of the house of the Lord,' [Ps. xxvi. 5,] stimulated by a holy desire, strove to the utmost of his power to repair and rebuild the said monastery, he was by the zeal of divine love inflamed to such a degree that he ceaselessly wished to give himself up, heart and soul, to the Lord's fold. Accordingly, the five aged monks who lay concealed in the said island, two of whom had returned after having been dispersed abroad, were informed of the counsel of the said Turketul and the other lawyers, but greatly fearing that damages and various losses would suddenly come upon them hereafter, they spontaneously resigned into the royal hands the whole abbey, with all the possessions they had obtained, and which had been, by the care of the said Turketul, recovered, and by my favour acquired, together with six manors of their hereditary estates; that receiving them back from me as a gift, they might enjoy the possession of them more securely and freely from that time and hereafter. But since a contract agreed on by word only, when it fades from the memory is apt to afford matter for litigation, hence by my free consent and assent I appoint the often mentioned Turketul (now united into the same order with the aforesaid monks) abbot of the said monastery; and by my royal gift I deliver, give, and confirm, as well the abbey as the other possessions so recovered and resigned to me, in frankalmoigne, to the said monks, and all their successors serving God there under the said rule and order of St. Benedict, and I declare them severally in the following manner:—

In the first place, the whole island of Croyland for the glebe of the church, and for a several site of that monastery marked out by these boundaries—to wit, from the triangular bridge of Croyland, by the water of the Weland towards Spaldelyng, as far as Asendyk, where Asendyk falls into the water of the Weland, on the northern side of the stone cross fixed there by the aforesaid Turketul; and

so up towards the east by Asendyk, as far as Aswyktoft; and from thence as far as Shepishee, on the eastern side of that island, and so far as Tedwarthar, and there entering Southee as far as Namanland-hyrne, where the said Turketul ordered a stone cross to be placed distant from Southee six perches; and in that water let there be the division of the two counties—to wit, of Lincoln and Cambridge; and the said cross is distant from the water of Neene, towards the west, five perches; and thence by the said water of Neene, as it runs to the aforesaid bridge of Croyland, with a several right of fishing as well in all the waters surrounding that island, as in the ponds and marshes included within its site, together with the marshes and alderbeds adjacent, towards the west, on the opposite side of that island, in all things annexed and answering to the county of Lincoln, and by these boundaries in the following manner distinguished—to wit, from Namanland-hyrne, by the water of Neene, towards the west as far as Fynfet,[1] where a stone cross is fixed down near the bank; and from thence as far as Grinis, and so as far as Folwardstaking; and thence as far as Southlake, where Southlake falls into the water of Weland, and so passing the said water, and beginning at Kenulphston, near the bank on the opposite side of Southlake, where the first abbot after the foundation, by name Kenulph, placed a stone cross for a boundary between Croyland and Depying; and from thence, stretching towards the north near Aspath, as far as Werwarlake, and so far as Harinholt, and then up through Mengerlake and Lurtlake, where are the boundaries of division between Hoyland and Kestevene; and from thence as far as Oggot, and so far as Apynholt, otherwise called Wodelade, where Wodelade falls into the water of Weland, with all its appurtenances, and all advantages which might accrue or be produced between the aforesaid limits, as well below as upon the earth, together with commons of pasture [[2] at all times of the year for all kinds of animals, for themselves and their men, or their tenants dwelling with them within the aforesaid limits, and that right of common shall be] in the marshes adjacent on each part of the water of Weland—to wit, on one side from the water itself as far as the territory of Medeshamstead, and on the other side from the said water as far as the buildings of Spaldeling, together with a separate right of fishing in the said water of Weland, from Kenulphston, as far as the bridge of Croyland, and on the water of Neene, from the boundary named Finisfactus, as far as the bridge of Croyland, and from thence, in the said water and the water of Weland united as far as Asendyk. The said monks may also take in from the said marshes, lying towards the west, separately for themselves, their men, or tenants, crofts and meadow-land, round the bridge, as much as they please. And I will that the said monks, by my donation and ratification, hold these estates free and exempt from all penalties and secular burdens, and all liberties, and free customs, with all that which is called soch, sach, tol and

[1] "usque ad Finem-factum." See the parallel passages, pp. 570, 573.

[2] The passage within brackets is omitted in the Arundel MS.

tem, infrangthef, weif, and stray, with their legal appurtenances in frankalmoigne.

Moreover, I grant, give, and confirm to the said monks the following possessions, formerly belonging to the said monastery by the ancient gift of the nobles of my kingdom—to wit, in Lincolnshire, in Spaldeling three carucates of arable-land; in Pyncebek one carucate of arable-land; in Cappelade three carucates of arable-land, six bovates of arable-land, and twelve acres of meadow, with the church of the said vill; in Algare twelve bovates of arable-land; in Donnesdyke two carucates of arable-land and twenty acres of meadow, in Drayton one carucate of arable-land, and six acres of meadow; and four salt-works; [[1] in Burtoft one bovate of arable-land with soch, sach, and with the church of Sutterton;] in Bokenhale two carucates of arable-land and a half, and twenty-six acres of meadow, and fifty acres of wood, and seventy acres of brusche; in Halyngton ten bovates of arable-land, with four bovates of inland, and with thirty-two acres of meadow of the same fee in Gerumthorp; in Langtoft six carucates of arable-land (and it is five quarentenes in length, and nine in breadth), and one hundred acres of meadow, and a wood, and a marsh two leagues in length and two in breadth, and the church of that town, and forty acres of the same fee in the field of Deping; in Baston, at Tetford four carucates of arable-land, and fifty-five acres of meadow, with the church of that town, and with a marsh fifteen quarentenes in length and eight in breadth, with one water mill and half a mill; in Repyngale three carucates of arable-land, and sixty acres of meadow; in Laithorp one bovate of arable-land; in Kirkby three bovates of arable-land, one mansion, and three cottages.

In Northamptonshire—in Wedlingburgh six hides of arable-land and a half, with the church of that town, with soch, sach, &c.; in Adington three hides of arable-land with the advowson of the church of that town; in Helmyngton three hides of arable-land; in Glapthorn three virgates of arable-land; in Wyrthorp one hide and a half, with one water mill; in Peykirke two virgates of arable-land; in Badby the manor and four hides of arable-land, with thirty acres of meadow.

In Huntingdonshire—in Morberne five hides of arable-land, with the advowson of the church of that town; in Thiring one hide and a half of arable-land.

In Leicestershire—in Beby ten carucates of arable-land and a half, with the church of that town; in Sutton two carucates of arable-land; in Stapilton two carucates of arable-land.

In Cambridgeshire—in Kotenham eleven hides of arable-land, with the advowson of the church of that town alternately; in Hokitton seven hides of arable-land and a half, with the church of that town; in Drayton eight hides of land and a half, with the advowson of the church of that town.

In Hertfordshire—in Staundon five hides of arable-land.

And I will that the said monks be quit and freed from all scot, geld, sheriff's aids, hidage, and from attendance in shires, wapen-

[1] This passage is omitted in the Arundel MS.

takes, hundreds, tithings, and all other courts, and from all secular burdens. And I enjoin that all the fugitives whom the said monks (by the testimony of four or five trustworthy witnesses before the sheriff in the county in which they are abiding) can affirm to be there born villeins, shall be restored by the aforesaid sheriff to their abbey with all their chattels and appurtenances, all power of opposition or reclaiming them being removed and annulled. And if they have before done anything to defraud their masters, I decree that it be altogether made null and void; and if any of these born villeins, or of those who hold of them as born villeins, shall have committed any crime, for which he deserves to lose his chattels, these chattels shall be freely made over to the aforesaid monks, wherever justice shall be done. And I will that, if the sheriff, or any of his bailiffs, or my ministers, shall be found neglectful or dilatory in their business, in opposition to justice and their liberties, he shall forfeit twenty pounds, to be paid to my treasury.

And that nothing be omitted, which, for the security of the rights and liberties of the said monks, it is expedient to insert in the present charter, at least on account of those who are more terrified by temporal loss in the present life, than by the everlasting punishment of hell, I stringently enjoin that all and singular, of whatever grade and condition, who in any respect strive to violate and disturb the sanctions of the present charter contrary to the form and effect of my will expressed in the same, or who attempt to diminish it by counsel, aid, or favour, or to prevent their peaceful possession of any gifts granted them, or their enjoyment of any of the privileges above mentioned, shall be condemned in the penalty of the forfeiture of a hundred pounds of the coin of the realm, to be paid as often as they shall presume to make the attempt, to my treasury and to that of my heirs or successors. Moreover, I enjoin that they make satisfaction to the said monks for the loss and expense caused or incurred by their means, to be estimated on the oath of four or five trustworthy persons, by whom the truth of the affair may be better discovered, in the presence of my appointed judges or those of my heirs or successors. That thus those who, voluntarily renouncing the world, have subjected themselves to the yoke of the Lord, and are now become dead to the world, may have free power, undisturbed by the turbulence of the world, to give themselves up to divine contemplations.

These gifts (very small though they be) to praise of the Supreme Trinity, and as the price of the redemption of my soul, I have devoutly perpetuated and confirmed to the aforesaid monks, in the year of the incarnation of the eternal King our Lord Jesus Christ nine hundred and forty-eight, in the presence of the underwritten archbishops, bishops, and nobles of my kingdom.

✠ I, Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, have given my counsel and consent.

✠ I, Wulstan, archbishop of York, devoutly have put my mark.

✠ I, Alfred, bishop of Shirburn, have desired it.

✠ I, Kynsy, bishop of Lichfield, have consented.

✠ I, Kynewald, bishop of Worcester, have corroborated this deed.

✠ I, Ceolwulph, bishop of Dorchester, have desired it.
✠ I, Athelwold, abbot of Abendon, have approved it.
✠ I, Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, have greatly desired it.
✠ I, duke Oslac, at the instance of my lord the king have approved it.
✠ I, duke Brithnod, have commended it.
✠ I, earl Alcin, have favoured it.
✠ I, earl Aigulf, have signed it.
✠ I, earl Radbod, have given my consent.
✠ I, Byngulph, sheriff, have advised it.
✠ I, Alfer, sheriff, have heard it.
✠ I, Farceus, minister, was present.
✠ I, Sigeus, minister, have listened to it.
✠ I, Aethelward, minister, have witnessed it.
✠ I, Turketul, though an unprofitable servant, perceiving the end of my purpose attained, praise the eternal God for his favour in this act; and though I have assumed the monastic habit late in life, I have submitted myself to the regular yoke with a contrite heart, that I may thus be compelled to sacrifice to my Creator at least the dregs of my old age. Therefore 'my soul doth magnify the Lord,' and do you, my brethren, magnify the Lord with me, that serving before Him in sanctity and justice, and ever triumphing over the prince of the world, we may so run the course of this present life, that, in that which is to come, we may deserve to attain the reward of the sight of God. Amen."

Now since we are about to hand down to our descendants some knowledge of this our venerable father abbot Turketul, it is fitting to commence our narration at an earlier period in his life, that having made them acquainted with the vigorous youth of so noble a young man on the authority of chronicles, and as our forefathers have told it to us, we may the more easily show on probable evidence the holiness of the old age by which it was succeeded. About, then, the close of the reign of king Edward, Ethelward,[1] his brother, having died, his first-born son, our Turketul, obtained the paternal inheritance from his aforesaid uncle, king Edward. And when the king had repeatedly offered him in marriage the most noble damsels, daughters of his dukes and earls, and he, without at all giving his consent, rejected them all at first sight, then the wise king, arguing from so holy a beginning that he would prove a man of virtue, designed at some time to exalt him to ecclesiastical dignities, and to the elevation of a bishopric. Hence, on the death of several bishops, (that his holiness might be made known to all who were in the house of the Lord, if he should be placed upon a candlestick,) the king very frequently wished to promote him to the grade of a bishop in the larger churches of all England over all his other clergy. But he, on various excuses, escaping from all these honours, shrank from them during the whole of his life as if they were the snares of Satan for subverting souls. The king offered him, for instance, the bishopric of Winchester, on the death of

[1] Aethelweard died in 922, two years before his brother Edward.

Dinewulph,[1] its bishop; but he, protesting that he was unfit for so high a dignity, prayed him to vouchsafe to accept Fridestan, his foster-brother, and Fridestan was made bishop of Winchester. At the same time, on the suggestion of Pleigmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the bishopric of Dorchester[2] was offered him by the king; but he refused it with equal constancy, and presented to the king his presbyter Ceolwulph, and the said Ceolwulph was made bishop. Thus did he ever refuse the glory of earthly dignity; thus did he all his days reject transitory honours. At length, the king perceiving how the desires of his most holy heart inclined him not to love dignities and riches, but to be so contented with his own estates and property as not to seek for others, appointed him his chancellor,[3] that whatever business, either temporal or spiritual, awaited the judgment of the king, might be all decided by his counsel and decree, (such a reputation had he obtained for holy faith and profound ability,) and that when thus decided the sentence might be irreversible. By his advice then the king performed many good works, and among the rest he appointed seven bishops to seven[4] bishoprics in one day, that is to say, the aforesaid Fridestan to the bishopric of Winchester, the aforesaid Ceolwulph to that of Dorchester, Werstan to that of Sherburn, Athelstan to that of Cornwall, Athelm to that of Wells, Adulph to that of Crediton, and Bernek to the prelacy of the Southern Saxons, whose see is at [Chichester[5]]; and caused them all to be consecrated in one day by the aforesaid archbishop Pleigmund. The renowned king Edward having finished his days, was succeeded by Ethelstan,[6] his son.

To oppose this king an insurrection was originated by Analaph, son of [7]Sitric, formerly king of Northumbria, and he, assisted by a numerous force, stirred up a fierce war. Constantine, king of the Scots, and Eugenius, king of the Cumbrians, and a numberless foreign band of other kings and earls, were joined in the closest treaty with him, and these all in a body, together with the nations subject to them, assembled at Brunford, in Northumbria, to oppose king Athelstan. And the said king of the Angles met them with his army, but the said barbarian, though he had collected a countless multitude of Danes, Norwegians, Scots, and Picts, yet either from distrust of success, or from the accustomed craft of his nation, preferred setting his snares under the shades of night to

[1] Ingulf here furnishes us with materials whereby to test his accuracy, and we discover that his chronology is singularly faulty. Denewolf died in 909, and was succeeded in 910 by Frithestan, at which time Thurcetyl must have been three years of age.

[2] The date of the succession of Ceolwulf is somewhat uncertain; Matthew of Westminster places it under the year 905, two years before the birth of Thurcetyl.

[3] No such office was known among the Saxons.

[4] Considerable doubt hangs over the promotion of these bishops under the circstances here described by Ingulf; and the history of the council at which it is said to have occurred, is open to suspicion.

[5] A blank here occurs in the texts both of Saville and Gale, which is supplied from the corresponding passage of Matthew of Westminster.

[6] He began his reign in 925.

[7] Ingulf appears to be in error in considering this Anlaf as the son of Sitric, as appears from the statements of the better informed historians, Simeon of Durham and Henry of Huntingdon. See these historians, A.D. 941—944.

engaging in open battle. Accordingly, he rushed suddenly upon the Angles at night time, and killed a certain bishop,[1] who on the preceding evening had entered the army of king Athelstan. The cries of the dying sounded to such a distance that the king, who was one mile from the place, and his whole army, who were sleeping around him in their tents in the open air, were awoke, and understanding what had taken place, were soon armed. As the morning dawned they approached the scene of carnage, ready and prepared to make an attack on the barbarians, who had toiled all night and were now wearied and disordered in their ranks. It chanced that king Athelstan, who led all the West Saxons, was opposed to the troops of Analaph's band, and his chancellor Turketul, at the head of the Londoners and all the Mercians, met Constantine's band. The light armed troops soon failing, foot was thrust against foot, spear against spear, and shield against shield. Many were slain, and the corpses of kings and paupers fell confused together. After the fight had continued for a long time with great fierceness, and neither side gave way (such was the multitude of the Pagans), the chancellor Turketul, having taken with him a few of the Londoners, whom he knew to be the bravest, and a certain leader of the Wiccii, Singin[2] by name, a man of tried courage, rushed against the foe, he himself taking the lead, in height towering above all, in bone and sinew firm and brawny, and in the midst of the heroes of London remarkable for his robust strength. Penetrating the wedges of the enemy he laid them prostrate right and left, and having passed through the bands of the people of the Orkneys and the Picts, and surrounded by a forest of spears and darts which had been hurled against him, but which his faithful breastplate had rendered ineffectual, he pierced the wedge-like bands of the Cumbrians and Scots with his followers. At length, having with much slaughter reached the king himself, he hurled him from his horse, and in every way attempted to take him alive; but the Scots closing round their king to defend him with all their strength, and a greater number being engaged against a few, and above all attacking Turketul alone, he then, for the first time, as he afterwards confessed, repented of the rashness. And now he was on the point of being overwhelmed by the Scots, and their king was almost rescued from his hands, when Singrin, the leader, slew him with his sword. When Constantine, the king of the Scots, was thus dispatched, the Scots retreated, and left a more open passage for Turketul and his soldiers. And his death being speedily made known through the whole army, Analaph and all his men took to flight. An unheard-of host of Pagans fell on the field; and Turketul used often to boast that the Lord preserved him in so severe a conflict, and that he was most happy and fortunate in not having either slain or mutilated a single man,

[1] This, according to Lappenberg, i. 115, was Werstan, bishop of Sherburn; but this statement cannot be reconciled with the statements advanced by Godwin de Præsul, p. 333. See the present volume, p. 629, where Werstan occurs as a witness to a charter dated A.D. 966; it must not be forgotten, however, that this charter is spurious.

[2] Syngrinus occurs as a various reading.

though any one might lawfully fight for his country, and above all against Pagans.

This victory then being quickly noised abroad through the whole of Christendom, all the kings of the earth desired to enter, on any terms, into a sacred league of peace and friendship with king Athelstan. [1]Accordingly Henry, emperor of the Romans, sent ambassadors for one of his sisters to be given to his son Otho to wife. Hugo, also, king of the French, sent for another of them to be delivered to his son. Ludovic, also, the prince of Aquitaine, sent to take one to himself in marriage. The numerous regal gifts brought by their ambassadors were of such a quality and quantity as had not been known or seen by the English for many ages; besides aromatic scents, precious gems, race-horses equipped with golden trappings, and precious vases of onyx, and many other most beautiful presents, there was sent a piece of our Lord's cross, most fittingly enclosed in crystal; a sword of Constantine the Great, to the hilt of which, over the thick plates of gold, was affixed a nail, one of the four by which our Redeemer saved us and all his; also a standard of the most blessed martyr Maurice, and a lance of Charles the Great, much prized among the French. The magnificent king Ethelstan, hugely delighted with these presents, gave his sisters to the aforesaid princes; and among the delegates who conducted the virgins, he, with unwavering heart, deputed as first and chief his chancellor Turketul, as being the most prudent, and in every business approved for his holy fidelity, and also related to the said virgins. The four ladies, who surpassed Diana in honourable chastity, and Helen in personal beauty, came down to the shore with the chancellor. Many jewels for their shining bosoms, gold, bracelets, and a thousand necklaces were bestowed on them by the dukes, earls, and other nobles of the whole land. At length, having left England, after a prosperous voyage over the sea they sailed down the Rhine to Cologne. The two elder sisters were entrusted to the emperor; the first of whom he married to his son Otho, the second to a certain great noble of his palace. The third sister, Hugo, king of the French, took for his son. The fourth, who was the youngest and most beautiful of all the sisters, Ludovic, prince of Aquitaine, took to wife.

Having brought, then, the said embassy to a conclusion, the chancellor Turketul, loaded with liberal presents, and accompanied by his whole retinue, who even to the last boy were enriched with many gifts, returned by a favourable voyage to England. The king, having triumphed over all his enemies, and married his sisters in the most honourable manner, turned his whole mind, with the most earnest devotion (his chancellor, Turketul, ever suggesting the same,) to exalt the church of Christ everywhere throughout his kingdom. He restored monasteries, built churches, and made offerings of most precious ornaments for their holy altars. Above all, he specially loved and exalted Malmesbury, where he had solemnly buried his

[1] The battle of Brunanburgh was fought in A.D. 937; Athelstan's sister, Eadgyth, was married to Otho I., emperor of Germany, in 924; Ingulf is in error, therefore, in considering the one as resulting from the other.

two kinsmen, the sons of Athelward, his uncle, viz. Elwin and Ethelstan,[1] who were slain by the Danes in the battle of Bruneford, and magnified it above the other monasteries by many privileges; and at length, Atropos cutting off his years before the time, he died and was buried and rests there.

He was succeeded in his kingdom, as has been before said, by his brother Edmund.[2] In his time Dunstan, then presbyter of the royal palace, and the most familiar secretary of the chancellor Turketul, to whom he most confidentially communicated his confessions, was, through the persecution of some rivals, driven by the king from the palace; but through the means of Turketul the chancellor, who constantly spoke of his sanctity, and earnestly besought the king, for his sake, to consent to his prayer, he was recalled, and presented to the monastery of Glastonbury.[3] At that time the chancellor Turketul gave to St. Dunstan a very beautiful chalice, which is still preserved, even in these times of the Normans, in the same place, and is called the cup of Turketul. King Edmund, having completed six years and a half in the kingdom, was killed, and succeeded by his third brother, Edred.[4]

In his second year, the chancellor Turketul (while he was still a neophyte, not having as yet been converted, save in heart and wish), on a certain day, hastening with all speed from London to Croyland, visited, with much devotion, the aforesaid three old men, who were lying hid in the said island, and having revealed to them his holy purpose, he hugely delighted them beyond what the tongue can tell or the heart conceive. Being received into their brotherhood, he read once again the charters of the foundation of the monastery and its other muniments, and made a circuit of the whole island of Croyland from corner to corner, accompanied by the said old men, who were carried in a chariot, and by his own retinue, which still attended upon him as chancellor in great numbers. It ought to be inserted, that about this time so great a drought prevailed through the whole of England, that it rained not for three years upon the earth, and was called by many the drought of Elias. The chancellor Turketul, then, having been informed concerning all the limits and boundaries of Croyland, ordered the stone crosses at the bounds to be renewed, and fixed at a greater distance from the banks of the rivers, in the nearest firm soil, lest perchance in course of time they should be swept away into them by the influx of the waters, as he had understood had happened to the ancient crosses which were at one time placed there, at the same boundaries, by Kenulph, first abbot of the monastery of Croyland. On the southern bank of the said island Turketul then placed a stone cross, which was then distant from Southee six perches, and on the north part of the said island he then placed another stone cross, which was then distant from Asendyk, as it falls into the Weland, three perches, coming also to the boundaries of the marshes both

[1] These, according to Ingulf's pedigree, were the brothers of Thurcetyl. Malmesbury calls them Aelfwine and Aethelwine.

[2] His reign commenced in the year 940.

[3] This occurred in A.D. 942. See Florence, p. 242.

[4] Edred's reign extended from 946 to 955.

of Alderlound and, on the southern side of the water, of Weland and of Coggeslound. On the northern side of the said water, he marked out these limits as they were shown by the charters of the foundation of the monastery, and ordered these in like manner to be designated by stone crosses; and thus having greeted the said old men his brethren, and again given them twenty pounds of silver for their support, he returned, with the charters and muniments of the monastery, to the king to London.

There, on a certain day, he had an interview with earl Lewin, who possessed Spalding, Cappelade, and Sutterton, lands formerly appertaining to the monastery of Croyland, and bestowing forty mancuses of gold on the aforesaid earl, in the presence of the aforesaid king, he received in return the aforesaid towns into his possession, as attorney to the said old men, and under their name and title. He then also compounded with earl Alpher, and giving him ten mancuses of gold, restored Drayton to Croyland. He also recovered Staundon and Baddeby for Croyland, having paid ten mancuses of gold for them to earl Athelwold. At the same time he obtained for Croyland, from earl Ailwin, a most pious youth and much given to alms, the town of Morburne. Then also, by payment of twelve mancuses of gold to duke Oslac, he restored Bokenhale, and Halyngton, and Lyndesey,[1] to Croyland. But Langtoft and Baston, which then appertained to the royal treasury, king Edred restored freely and spontaneously. But the manor of Deyping, which the said king had at some former time given to Langfer, steward of the former king, Beorred, (who had now died, stricken with age, without leaving any male heirs,) passed to his two daughters, who remaining a long time unmarried, were neither willing to compound with Turketul, nor to resign it at his request, or for a due consideration. The venerable father Turketul therefore waited long for better times; but as long as he lived, they also lived in the same obstinacy. Kyrketon, Kymerby, and Croxton were tenaciously retained by duke Osbricht: the charters of the donors had perished, nor were the said lands contained in any royal confirmation; and Turketul, having once and again offered a fair price for their recovery without being heard, turned all his vigilance to redeem other possessions. He then recovered Glapthorn, Thirming, Laythorp, Kyrkeby, Peykyrk, both of the Adingtons, Repingale, Sutton, and Stapilton.

At length, on the arrival of the festival of the blessed Bartholomew the apostle [24th Aug.], in the presence of the king, he was made monk, and being immediately presented by him with a pastoral staff, and blessed by the bishop, he resigned the whole monastery, with all its possessions, into the hands of the king, who in a common council held in London before the archbishops, bishops, and the nobles of the whole land, restored the said monastery to the said lord Turketul the abbot and his monks, together with all its lands, as well those which of old appertained to it, as those which were recently given and acquired by the said Turketul; and he confirmed it with his charter (as is before set forth) in frankalmoigne, free and

[1] Another reading gives, "in Lindsey," which is probably the more correct.

exempt from all earthly service for ever. But the freedom from punishment, and the immunity which the place enjoyed of old, he by no means consented to receive back, lest he should in any degree seem to afford a refuge for the wicked and impious from the public laws, and be at all compelled to sojourn or concur with evil-doers of this kind, contrary to his conscience.

Many men of letters followed him to the monastery, of whom ten took the monastic habit together with himself; the rest, shrinking from the rigour of this order, remained still in the secular habit, but nevertheless dwelt in the monastery with him, being unable in any manner to endure his absence. Some of these attained to the grade of priests, others still ministered in the office of clerks. All of these, who were many in number, he ordered to reside in the cell of the virgin St. Pega, at the eastern part of the monastery, and a daily ration to be served to each of them as to a monk: and building for them there a chapel, he ordered them to observe the regular hours both by night and day at the same time as the monks. This was done by the command of Turketul the abbot, that those who had been given up to the wantonness of the world, and whose customs were very far removed and discordant from a regular life, might by actual use become inured to monastic observances. He also appointed an uniform dress for all, a black coat, and garments reaching down to the heels, all of a black colour. They knew no other order besides continence and obedience; and hence it seldom or never happened that any of them returned to the vomit of the world, since they were cared for by so liberal a maintenance, and restrained by so gentle a rule. The abbot Turketul named a prior to be set over them, who was to be elected by the whole of themselves, but confirmed by him. Some of these, after a most holy termination to their life, rested there, and were buried in the same place: others turned in course of time to the monastic order, and living most holily therein, were afterwards, according to their deserts, raised to the office of abbot. Of these the two Egelrics, who were nearly related to him by family and kindred, but were brought into a much nearer alliance by the Spirit, strenuously discharged the office of abbot in succession after him, and died in the same. But when about the close of the life of the abbot Turketul, under the renowned king Edgar, the monastic order again began to flourish abundantly in many monasteries, which everywhere through the whole kingdom had been restored, and also in some which were newly founded, and clerks more seldom than usual turning monks, almost all the presbyters of Pegeland were made monks of Croyland.

Hence Pegeland being almost deserted, the few clerics who were left began urgently to implore the abbot Turketul, that it might please him either to hire for them secular priests, or to assign some monk from his monastery to celebrate daily for them the divine mysteries. Afterwards any secular person, of whatever grade or condition, who became a convert, was first placed at their college, and after being proved at Pegeland, was, in course of time, received or rejected according to the report which he received from thence.

The abbot Turketul, with most wise foresight, did not receive

nor altogether condemn either of the petitions of the people of Pegeland, but in memory of the virgin Saint Pega, he granted and appointed there a provision for perpetuating divine service. He did so, however, without establishing any college of regulars or irregulars, which might perchance at some time prove injurious or burdensome to his own monastery. Accordingly he appointed, and with the consent of his whole college by the common charter of his chapter, confirmed for ever, one priest, to celebrate perpetually the holy mysteries for king Ethelbald, founder of the monastery, for its restorer king Edred, for Turketul the abbot, and the other benefactors of the place: he appointed also that one conventual monk should be maintained in the refectory, and should receive daily after the prior was served victuals of the same quality both at breakfast and supper, whether he was at home or abroad: but for other necessaries he was henceforth to have in equal portions half of the oblations which the faithful of Christ diligently offered in the said chapel before the sacrist. But these arrangements were made about the close of the life of Turketul the abbot; in the time, namely, of king Edgar. The first priest placed there to perform these duties was named Reynfred, a man of great virtue and much skilled in letters.

In the reign, then, of king Edgar, as was before said, Turketul the venerable abbot, having stationed his clerics at Pegeland,[1] applied himself with the utmost diligence to the building of his monastery. But king Edred in this interval, moving his army to Northumbria, destroyed almost the whole province with fire and sword, and having put all his adversaries to flight, he returned in triumph to London. And when they a second time made a conspiracy to rebel, he returned to Northumbria with a large army, and put Wulstan archbishop of York, and many of the nobility of their country, into chains: and having swept the whole land and reduced it to ashes, so that for many miles it was for a long time after a desert, he returned to London with a large number of captives. Having then thus subdued his enemies, he afterwards diligently busied himself in rebuilding the churches and monasteries. For he restored, as was before said, Croyland, setting over it as abbot Turketul, who had been his chancellor. He restored also Abendon, setting over it as abbot Athelwold, who had been prior of Glastonbury, and who, being afterwards made bishop of Winchester, was the founder of many monasteries. At length, in the tenth year of his reign, king Edred, being sick unto death,[2] sent by a swift messenger for Saint Dunstan, his confessor, then abbot of Glastonbury. But as he was hastening speedily to the king's palace, a voice from heaven sounded forth,—"King Edred sleepeth in the Lord;" and immediately the horse which carried the holy abbot fell to the ground and expired—a powerless beast, and unworthy to hear the voice of an angel. The holy abbot Dunstan, together with his monks, chanted there for the soul of the dead king the office for

[1] The passage which here commences, and ends with the words "hearing that Dunstan," in the second subsequent paragraph, (see p. 624, note [3],) does not occur in Saville's text, but is given by Gale.

[2] He died at Frome, 26th Nov. 955.

the dead, namely, the Placebo and Dirige; and afterwards, on arriving at the palace, he found the king dead, as the angel had revealed to him. He was buried at Winchester in the episcopal church.

He was succeeded by Edwin,[1] elder son of king Edmund, a most licentious youth, and possessing none of the qualities which become a king. At the very beginning of his reign he sent the most holy abbot Dunstan into exile, but was soon, by the judgment of God, deprived of half his kingdom, and in grief for such a misfortune, he was brought low, even to death; and after having reigned two years he died, and left the whole of his kingdom to his far better brother Edgar.

This king Edgar[2] having obtained the whole kingdom, recalled Saint Dunstan from exile, and presented him first with the bishopric of the Wiccii, adding also that of London, and at length elevated him to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The venerable father, abbot Turketul, [3]hearing that Dunstan, formerly his most intimate friend, was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and that Osketul his kinsman was in like manner made archbishop of York, paid a visit at once to London, and was welcomed by both of them with such joy as it is not easy to describe; the one being his tutor, and mindful of former benefits, the other embracing him as his relation and kinsman, both of them revering him with heartfelt affection, as a soldier who had now served his time in the camp of the Lord. He then also obtained from king Edgar, in the eighth year, namely, of his reign, on the intercession of the aforesaid archbishops, a royal charter for the confirmation of his monastery of Croyland, in the following form:—

"[4]Our Lord Jesus Christ, ruling over all heavens, and holding the sovereignty of all the kingdoms of the earth, who taketh away kings, and transfers kingdoms, and controls all the realms of the world by his nod. I Edgar, by the copious munificence of our God possessing the monarchy of the whole of Great Britain, determined with myself from the commencement of my reign to recompense his goodness, according to my ability, and from the transitory mammon to provide for myself the habitations of the blest, and by fleeting goods to earn eternal joys. When then my spiritual fathers, the bishops and prelates, made frequent suggestions to me about raising again the churches of Christ and the restoration of monasteries, I ever, with open ears, (as God, the Searcher of hearts, is my witness,) anxiously acquiesced in their petitions. But when my most holy archbishops, Dunstan of Canterbury and Osketul of York, more openly insinuated, how the celebrated monastery of Croyland, (formerly founded by the renowned king of the Mercians, Ethelbald, and enriched by other kings of the Mercians, his successors, with

[1] Read, Eadwig, whose reign extended from 955 to 1st Oct. 959. See the Saxon Chronicle, ad an.

[2] Eadgar, from A.D. 959 to 8th July, 975. See Florence of Worcester, p. 248.

[3] Here we return to the text of Saville's edition.

[4] Collated with Kemble's Cod. Diplom. No. dxx. (ii. 413), the text of which is from the Arundel MS. 178, fol. 44.

many large gifts and dignities, and moreover enlarged and magnificently confirmed by immunities and extensive privileges,) was at length, by the nefarious Danes oppressing the whole land, burnt with fire and devastated,—and how afterwards, on the ceasing of so vehement a storm, by the industry of the venerable father Turketul, and the assisting favours of the most pious king Edred, my uncle and predecessor, it was restored and rose again, and was once more built into a habitation for the saints, and confirmed by royal charter, —I rejoiced with great joy; and as God is my witness, my whole heart was gladdened by the christian worship daily growing in strength in my time through all England. I therefore, to the aforesaid venerable man, abbot Turketul, formerly a most powerful noble in the court of my father and my uncles, and the most intrepid conqueror of all the enemies of the kingdom of England, and who is now, for the love of heaven, the most holy pastor and prelate of the servants of Christ, grant from my royal woods which lie nearer and more contiguous to his monastery of Croyland,—to wit, from Ancarygwood and Medeshamsteadwood (which appertain to my royal manors of Estreye and Castre), trees and timber for the building of his aforesaid monastery, as many and as much as he may please to accept; nor shall any of my ministers in that country presume to impede him in anything. Also the monastery of Croyland itself, with the whole island adjacent, and with the town and two marshes lying on each side of the water of Weland towards the west, with the same limits and boundaries with which the monks of the said monastery from its first foundation continuously possessed it, and as the charters and muniments of many kings my predecessors, and specially of the renowned king Edred, my uncle and predecessor, sufficiently declare and mark it from east to west, and from south to north,—this I grant and confirm for a perpetual alms to my aforesaid father, abbot Turketul, and his monks and all their successors serving God there,—to wit, the said island of Croyland, proceeding from its triangular bridge by the water of Weland towards Spaldelyng as far as Asendyk, where Asendyk falls into the water of Weland, on the northern part of the stone cross fixed there by the aforesaid Turketul, and so up towards the east by Asendyk as far as Aswyktoft,[1] and from thence as far as Schepishee, on the eastern part of that island, and so as far as Tedwarthar, and there entering Southee as far as Namanland-hyrne, where the same Turketul caused a stone cross to be fixed, distant from Southee six perches, and the said cross is distant from the water of Neene towards the west, five perches; and from thence by the same water of Neene, as it runs to the aforesaid bridge of Croyland; with a several right of fishing, as well in all the waters surrounding the said island, as in the pools and marshes included within its site; together with the marshes and alder-grounds adjacent towards the west on the opposite part of that island, in all respects connected with, and responsible to, the county of Lincoln, and by these boundaries distinguished,—to wit, from Namansland-hyrne, by

[1] Gale gives here Asendtoft in his text, adding Aswyktoft as a various reading, which is also supported by the authority of the Arundel MS.

the water of Neene, towards the west as far as Fineston, where a stone cross is fixed near the bank, and from thence as far as Greynes, and so as far as Folwardstakyng, and from thence as far as Southlake, where Southlake falls into the water of Weland, and so passing the same water to Kenulphston near the bank on the opposite side of Southlake, where the first abbot of that monastery, Kenulph by name, placed a stone cross for a boundary between Croyland and Deping, and from thence towards the north, near Aspath, as far as Werwarlake, and so as far as Harynholt, and from thence up by Mengarlake and Lurtlake, and from thence by Oggot as far as Wodelade, where Wodelade falls into the water of Weland; together with all advantages which may accrue or be produced within the aforesaid boundaries, as well beneath as above the earth; with pasture-commons at all times of the year, for all kinds of animals, for themselves, and all their men, and their tenants dwelling with them within the said boundaries in the marshes adjacent on each side of the water of Weland,—to wit, on one side from the same water as far as my territory of Medeshamstead, and on the other side from the same water as far as the buildings of Spaldelyng, with a several fishery in the same water of Weland, from Kenulphston as far as the bridge in Croyland, and from thence in the same water and in the water of Weland united as far as Asendyk.

I grant also that the said monks may take in from the adjacent marshes towards the west, for themselves and for their tenants, crofts or meadow round the bridge, to be held in severalty, as much as they please, according as my uncle king Edred confirmed all these privileges by his charter. I grant also and confirm to the aforesaid monastery all the aforementioned privileges, free and exempt from all secular burdens, and the possession of all free customs, with all that which is called soch, sach, tol, and tem, infangthef, weyf and stray, with their legal appurtenances. I grant also and confirm to the said monks all lands and tenements, churches and chapels, and all possessions appertaining to the said monastery, which the aforesaid king Edred or his nobles presented to the said monastery for a perpetual alms for the remission of his sins, or which were given or acquired by the aforesaid abbot Turketul; that is to say, in Croyland, Spaldeling, Pyncebek, Cappelade, Algare, [[1]Donnesdyk, Drayton, Burtoft, Southerton, Bokenhale, Halyngton, Gerunthorp,] Langtoft, Baston, Depyng, Tetford, Repyngale, Laythorp, Kyrkeby, Wendlyngburgh, Adyngton, Elmyngton, Glapthorne, Wyrthorp, Peykyrke, Baddeby, Morburne, Thirming, Beby, Sutton, Stapilton, Kotenham, Hoketon, Drayton, and Staundon.

All these possessions, in honour of God, and for the restoration of his holy church, and for the love of Saint Guthlac, whose body rests in the monastery of Croyland, I confirm to my venerable father Turketul, abbot of Croyland, and to his monks and their successors serving God there, for ever. I prohibit also any of my ministers in the country of the Girvii from entering or meddling in any way

[1] The passage within brackets does not occur in the Arundel MS., but is found in the editions of Saville and Gale.

in the afore-mentioned boundaries of the marshes of Croyland; since both by the donation of king Edred, my uncle and predecessor, and by my confirmation, they possess the aforesaid marshes and the site of their monastery in severalty, and they are separated from my marsh of Ege by stone crosses and lands and marks intervening.

Whosoever, then, in opposition to the intent of this our charter, shall presume to harass or disturb the said abbot Turketul my father, or his monks, in any of the aforesaid privileges, besides my indignation and vengeance, unless he speedily repent and give due satisfaction, he shall be separated far from the congregation of the saints, with Dathan and Abiram, and feel the damnation of hell. But whoever shall augment our alms, or in any respect promote the intention of this my charter, may he attain everlasting felicity among all the saints and elect of God. This my charter was ratified in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and sixty-six, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and nobles of my kingdom being present and making their marks as follows:—

✠ I, Edgar, monarch of all Albion, have confirmed this charter with the sign of the holy cross.

✠ I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have ratified this charter with the trophy of the holy cross.

✠ I, Osketul, archbishop of York, have devoutly approved it.

✠ I, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, have procured it.

✠ I, Oswald, bishop of the Wiccii, have commended it.

✠ I, Aelfwold, bishop of Devonshire, have subscribed it.

✠ I, Alstan, abbot of Glastonbury, have advised it.

✠ I, Aethelgar, abbot of the new monastery of Winchester, have given my consent.

✠ I, Wulfius, abbot of St. Peter's in Westminster, outside London, have placed my mark under it.

✠ I, Merwenna, abbess of Rumsege, have made the sign of the holy cross.

✠ I, Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, have signed it.

✠ I, Elfeg, duke of Southampton, have approved it.

✠ I, duke Oslac, was present.

✠ I, duke Brithnod, have witnessed it.

✠ I, duke Aelfwine, have consented to it.

✠ I, duke Aelfer, was present.

✠ I, Ernulph, thane, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Ryngulus, thane, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Adelward, thane, heard it.

✠ I, Weis,[1] thane, have listened to it."

The venerable father Turketul having obtained from king Edgar such a charter of protection against perils from the secular arm, urgently besought also both of the archbishops, Dunstan and Osketul, for the shield of spiritual aid to oppose the sons of Belial, if perchance at the instigation of the devil they should hereafter rise in insurrection against his monastery; and he obtained at the same

[1] Gale's text here reads Veif, and gives Vif as a various reading.

time, in London, an ecclesiastical censure against the violators of the afore-written royal charters (namely, those of Edred and Edgar), and against all who contravened and opposed them, and it was couched in the following terms:—

"[1]To all our descendants professing the christian faith, we, Dunstan of Canterbury, and Osketul of York, archbishops; we, Athelwold of Winchester, Oswald of Worcester, and Lefwin of Dorchester, bishops, wish eternal greeting in the Lord.

Since all shepherds are naturally an abomination to the Egyptians, and the sons of darkness with implacable fury persecute the sons of light, (for Madian is ever plotting to destroy the people of the Lord,) we, desiring for the future to oppose a wall of defence against those wicked and sacrilegious persons who are continually infesting holy mother church, and to render more secure from their persecutors, and more safe in the house of the Lord, those who have subjected themselves to divine service, or who have in any way served in the camp of the Lord; taking also into our consideration the most holy devotion with which the most pious kings of our times, that is to say, Edred the late king, and the renowned king Edgar, who still survives, were stimulated by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to [2]restore the sacred monasteries of the servants of Christ, and to raise again the church of God in every quarter: we, by divine authority, for the perfecting of the confirmation of this monastery, confirm and ratify to the venerable father Turketul, abbot of Croyland, (who for the love of heaven has most courageously left much wealth and many dignities,) the charters most benignantly granted to him by the aforesaid kings; and all who, disregarding the fear of God, shall attempt to plunder the possessions of the said monastery, or disturb or procure to be disturbed the peace of the said monks, contrary to the intention and will of the aforesaid royal charters, by art or device, by counsel or favour, under what colour soever the enemy shall sow his machinations, and the son of iniquity scatter his arguments—we from that time excommunicate and take away their names from the book of life, separate them from the communion of saints, and, repelling them far from the threshold of the gate of heaven, condemn them according to their deserts to infernal burnings with the traitor Judas, unless they shall speedily correct their errors by due satisfaction. Moreover, the spirituality of the whole island of Croyland, and of the town adjacent, as from the foundation of their monastery the said monks have hitherto possessed it—to wit, whatever appertains to the office of archdeacon, with all punishments at the instance of any party, to be inflicted in any manner whatsoever, for any delinquencies or crimes whatever, committed, or thereafter committed in that place by any person whatsoever,—we grant and assign, with the consent of Aegelnoth, archdeacon, who

[1] Collated with Kemble's Cod. Diplom. No. dxxviii. (iii. 1), where it is printed from the Arundel MS. 178, fol. 17, and the new edition of Dugdale's Monasticon, ii. 117. It is hardly necessary to remark that it is a forgery.

[2] Gale's text here reads, "to restore sacred things to the monastery of the servants of Christ."

procured this to be done, to the aforesaid venerable abbot Turketul, and all the abbots who shall succeed him in the said monastery, and their officials deputed to perform this office in their stead: and we excommunicate and banish from the face of God, and from the glorified vision of his countenance, in the day of the great judgment, all who in this respect henceforward shall disturb the said father Turketul or any of his successors, or shall violate, or procure to be violated, any of the aforesaid privileges in any manner whatsoever; and we deliver them eternally to Satan, unless they speedily repent, and make satisfaction, with due penance, to the said monastery for what they have done. This privilege was ratified and immutably decreed in honour of God, and for the raising of holy mother church, and out of reverence to Saint Guthlac, in the presence of king Edgar and his bishops and nobility assembled at London, in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and sixty-six.

✠ I, Edgar, monarch of all Albion, have ratified this privilege with the mark of the holy cross.

✠ I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have irrevocably fulminated the aforesaid censure of ecclesiastical punishment against the violaters of the royal charters.

✠ I, Osketul, archbishop of York, praying for the eternal damnation of the adversaries of holy mother church, have ratified this sentence in the midst of the prelates.

✠ I, Lefwin, bishop of Dorchester, have consented.

✠ I, Aelfstan, bishop of London, have commended it.

✠ I, Aethelwald, bishop of Winchester, have approved it.

✠ I, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, have given my consent.

✠ I, Aelfwold, bishop of Devonshire, have advised it.

✠ I, Kynsi, bishop of Lichfield, heard it.

✠ I, Aelfric, bishop of East Anglia, have procured it.

✠ I, Godwin, bishop of Rochester, have acquiesced.

✠ I, Aethelstan, bishop of Cornwall, have advised it.

✠ I, Werstan,[1] bishop of Sherburn, have assented.

✠ I, Aegelnoth, archdeacon, have favoured it.

✠ I, Aelfstan, abbot of Glastonbury, have consented.

✠ I, Aethelgar, abbot of the new monastery of Winchester, have consented.

✠ I, Wulfin, abbot of St. Peter in Westminster, without London, have subscribed it.

✠ I, Osward, abbot of Evesham, have ratified it.

✠ I, Merwenna, abbess [[2]of Rumsege, made the sign of the holy cross. ✠ I. Herleva, abbess of Shaftesbury], have signed it.

✠ I, Wulwina, abbess of Wareham, have ratified it.

✠ I, Ordgar, duke, have appointed it.

✠ I, Ailwin, duke, have ratified it.

✠ I, Brithnod, duke, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Oslac, duke, was present.

[1] See p. 618, note [1].

[2] The passage here included between brackets does not occur in Saville's edition.

✠ I, Elphege, duke, heard it.
✠ I, Frigethist, thane, have witnessed it.
✠ I, Aethelward, thane, have witnessed it.
✠ I, Ethelmund, thane, have listened to it.

These things were done in the octave of Pentecost [10th June], in the cathedral church of Saint Paul."

King Edgar, most wisely instructed by the blessed Dunstan and his other holy bishops, everywhere crushed the wicked, boldly restrained the rebellious, loved the just and holy, cherished the meek and humble, restored the ruined churches of God, and, banishing from the monasteries the mournful ditties of the clerks, he introduced in praise of the divine Name choirs of monks and holy persons; and he and his bishops, during the time of his reign, restored in different parts of England more than forty-eight monasteries. In the time of king Edgar the remains of Saint Swithun, formerly bishop of Winchester, were with much honour translated from the cemetery into the church, by Saint Athelwold the bishop, and in their translation numberless sick persons were restored to health by the merits of Saint Swithun. The same holy bishop Athelwold restored the monastery called Medeshamstead, which was then lying in ruins from the devastations of the Danes, and having rebuilt it, named it Burgh. Setting over the said monastery as abbot one of his monks, Adulph by name, he obtained from the aforesaid most pious king a charter relating to the possessions acquired for the said place from the royal treasury in the following terms:—

"[1]By the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, King of all worlds, who disposeth all the kingdoms of the earth by his nod, and guideth the reins of events, I, Edgar, in subjection to the King of the stars, presiding over the kingdom of Great Britain, frequently received the petition of the venerable and God-beloved bishop Ethelwold, regarding the stability of the churches, of which he is himself an indefatigable supporter; but above all, regarding the restoration and freedom of that ancient monastery, which was originally called Medeshamsted, but which is now, by the aid of God and by his and our diligence, restored under the name of Burgh, and which he doubtless loves in a more eminent degree by some preference arising from the favour of Saint Peter and from its ancient nobility. For, calling to mind how by former kings, Wulfere, Ethelred, and others his successors, it was splendidly enriched, and by royal privileges firmly established, but was destroyed by the foreign army of Pagans, this wise architect of God, with great zeal for the house of the Lord, strove to repair it, and having acquired and redeemed possessions on all sides with our royal donative, he enlarged it as far as possible.

I, therefore, by the grace of Saint Peter, and out of love to such a father, and for the redemption of my soul, most gladly

[1] No copy of this charter occurs in Kemble's Cod. Diplom., but it is collated with the text copied by Dugdale (Monast. Anglic. i. 65) from a register belonging to the chapter of Peterborough.

grant that this holy and apostolic monastery shall be for ever free from all secular causes and service, so that no man, be he ecclesiastic or laic, shall ever have any dominion over it with the exception of the abbot alone; but the said abbot, with the household of Christ subject to him, ruling it in the peace of God and under the patronage of the supreme door-keeper Peter, and the king aiding it in all its necessities, it shall eternally stand secure from every secular yoke, and shall also, with all its appurtenances, that is to say, Dodesthorp, Ege, and Paston, remain for ever free and exonerated from all secular exactions and inquietude, by the apostolic freedom and authority of our most reverend archbishop Dunstan. The town also of Undale, with the entire right of the towns adjacent, viz. that which is called in English Cathtahundred,[1] together with market and toll, we give with such entire freedom that neither king, nor earl, nor bishop, (guarding, however, the care of the spiritualities of the neighbouring parishes,) nor the sheriff, nor any greater or less person, shall ever presume to exercise any authority over the said town of Undale, nor to transfer the hearing of causes from the said town, in which alone such courts ought lawfully to be held. But the abbot of the aforesaid monastery shall hold it entirely in his power with the utmost freedom, with all its causes and laws, and at what time or place it shall please him, he shall without any contradiction hold a court. Likewise the lands which have been added to the said monastery by the aforesaid bishop, through our aid or gift, or that of my nobles, the names of which are partly here appended, that is to say, Barwe, Wermyngton,[2] Asoiton,[3] Keteryng, Castre, Eiglisworth,[4] Walton, Wytherynglon, Ege, Thorp, and Dodisthorp,[5] and one moneyer in Staunford, we grant in perpetual freedom. Let these towns, as well as all others which appertain to the monastery itself, with all their properties and privileges, and all that which is called soch, sach, be for ever free from all royal jurisdiction, and from every secular yoke, both in great things and small, in woods, fields, pastures, meadows, fens, hunting, fishing, markets, tolls, and the procurations of all things which proceed from the blessing of God. We grant also the fourth part of the fen which is called Wiclesmere,[6] and which was acquired by bishop Aethelwold, together with all waters, fisheries, pools, and marshes appertaining, as far as these boundaries surrounding, of which the northern is where Merelade first enters from the water of Neene, the eastern at King's-delf, the southern at Aldwines Barwe, which place is in the fen lying opposite to the middle of the way to Ubbemerelade, on the west, where the water of Opbethe terminates at the land; all which, as well as a much greater extent of land, both in length and breadth, are well known to have of old belonged to that holy monastery. We appoint also an exclusive market in Burgh, so that no other shall be held between Stanford and Huntingdune. And we give to it,

[1] Ethahundred, Dugd.
[2] Bermigtun, Dugd.
[3] Asctun, Gale, various reading; Asetun, Dugd.
[4] Eylisworthe, Dugd.
[5] Omitted by Dugd.
[6] Witlesmere, Dugd. and a various reading given by Gale.

and command to be paid there without any contradiction, the whole of the toll; that is, first, from the whole of Witlesmere, as far as the king's toll, which lies at Norman's-Cross hundred, and from Witlesmere, as Merelade comes to the water of Neene, and from thence as the water runs to Welmesford,[1] and from Welmesford[2] as far as Staunford, and from Staunford by the course of the water as far as Croyland, and from Croyland as far as Must, and from Must as far as King's-delf, and from thence as far as the aforesaid water of Witlesmere. On account of various benefits both corporal and spiritual, we have decreed that this market should be celebrated there, and that it should be the place of resort from all quarters, that the ministers of God may be supplied from a less distance, and that the christian people flocking thither amid earthly necessaries may seek also heavenly support, since now by supplicating the protection of Saint Peter, and by hearing the mysteries of masses, the debts due for different offences may there be redeemed according to the faith of each person.

This royal freedom then of the whole abbey, of its distant as well as of its nearest possessions, being unanimously approved, with the exception of reasonable expeditions, and the repairing of bridges and castles, we have taken care to have confirmed in perpetuity by the apostolic see of the Roman church, (according to the original foundation of the said monastery,) through the instrumentality of the most devout Aethelwold, the originator of this charter. And whosoever shall presume to violate it in any respect, let him be eternally damned in hell, with the censure of the supreme ruler Peter, and the Roman hierarchy, and of all orders of saints: but whoever shall promote and defend it, let him be rewarded in the number of God's elect. This privilege was ratified in the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and seventy, in the tenth year of my earthly government; and the following approved witnesses signed it with the sign of the holy cross near my subscription.

✠ I, Edgar, king of all Albion, have ratified this privilege with the sign of the holy cross.

✠ I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have ratified the same with the trophy of the holy cross.

✠ I, Oswald, archbishop of the church of York, have subscribed it.

✠ I, Aethelwold, bishop, have signed it.

✠ I, Aistan,[3] bishop, have favoured it.

✠ I, Aethulf, bishop, have consented.

✠ I, Aswio,[4] abbot, have accepted it.

✠ I, Osgar, abbot, have approved it.

✠ I, Aethelgar, abbot, have consented.

✠ I, Alfer, duke.

✠ I, Ailwyne,[5] duke.

✠ I, Brithnod, duke.

✠ I, Oslac, duke.

[1] Wolnisford (Wolvisford?), Dugd.

[2] Walmisforde, Dugd.

[3] Aelfstan, Gale's various reading.

[4] Aeswi, Id. and Dugd.

[5] Aethelwine, Id., id.

✠ I, Aethelward, thane.
✠ I, Arsnulph,[1] thane.
✠ I, Alfis,[2] thane.
✠ I, Aelfward, thane.
✠ I, Frigethist, thane.
✠ I, Thured.
✠ I, Vif.[3]
✠ I, Olfric.[4]
✠ I, Offord.[5]
✠ I, Wlstan.
✠ I, Ryngulf.
✠ I, Aelfstan.
✠ I, Athelfis.[6]
✠ I, Ulfeah.
✠ I, Ethelmund.
✠ I, Thureferd.
✠ I, Alfhelm.
✠ I, Frava.[7]
✠ I, Frethegith.[7]

At the same time having ejected the clerks from the monastery of Malmesbury, whom his brother Edwin, when he had expelled the monks, had intruded there, he recalled the said monks, and set over them as abbot Aelfric, a man then most celebrated in ecclesiastical offices, and gave him his charter to the following effect:—

"I, Edgar, king of all Albion, and elevated by the subjection of numerous surrounding kings, both maritime and insular, by the assistance of God's grace, to a pitch never attained by any of my predecessors, have often, mindful of such an honour, diligently considered what offering from my kingdom I might best make to my Lord the King of kings. Accordingly, heavenly love, fostering my pious devotion, suddenly revealed to my watchful anxiety that I should restore all the monasteries in my kingdom, which were not only outwardly in ruins, as it were with mouldering shingles and worm-eaten planks as far as the roof, but also, what was even worse, internally neglected and almost destitute of God's service; therefore, having ejected the illiterate clerks, who were subjected to no regular religious discipline, I have ordained in many places pastors of a holier line, that is, of the monastic order, affording them ample supplies from my royal treasury to restore all the ruined churches. One of these, Aelfric by name, a man most experienced in all ecclesiastical offices, I have appointed guardian of that most famous monastery, which the Angles call by a compound name, Maldemes-burgh. To which, for the benefit of my soul, for the honour of our Saviour, and his mother the ever-virgin Mary, the apostles Peter and Paul, and the revered Aldelm, I have, with munificent liberality, restored a part of the land of Neene, with meadows and woods. These, leased out by the aforesaid clerks, were unjustly possessed by the contentious Aedelnoth; but his superstitious litigation and his subtle arguments having been heard by my wise men, and being convicted by them of false equivocations in my presence, I have restored it to the use of the monastery. In the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and seventy-four, and in the first of my consecration as king.

✠ I, Edgar, king of all Albion and of the neighbouring kings, have confirmed this charter with the sign of the holy cross.

[1] Ersnulph, Dudg.
[2] Aelfsis, Gale, various reading; Assis, Dugd.
[3] Ulf, Dugd.
[4] Wlfric, Gale, various reading, and Dugd.
[5] Osforde, Dugd.
[6] Athelsis, Id.; Aethelfys, Gale, various reading.
[7] Frana, Dugd.

✠ I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have ratified this royal gift with the trophy of the holy cross.

✠ I, Oswald, archbishop of York, have subscribed it.

✠ I, Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester, have signed it.

✠ I, Lefwin, bishop of Dorchester, have consented.

✠ I, Alstan, bishop of London, have assented to it.

✠ I, Turketul, abbot of Croyland, have placed my mark under it.

✠ I, Aethelgar, abbot of the new monastery of Winchester, have approved it.

✠ I, Aedulph, abbot of Burgh, have approved it.

✠ I, Aelfer, duke, was present.

✠ I, Athelwin, duke, stood to it.

✠ I, Brithnod, duke, witnessed it.

✠ And others."

I have appended here the charter of so distant a monastery, both to show how fervently the heart of the renowned king Edgar was inflamed with the fire of the Holy Spirit, so as to restore the ruined churches and devastated monasteries, and also because among those who signed the royal deed, the signature of our abbot Turketul holds the first place after the bishops.

After the monastery was thus confirmed and amply supported and strengthened against all adversaries, both by regal and episcopal authority, our venerable father abbot Turketul, being now well stricken in years and full of days, went no more forth into the world; but holding daily conversation with the seniors, he diligently applied himself to examine and hear of the state and observances of the ancient monastery. Of these seniors, Aio, an eminent civilian, was well acquainted with the evidences of the old monastery; Thurgar, who had known it from his infancy, had seen the devastation of each monastery, both old and new; and the other seniors possessed the information which they had heard from their seniors in their youth. To these he added Swetman, [1] a very eminent notary of the time, to receive their narrations with due diligence, and to digest them into a proper style; praying them all with most urgent vigilance studiously to deliver to their descendants both what was to be told about the evidences of the old monastery, and also of its regular observances. These seniors at this time put forth such a history containing the principal events of our house, with a few incidents regarding the kingdom of the Mercians and the West Saxons from our first foundation, by king Ethelbald, to the fourteenth year of the renowned king Edgar.[2]

At this time also, our venerable father abbot Turketul having fully heard, examined, and entirely understood the ancient ordinances of the old monastery of Croyland, determined and decreed that the following should be for ever observed inviolably by all in his monastery of Croyland. He divided the whole society

[1] The passage which here commences, and ends with the word "narrations," is omitted from Saville's text.

[2] That is, extending to the year 973.

into three grades, and determined that each grade should both know and keep to his own post—that is to say, the juniors from their entrance into the monastery to the twenty-fourth year in the order, were to take upon them all the duties of the choir, cloister, and refectory, in singing, reading, and serving, and in keeping all the regular observances according to the teaching of their master. And whoever studied diligently and devoutly to perform these offices both for himself and his fellows, he was to obtain as a reward greater favour everywhere from his superiors. But if any one, (which God forbid!) puffed up with pride, elated with the knowledge of any art, trusting in his stores of literature, or induced by the friendship of his relatives or any other person, should make his way into the monastery as a whisperer, or contentious calumniator, or a contemner in any other manner of his seniors, he was to be cautiously avoided by all, as if he were Alecto coming from the infernal regions, nor was he to obtain from his superiors any favour in the chapter-house, nor licence in the refectory, nor comfort in the infirmary, until he amended his faults; but he was to be shut up like a dangerous horned ox at home, that he might not from a lion's cub become an untameable lion, and to be duly punished from the very first, according to the discretion of his elders. But those who were affable and cheerful, chaste and peaceful, meek and humble, tractable and obedient, were, as being worthy of all favour, to receive frequent comfort.

Those who had completed twenty-four years from their conversion, were, for the sixteen years following, to occupy the middle grade. These were exempt from the inferior duties of chanting, reading the epistle and gospel, and other minor labours: but when they performed the other duties of the choir, cloister, and refectory in their regular round, they were to receive constant assistance from the juniors, yet so that twice, or at least once, in the week they were themselves to perform their own duties, for the fostering of obedience; but on the other days they were to be assisted by the juniors. And since weighty business, provident counsels, and the diligent care of the whole place, specially devolved upon them, it was deemed expedient that, over and above the divine reward, which monks most of all expect, they should in proportion to their labours experience the countenance of their superiors, whether stern or benignant, affable or austere, and should, according to their deserts, receive honour and favour together with their burdens, or punishment.

In the third grade, those who had reached the fortieth year up to the fiftieth in the order, were to be called seniors, and to be exonerated from all the duties of the choir, cloister, and refectory, with the exception of the celebration of masses, with chanting according to a musical score. In which masses the juniors of the first grade and the middle-aged of the second grade were devoutly to offer themselves daily to sustain their burdens. At the completion of the forty-second year they were to be held excused from all the duties of the house—that is to say, those of treasurer, steward, cellarer, almoner, cook, master of the workmen, and

pittancer,[1] unless the abbot should assign to one of the seniors any of the afore-mentioned duties from urgent necessity. These, as veteran soldiers, who had borne the burden and heat of the day in the service of God, and had expended their flesh and blood for the interest of the monastery, being worthy of all honour, were to suffer want of nothing, but by all means in this grade it was to be carefully observed, that those were to be deemed most worthy of the favour of this exemption, who from their first entrance into the monastery up to that age had been convicted of no crime, for which they had deserved publicly to undergo the punishment of a severe censure. One who had reached fifty years in the order was to be called Sempecta, and to receive by the appointment of the prior a decent chamber in the infirmary, and to have a clerk or boy in his service specially to wait upon him, who was to receive from the abbot a supply of food of the same quality and quantity as that which is allowed to the boy of an esquire in the hall of the abbot. To this sempecta the prior was daily to assign one junior brother to sit at table with him, both for the instruction of the junior, and for the comfort of the senior, and these were to be treated as sick persons, and rations from the infirmary kitchen were to be served up to them. But the sempecta himself was to have the right, according to his own will and pleasure, of sitting or walking, of ingress or egress from the choir, cloister, refectory, dormitory, and the other offices of the monastery, entering in or going out with his frock or without his frock how and when he pleased. Nothing disagreeable concerning the affairs of the monastery was to be told in his hearing, and no one was to dare to offend him in any matter, but in the utmost peace and tranquillity of mind he was to await his end.

[2]Turketul at that time also determined and decreed that whoever was prior of Croyland in time to come should have liberty and power to enjoin daily the penances of the monks in the chapter-house, and as he saw the countenance of the penitent expressive of contrition and compunction, or otherwise, to increase or lessen those which had been enjoined. All licences in the refectory, all comforts in the infirmary, were to be submitted to his discretion and will; and the provision both for his food and for other necessaries, whether he were at home or abroad, was to be continued in the same way as had heretofore been customary for ever; and unless he was convicted of any crime, in spite of being three times admonished for his correction, as our holy rule appoints, he who had once held the office of prior in Croyland was to continue in it till his death; and because the ruler in a fraternity holds a post of honour, they were not only to bow to him, but also to show him all honour and reverence. Both the abbot and the prior, and all the rest of the congregation, were humbly to obey the precentor[3]

[1] The officer whose duty it was to assign to each inmate his proper allowance of provisions from the common stock of the house. See the Glossary to the Decem Scriptores, *v.* Pietantia.

[2] Saville omits this passage as far as the words "to come."

[3] I hesitate as to the accuracy of the rendering of this passage; Gale's text is ungrammatical, and Saville has been partially followed.

of lists and his arrangements in the choir. At that time also he augmented the portion of the sacrist by assigning to him the office of archdeacon over the whole parish of Croyland, so long as he discharged it according to canonical rule, without accepting the persons of men and in the fear of God. He then gave to the office of sacrist a golden cup, and two silver and gilded bowls fashioned by the workmanship of the engraver into the image of two angels, and two silver basins remarkable for their workmanship and size, and most beautifully embossed with armed soldiers. All of these vessels had been bestowed on him by Henry,[1] emperor of Germany, and up to that time had been kept in his own chapel. He then also in like manner assigned to the office of the chamberlain of the monks his manor of Beby, with the church of the same vill, imprecating the divine curse on the man who should transfer, or procure to be transferred, the said manor and church from the said office, to the loss of the convent. These his most holy statutes our venerable father abbot Turketul publicly proclaimed in his chapter-house, and after they had been unanimously approved and most obediently accepted, he caused them to be written, and ordered them to be appended at the end of the rule of Saint Benedict, that all might be able to read his law when they wished, and that no one might act contrary to it through ignorance.

When then the aforenamed history of the ancient monastery had been put forth by the aforesaid five sempectæ, and the aforesaid statutes of the venerable abbot Turketul had been long weighed and digested by the said sempectæ, and reduced to rule by writing, the aforesaid father, now broken with old age, and above all much weakened by the many wounds and immense labours which he had undergone in the vigour of his life, daily expected to arrive at the goal of death; and as a good labourer about to receive from his lord in the evening the wage of his faithful stewardship, he sighed with the most eager aspirations for the ending of his toils, and for the arrival of the evening of eternal reward; with greater constancy and ardour he celebrated the solemn mysteries of mass, was vigilant at prayers and devotions, employed himself in holy meditations and mortifications, raised all the poor from their poverty, bestowed food on all beggars and indigent persons, laboured at all other charitable works, daily loathed the present life, ceaselessly sought that which was to come, and neglected none of the regular observances, ever saying, however, that he was an unprofitable servant, and with his whole heart desiring the mercy of Christ, and with unwearied devotion, as though with the labour of his hands, daily knocking at the doors of paradise, and by every christian title seeking an entrance into the kingdom of heaven. He visited once at least every day the children and sons of the nobles who were to be made monks, and the clerks who were placed at Pegeland to be instructed in literature, lest they should be in any respect neglected, and he inspected the reading and labour of each. A servant brought with him figs, dried grapes, nuts, almonds, or more often apples and pears, or other such gifts, and with these he rewarded

[1] This gift must have occurred before A. D. 936, in which year Henry I. died.

such as excelled the rest, that he might provoke them all the more diligently to apply themselves to their studies, not only by words or blows, but most often by prayers and rewards.

He always held in the highest veneration the sempectæ of the monastery, who by the word of life had begotten him to the service of the Lord, daily consoling them with familiar conversation, and visiting them with some special gift from his own table. And when the first of the aforesaid sempectæ, who was much older than the rest, lord Clarenbald, having completed the hundred and sixty-eighth[1] year of his life, lay upon his bed sick, both from decrepitude of age, and from long continuance in the order, and, being now about to receive from the hand of the Lord the reward of so lengthened a labour in his service, expected the laying down of the flesh as close at hand, the venerable father abbot Turketul himself, discharging the duties of a servant, left him neither day nor night, but reclining near him, he chanted the regular service in the ears of the sick man, and like a well-trained youth performed all services with his own hands. At length, when he was dead, and had been anointed, he buried him in the midst of the choir, with the solemn office of the dead. In the year next following lord Swarling[2] died, having completed the hundred and forty-second year of his life. He also was watched during his sickness with like diligence by the venerable abbot Turketul, and on his death was committed to the tomb near lord Clarenbald, with a like reverent sepulture. So also at the same time and with the like service he buried lord Brun, and lord Aio, all three within one year, which was the fourteenth year of the renowned king Edgar. At length in the next year, last of all, died the venerable old man lord Turgar, having completed one hundred and fifteen years of his life. These five aged sempectæ had seen each monastery, both the old one which had been destroyed by the Danes, and the new one which had lately been restored.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation nine hundred and seventy-five, which was the sixteenth and last of king Edgar, having celebrated with much devotion the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul [29th June], our venerable father the lord abbot Turketul caught a fever from the heat of the dog-star, which was in that year excessively great; and, contrary to custom, was grievously affected for three days. On the fourth day, lying on his bed, he assembled all the convent, that is to say, forty-seven monks and four lay brethren, in his chamber; and in the presence of them all he ordered lord Egelric, then his steward, to show the state of the house, both as to its treasures and other valuables; and after his death, to be responsible to the convent for the whole by indenture. The treasure of the monastery was openly brought forth, and then amounted to the sum of almost ten thousand pounds. There were numerous most precious relics, which Henry,[3] emperor of

[1] Gale's text, following Saville, makes him 168 years old; but both editors mention 148 as a various reading.

[2] Swarting, various reading.

[3] See p. 637, note [1].

Germany, Hugh,[1] king of the Francs, Ludovicus,[2] prince of the inhabitants of Aquitain, and many other dukes and earls, nobles and prelates, desiring to obtain the good-will and friendship of the kings of the Angles, had frequently bestowed upon Turketul, while he held the office of royal chancellor. And among these he chiefly reverenced the thumb of the blessed apostle Bartholomew, so that he always carried it about him, and crossed himself with it in all perils, and storm, or lightning. This thumb had been given to the emperor by the duke of Beneventum, when he first girded him as a youth with his knight's belt; but the emperor had bestowed it on Turketul while he was still chancellor. He greatly reverenced likewise some of the hairs of the holy mother of God, Mary, which the king of France had given him, enclosed in a golden box. Also a bone of Saint Leodegarius, bishop and martyr, which was given him by the prince of Aquitain, and many other relics, of which some are removed, and some are still preserved to these our times of the Normans. The whole of the gold and silver vessels he appointed to be preserved entirely for the wants of the monastery in the custody of the treasurer and steward; for both the Egelrics were his kinsmen according to the flesh, and most religious and devout brothers according to God: the one was the treasurer of the monastery, the other the steward: the treasurer was most wise in the management of temporal affairs, the steward was a scholar, and most deeply imbued with a knowledge of all literature. These, and the prior Amfrid, as long as he lived, were the chief counsellors of the abbot: and without their advice he did nothing either great or small.

As the fever daily increased, and he drew near to his end, he communicated in the sacred mysteries of Christ, and embracing with both arms the cross, which his attendants had brought from the church before the convent, he kissed it so frequently, with such sighs, so many tears and groans as cannot be told in a few words: and so devout were the sayings which he addressed to each of the wounds of Christ, that he excited to copious tears all the brethren who stood round him; and the recollection of that devotion never afterwards faded away from the hearts of many of the said brethren as long as they lived. On the day before his death, he delivered a short discourse to his brethren who were present, on the observance of order, on brotherly love, on taking heed of negligence, both in temporal and spiritual matters, and on diligently watching our fire,—but whether it were love he meant, or the conflagration of the building, against which he desired them to be on their guard, he frequently and fervently, as in a prophetic manner, gave this admonition,—"Guard well your fire:" and at length dismissing them, he commended himself to the prayers of all; and bidding them a last farewell, he, from the bottom of his heart, besought God for them all. And when the vital powers failed, and a languor

[1] The first king of the Franks who bore the name of Hugh was Hugh Capet, who was crowned 3d July, 987, twelve years after the incident here mentioned.

[2] The succession of the princes of Aquitaine is too obscure to permit the foundation of any argument upon this statement.

more and more oppressive weighed him down, on the fifth of the nones of July[1] [3d July], that is, on the translation of St. Benedict, his father and patron, having completed his regular office, he himself also completed his days, during the completorium,[2] passing from this world to the Father, from the toils of the abbey to Abraham's bosom. He was buried in his own church, which he had built from the foundations, near the great altar, on its right side, by the neighbouring fathers Aedulph and Godman, abbots of Burgh and Thorney, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the twenty-seventh of his monkhood.

Egelric the elder, his kinsman, was unanimously elected to succeed him in the office of abbot. Under him he had been treasurer of the whole monastery, and was a man extremely religious, and of extraordinary diligence in the management of temporal affairs, and of immense experience and admirable judgment in bringing all secular business to a prosperous issue. He was related to Alfer, duke of the Mercians, and distinguished by his intimacy with him, and when under the aforesaid king Edward, who had succeeded his father Edgar in the kingdom, many monasteries were grievously persecuted, he suffered no loss or the least molestation. During the concluding years of the life of the lord abbot Turketul he discharged, under him, the office of treasurer of the whole monastery, and did many good works. He stirred up, for instance, and induced lord Turketul the abbot to go to London, and obtain by his petition the charter of king Edgar, and the ecclesiastical censure against its violators from the archbishops Dunstan of Canterbury and Osketul of York, together with the ratification of the spirituality over the entire island of Croyland; by means of which provision was made for the peace and tranquillity of the whole monastery, and the entire community was most strongly fortified against violence, both temporal and spiritual. Having heard also that Saint Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester, was urging upon king Edgar the restoration to its ancient state of the monastery of Medeshamstead, situated in the vicinity, he, under the licence of the royal charter, caused trees and timber from the neighbouring woods (which had been applied to the treasury and still remained in the hand of the king) to be carried to the monastery of Croyland, in wains and carts, cars and wagons, and all kinds of vehicles. By these materials most beautiful buildings were afterwards constructed in the monastery of Croyland, and many excellent planks were laid up as a store wherewith to repair any accident which might happen to the monastery in time to come. Of this timber, during the lifetime of lord Turketul the abbot, the nave of the church was completed and its tower strongly propped up and compacted by very long beams. For after the death of the abbot Turketul, his successor [Egelric] constructed many very beautiful buildings out of this same timber, that is to say, the infirmary of the monks, of fair length and breadth, the

[1] Read, the fifth of the ides of July (11th July). This error occurs in both the editions.

[2] The first nocturnal service, concerning which see Martene, de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus, lib. i. cap. xii.

woodwork of which was framed with beams and planks, and put together with the greatest skill. There was besides a chapel of the like style of workmanship, with a bathing-place, and other necessary buildings. All these were constructed of planed boards, (for the insecurity of the foundation would not sustain the weight of masonry,) and then covered over with lead. Besides these, Egelric built the guest-hall; and two very large and very beautiful chambers of the like style of workmanship; and he made a new brewhouse and a new bakehouse, all of which were finished in the most workmanlike manner, and built of wood. Of the same material he erected a large granary, the upper part of which was employed for the storing up of every sort of grain, and the lower floor was appropriated to the reception of malt.[1] He next constructed a large stable, the upper story of which was employed for the sleeping-rooms of the servants of the whole abbey; the lower floor was divided into two compartments, one of which was appropriated to the reception of the horses of the abbot, the other for those of the guests. These three buildings, that is to say, the stable, the granary, and the bakehouse, shut out the entire western portion of the abbot's court from the sight of the town; the southern part consisted of the guest-hall and the chambers connected with it; the eastern portion was composed of the shop of the shoemaker and the hall of the converts; then came the kitchen, hall, chamber, and chapel belonging to the abbot; and these bounded the monks' cloister towards the west; and that part of the abbey which was towards the north was protected by a large gate, to the east of which stood, in immediate connexion with it, the inn for the accommodation of the poor. With the exception of the hall of the abbot, his chamber and chapel (which extended to the cloister, as well as the inn for the poor people just mentioned, all of which lord Turketel had built of stone), all the others were of a similar style of workmanship, and were covered with lead.

Taking advantage of seasons of greater drought than the average, he brought into cultivation some of the marsh lands, and this he did in the four corners of the fens; and in the course of three or four years it happened that for every single grain that he had sowed he reaped one hundredfold. Of all these, the recovered land of Tedwarthar was by far the most productive. Thus the monastery became exceedingly wealthy; so much so, that by means of this superabundance of grain the wants of the whole of the surrounding neighbourhood were alleviated, as far as corn was concerned; and a large town sprang up in consequence of the innumerable crowds of poor people who flocked thither.

He also caused two great bells to be cast, which he called Bartholomew and Bettelm; two of middle size, that is to say, Turketul and Tatwine; and two still smaller, by name Pega and Bega. The lord abbot Turketul had already made one very large bell, to which he had given the name of Guthlac; and this, having been placed along with the others, made, along with them, a most melodious peal,

[1] Here the texts slightly vary; a marginal reading has been adopted in the text as given above.

unsurpassed for its harmony by any in the whole of England. And having thus spent ten years in his office, abbot Egelric died, on the second of the nones of August [4th Aug.], and was buried in the chapter-house, almost at the same time at which Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, departed to the Lord, that is to say, in the year of our Lord nine hundred and seventy-four.[1]

He was succeeded in his office as abbot by the second Egelric, who was surnamed The Younger, who stood to Turketul in the same degree of relationship as his lately deceased predecessor had done. This person was one devoted to books and the study of the Scriptures rather than a provident manager of the temporal affairs of the monastery; yet he ruled it, during the whole period of his government, not only most devoutly, but also with the greatest energy. In the fourth year of his rule, St. Dunstan the archbishop departed to the Lord.[2] This abbot Egelric gave to the common library of the monks of the cloister forty original volumes of the larger size, containing the writings of various doctors; and of smaller volumes of a smaller size, consisting of miscellaneous treatises and histories, above one hundred. To the office of the sacrist he also gave many vestments, namely, to each altar in the church two chasubles; that is, one for Sundays, and another a principal one. He gave also to the choir twenty-four cowls;[3] that is to say, six white, six red, six green, and six black. He gave also two large altar-cloths, interwoven with lions, which should be placed in front of the great altar on principal feasts, and two shorter ones, powdered with flowers, for the festivals of the apostles. Moreover, he gave many palls, to be suspended from the walls upon feast-days, the greater number of which were of silk; some were plain, and some had golden birds sewn upon them, but upon others these birds were woven. He caused six cups to be made, and distributed them among the different altars and chapels. He made for the choir six gradualia, four anthem books, and eight missals for various altars. He provided each of the offices of the monastery with some brasen vessel or other, of which it might happen to stand in need. Every year he clothed the whole of the convent with gowns of his own livery, every second year with cowls, and every third year with frocks—without regard to those which the lord Turketul assigned to the convent, to be provided annually from the church and manor of Beby. And after having governed the monastery for eight years with great discretion, he died on the fifth[4] of the nones of March, A.D. 992, and he departed to the Lord, in the same year, and nearly about the same time of the year, as St. Oswald,[5] archbishop of York, who, a few years previously, had refounded the monastery

[1] Saville and Gale give this date in their text; but the latter editor adds, as a various reading, A.D. 984, which is confirmed by the marginal note, if that be of any value. Be that as it may, Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, died 1st August, A.D. 984. See Godwyn, p. 211.

[2] Dunstan died A.D. 988. See the Saxon Chronicle, ad an.

[3] "cappas." The rendering in the text is given upon the authority of the Glossary to the Decem Scriptores, v. Cappa.

[4] According to Saville's text, he died on the nones of March, but Gale's MS. refers that event to the date which we have adopted above.

[5] He died 27th Feb. 992. Godwin, de Præsul. p. 660.

of Ramsey,[1] in which he was assisted by earl Ailwin, and Lefwin bishop of Dorchester.

Abbot Egelric having been buried in the chapter-house near his namesake, he was succeeded in his office by lord Osketul, who had for a long time discharged the duties of prior under the former abbots, lord Turketul and the two Egelrics. His predecessor in the office of prior was Amfrid. Osketul was a simple man and a just, and he was exceeding compassionate and full of kindliness towards all persons; a well-educated man, and of very noble birth; and so addicted was he to almsgiving to the needy, that he was commonly called the father of the poor. Of so great authority was he among the common people, that his simplest remark was regarded as a sure word of prophecy; and so great was he esteemed by the high ones of the earth, that they all reverenced him as if he were their father.

King Edgar was the flower and the ornament of all his predecessors, and the sovereign, the honour, and the rose of all the monarchs of the whole western quarter of the globe: but he having deceased in the year of our Lord nine hundred and seventy-five, in the sixteenth year of his reign over the whole of England, and in the thirty-second year of his age, was buried at Glastonbury. He was succeeded by his eldest son Edward, a simple and most holy youth, in most respects conformed to the habits of his father. This holy simplicity and guilelessness of his was so entirely abused by a faction of usurping nobles, (who were strengthened and encouraged therein chiefly by the queen's favour,) that throughout the whole of Mercia the monks were expelled from some of their monasteries, and clerks were introduced in their stead, who lost no time in portioning out the manors of the said monasteries to the chief men of that country, with the object of attaching them to their party, and thus securing their assistance against the monks. At this period the monks were ejected from the monastery of Evesham, and clerks were thrust in; and the powerful ones of the land were bribed with the possessions of the church. The queen sided with the clerks; and with a step-mother's wickedness, took part against the king, endeavouring to bring him into disrepute; but he stood firm on the side of the monks, and so did the holy bishops; notwithstanding which, the nobles triumphed in the end, supported herein by the queen's favour and authority. Great disturbances hereupon arose in every corner of England. At length, when the king had reigned for four years, he was slain at Corvesgate by the advice and with the approbation of his said mother-in-law, and was buried at Werham first, but afterwards, (thanks to the care of earl Alfer,) he was translated to Shaftsbury.

He was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, who was the son of his mother-in-law Alfleda, whom we have already mentioned, a lad of ten years of age. At this time there was good use for the text, "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child." [Eccles. x. 16.] He was crowned at Kingston, by Dunstan, archbishop of Canter-

[1] The Chronicle of Ramsey, contained in Dugdale's Monasticon, i. 231, states that "A. D. 969 St. Oswald and duke Ailwin founded Ramsey."

bury, and Oswald, archbishop of York. When the coronation office was finished, St. Dunstan said, "Since thou hast mounted the throne by means of thy brother's death, whom thy mother has slain, therefore hear thou the word of the Lord: The sword shall never depart from thy house, but shall rage against thee all the days of thy life; and shall slay those of thy seed and of thy nation, until thy kingdom shall be removed to another kingdom, the customs and the language of which thy people knoweth not: nor shall an atonement be made for the sin of thy mother, and for the sin of those wicked men who consented to her wicked devices, in that they stretched forth their hand upon the Lord's anointed to shed his innocent blood, save by a long punishment and by the shedding of much blood." This same saint had uttered another prediction concerning Ethelred upon a previous occasion: for while yet an infant, as Dunstan was baptizing him, he had polluted the baptismal waters, whereupon the holy man said, "By St. Mary, this child will prove but a sorry fellow." We read of a third prophecy respecting the same king, when, shortly after his coronation, he was laying siege to the city of Rochester with his army; for it happened that in consequence of some dispute or other which had arisen between the bishop of that city and himself, he came thither with an army, and invested it. The archbishop, St. Dunstan, entreated the king to raise the siege, and to take care how he provoked the anger of St. Andrew, the especial patron of that church. He treated this request very lightly, and continued the assault. The holy man perceiving this, sent him one hundred pounds, which the king accepted; and then he called off his troops and raised the siege. Hereupon the saint, astonished at the man's greediness, sent back a message to this effect: "Since you have given the preference to money rather than to God, and esteemed silver rather than the apostle; since avarice is dearer to you than me his servant; the ills which the Lord hath spoken will soon come down upon you; but this shall not be accomplished during my lifetime, for this also the Lord hath declared." Yet after the death of the saint all these predictions began to be fulfilled, almost day by day; and countless evils troubled the whole land. For the piratical Danes now for the first time began to infest every point of our sea-board with never-ceasing assaults; next, a large fleet conveyed their unconquered armies hither, and these having landed, stormed our cities and forts at their pleasure. At the same period a severe famine harassed and devastated our people; then came a plague which is called the dysentery, which ran riot among cattle and human beings alike; and together with these, a pestilence cut off many thousands of the rich as well as of the poor; while in every engagement these, our mortal enemies, always conquered the English, and always put them to flight in every action.

Thus it was that in the time of lord Osketul, abbot of Croyland, while the Danes were harassing the land in this manner, the natives abandoned the farms and villages, and betook themselves into towns and fortifications; while many fled, as to a place of refuge, among the marshes and the pathless tracts of the morasses, in

order that they might escape from the inroads and assaults of the invaders. And thus it came to pass that a certain illustrious personage named Lefwina, the lady of the vill called Enolphesbyry, (she was the sister by both father and mother of lord Osketul, abbot of Croyland,) was proceeding to Witlesey, at that time a vill of hers, and was carrying with her from Enolphesbyry some holy relics, the most sacred dust of Saint Neot the confessor; and this she did because they were deposited less honourably there than was seemly, and were exposed to the ravages of the Danes. As she was conveying them in a shrine which she had prepared for the purpose, she sent a speedy messenger to her brother Osketul, the lord abbot, and most humbly entreated him that he would be pleased to proceed to Witlesey, accompanied by a fitting escort of his brethren, that he might convey back with him into his monastery the relics of Saint Neot the confessor with due reverence. He, rejoicing exceedingly, associated with himself certain of his brethren, and having proceeded to Witlesey, they translated into Croyland the said holy relics with the honour which was fitting, and with the chanting of psalms; and they placed them with due respect near the altar of Mary the holy mother of God. At this time all the monasteries of the land began to be visited with grievous exactions by king Ethelred and his nobles and stewards, and they were afflicted beyond measure in order that the Danes might be paid the enormous sums of money which they had laid upon this kingdom. Their treasures were plundered, and the sacred vessels and the other valuables of the monasteries were carried off by these freebooters, nor did the shrines of the saints escape the pillage. And thus the venerable father lord Osketul, abbot of Croyland, had at one time or another to pay four hundred marks for tributes of this kind. Having completed twelve years in his pastoral office with no less energy than sanctity, at length, on the twelfth of the kalends of November [21st Oct.], in the year of our Lord one thousand and five, a holy death furnished him with a short road for escaping as well from the burden of the flesh as from regal plunderings and all the other cares of this present world.

He was succeeded in his office as abbot by the venerable father abbot Godric, who was elected and placed in that situation in days of distress, sorrow, and misery, just as his predecessor in the abbacy and his namesake Godric had in days gone by presided over it during many years of desolation and destruction. For fourteen years he governed the monastery with much trouble under the aforesaid king Ethelred. During the time of this abbot, the Danes obtained the sway over nearly the whole of this land. Acting through king Ethelred and his nobles Edric, Alfric, Godwin, and many others, they caused tributes to be levied for themselves which were positively insupportable; while other exceedingly heavy taxes were imposed for defraying the very considerable expenses of these same nobles. Anlaph and Swane and their armies followed in the same track, and were industrious in plundering, spoiling, and destruction. Frequently several monasteries were pillaged even to the uttermost farthing, and still these robbers would not be persuaded that they had wrung

from them the uttermost farthing. The more that was extorted from the monks, the more they were thought to have; the more they gave up, the more there was supposed to remain behind. In consequence of this the venerable father abbot Godric paid two hundred marks in the first year of king Ethelred; and his nobles, following his example, wrung out other two hundred marks for their share; not to take into account smaller sums which were continually being paid to such officers as made inroads upon the monastery. During the second, third, and fourth years the same occurrences took place. Besides this, in the third year two hundred pounds were extorted upon the plea that vessels with three ranges of oars were being built in every port, all of which must be manned and victualled and provided with the necessary stores. Moreover in the fourth year, as soon as Turkill the Danish earl had landed, application was made for one hundred pounds, and the payment of it was entrusted to very stern exactors. The Danes now marched up and down the country; what was movable they plundered, what they could not carry off they burnt; and so they pillaged and then committed to the flames Drayton, Kotenham, and Hoketon, manors belonging to Croyland, together with the whole of Cambridgeshire. But these things were the beginnings of evils.

Hitherto[1] the average annual payment which was exacted by the crown for the expenses of the king and his nobles had amounted to four hundred marks. King Swane arrived with a new fleet and a most cruel army, and ravaged far and wide. For, rushing in upon Lyndesey, he burnt the towns, ripped up the inhabitants, killed all the monks with different kinds of torments, and committed Baston and Langtoft to the flames. This occurred in the year of our Lord one thousand and thirteen. On that occasion the monastery of St. Pega, and all its surrounding manors, that is to say, Glinton, Northumburth, Makesey, Etton, Badyngton, and Bernake, were destroyed by fire at one and the same time, and the whole of the servants[2] were either put to the sword or carried off as prisoners; but the abbot and all the convent were saved, for they fled by night and came by water to Croyland. In like manner the monastery of Peterborough and the vills contiguous to it, together with its manors of Ege, Thorp, Walton, Wytheryngton, Paston, Dodisthorp, and Castre, were, one and all, first ravaged and then consumed. The abbot and the greater portion of the convent betook themselves to Thorney, carrying with them the sacred relics of the holy virgins Kyneburga, Kineswitha, and Tibba. As for the prior, he and some of the brethren fled to the island of Ely, and they took with them the arm of the saintly king Oswald. The sub-prior and ten of the monks came to Croyland. It happened very fortunately that during that year floods were frequent in consequence of the long-continued rain which had fallen; and thus the neighbouring marshes and the fen land on every side had become impassable. Thus the whole world flocked hither, and

[1] A various reading makes this average payment prospective (quolibet anno sequente) instead of retrospective (quolibet anno precedente), as in the text.

[2] "tota familia cæsa." Orig.

countless numbers of people arrived; the quire and the cloister were filled with monks, the other part of the church with priests and clerks, the whole abbey with laymen; women and children occupied the churchyard night and day, dwelling under tents; the more courageous portion of them and the youths, lurking in the sedge and alder-beds, kept watch over the mouths of the rivers. At that time (to say nothing of other burdens which we sustained) one hundred monks daily sat down at table. In addition to all this, king Swane sent a message that he had imposed a tax of one thousand marks upon the monastery of Croyland; and he fixed a certain day on which the money was to be paid at Lincoln, under the threat that if it were neglected he would burn down the whole monastery. Within the third month after this sum had been paid his most wicked collectors wrung from us, for the second time, one thousand marks for providing victuals for his army. In our day the cruel martyrdom of St. Elpheg, archbishop of Canterbury, is everywhere known and understood, whom the savage ferocity of the Danes most cruelly put to death with excessive tortures, because he refused to pay the extravagant sum of money which they demanded from him as the price of his ransom. Almost every one grieved for these occurrences, and thought those persons the happiest whom death had already removed from such a calamity; and this especially did abbot Godric, on whom devolved the charge of such a multitude, and whom king Ethelred believed to be the possessor of whole mountains of wealth; while the Danish Swane, and the whole of his army, regarding him as the chief personage among those who had escaped out of their hands, constantly laid snares for him, and breathed out the most fearful threats against him.

At last, although the whole treasure of the lord abbot Turketul was exhausted by internal expenses and external exactions, and the barns of the two Egelrics were demolished, still the king's tax-gatherers came daily with importunate demands for money, and threatened that they would apprehend him and carry him off in chains as a traitor to his country, and a supporter of the Danish king, and would hand him over to the punishment which he had so well deserved. The venerable abbot father Godric was stricken to the heart with grief when he heard all these terrible threatenings; he summoned the whole of his council, and informed them that the monastery was bankrupt, and he prayed and adjured them that they would inform him and decide upon the spot what had best be done for their protection against this wicked world. After a long deliberation all came to this decision, that they should secure to their service some minister or retainer of Edric, duke of Mercia; and, since they were short of ready money, that they should lease some of their lands and tenements to him, that he might become their protector for the term of his life, and thus secure them against the dangers which were impending. This same Edric was inferior in power only to the king in this realm, and he was on very intimate terms with Swane, king of the Danes, and afterwards with his son, Cnut. So one of the most influential of the retainers of

this duke Edric was bribed; his name was Norman, a man of very good family, being the son of earl Lefwin, and the brother of Leofric, the noble earl of Leycester; and according to his demand there was demised to him the manor of Baddeby for the term of one hundred years. This he accepted, and he faithfully promised that he held it of St. Guthlac at a pepper-corn rent, to be annually paid at the feast of St. Bartholomew[1] [24th Aug.], and he bound himself by his indenture, which he then executed, to become the proctor and defender of the monastery against all adversaries. This was to the interest of the monastery for a while—that is, as long as he was alive. For in the first year of king Cnut's reign,[2] while this perfidious duke Edric was taunting king Cnut with the remark that he had betrayed Ethelred and Edmund—as if in so doing he was conferring a benefit upon the king—being thus convicted of treason out of his own mouth, he died the death of a traitor, and paid the penalty of his crimes by being first hanged, and then having his body cast into the river Thames. Many of his retainers were in like manner slain with him, one of the chief of whom was Norman, who was the first who was put to death; the whole of whose lands the king gave to Leofric the brother of the deceased, whom he greatly loved, as some little satisfaction for the death of his brother Edric. By this grant Baddeby devolved into the possession of the said earl Leofric; and at last, by the advice and continued exhortation of Avicius, prior of the monastery of Evesham, who was the confessor of the said earl, he assigned it to that monastery for the remainder of the period which the demise had yet to run, according to the terms on which it had been granted to his brother; and although that period has already expired, Evesham still retains possession of it. The said earl Leofric was a very devout man, and one exceedingly addicted to alms-giving; he founded and endowed many monasteries, amongst which he exceedingly enriched that of Coventry with many and great gifts, having been incited thereto by his wife, Godiva by name, one of the most beautiful women of her time, and no less holy in heart.

King Ethelred, after having most unhappily filled the royal throne for thirty-seven years, was taken ill at London, and died whilst it was in a state of siege by the Danes, and he was buried in the church of St. Paul's there. He was succeeded in the kingdom by his eldest son Edmund, who in consequence of his bravery was named Ironside, he having been elected by the inhabitants of London and Wessex. He opposed with the greatest bravery the Danish king

[1] Upon this passage Sir Francis Palgrave remarks, "No other instance was ever found of a demise for a term of years before the conquest; and it does not appear possible that the charter cited by Ingulphus could have ever been grounded upon any Saxon grant. Grants for one or more life or lives were not uncommon; and there are instances of conventions for the occupation of land for an indefinite time, which in practice was equivalent to grants for life. But demises for long terms of years were of subsequent introduction. The earliest demise given by Maddox (Formulare Anglicanum, p. 180) is of 7th Ric. I., and that is for a term of thirty years."

[2] Namely, in 1017, in which year Cnut became sole monarch of England.

Cnut, who had succeeded his father Swane, who had died at Gaynesburgh, no less wonderfully than miserably. At length the realm was divided equally between Cnut and Edmund. But as soon as these two most powerful young sovereigns had begun to reign thus jointly in perfect amity, Edmund was slain by the treachery of the aforesaid traitorous duke Edric; and by the consent of all, Cnut was crowned king over the whole of England. And in the same year that traitor to kings, Edric, the perfidious duke of the Mercians, died the death which he had richly deserved; for, as we have already mentioned, he was hung, and then thrown into the Thames that he might be eaten up of fish. Along with him was also slain the said Norman, with certain others of his retainers. And this occurred in the year of our Lord one thousand and seventeen.

With the opening of the reign of king Cnut and the proclamation and reestablishment of a general peace throughout all the provinces of England, Godric, the venerable father abbot of Croyland, restored the whole body of the monks, inmates of his monastery, to their property. The same opportunity was seized by the abbot of the church of St. Pega, to return with his convent to his monastery; but no sooner had he passed the threshold and beheld the scene of ruin and conflagration, than he fell upon the ground, and was borne by his brethren to the nearest house of the adjoining vill, where he survived but five days, and was buried in his own church. Upon the death of abbot Baldoc, he was succeeded by Ulgate,[1] a man no less provident in secular than he was religious in spiritual matters. The bold resistance of this abbot to the claim of Leofric, abbot of Peterborough, was unsuccessful. The king's court showed an excess of favour to the more powerful, and decreed against the poorer, litigant, and thus he was deprived of the seat of his monastery; so all-prevailing was the wealth of Leofric, and the influence of earl Godwin. But of this more in the sequel.

In the second year of king Cnut, when the tempests of battle were abated, and peace had begun to spread its serene influence over the age, the venerable father abbot Godric, having with undaunted energy weathered the boisterous storms of the sea of life, and after having, under very many difficulties, governed the monastery fourteen years, entered the harbour of eternal rest. He died on the fourteenth of the kalends of February [19th Jan.], and was buried in the chapter-house opposite the body of the lord Osketul. His successor in the abbacy was the venerable father lord Brithmer,[2] who was a relation of the abbot lord Osketul, and the law agent of the monastery under his predecessor, abbot Godric; and who, with extraordinary success, had proved superior to king Ethelred and the armies of the Danes in many dangerous emergencies.

In the fourth year of this abbot, a youth of great devotion, and nobly born, (for he was a relation of Leofric, earl of Leicester, whom I have before mentioned,) by name Wulfi, captivated by the love of a solitary life, became a recluse in our monastery, and for many years adhered to his profession of monachism with great

[1] A various reading gives Uulgar.

[2] Brichtmer, various reading.

sanctity of life. At this time, the venerable father abbot Brithmer, seeing that the government of Cnut was established, and carried on favourably to the civil rights of the whole body of the English, and in no hostile temper, and, above all, that the king loved with an especial devotion, and honoured with filial submission, the holy church—that he was a benefactor to the monasteries, and many of the places dedicated to the saints, and that he had raised some of the monasteries to the highest distinction,—determined without hesitation to protect himself against the violence of certain of his enemies, who had risen to great power in the war, by seizing an opportunity of approaching the king, and obtaining a confirmation of the grant to his monastery. His attempt was successful; the king's court was favourable to him; he obtained the above-mentioned confirmation, and was thereupon presented by the king with an exceedingly beautiful cup in the following terms:—

"[1]I, Cnut, king of the whole of England, Denmark, and Norway, and a large part of the Suevi, to all the provinces, nations, and people of my realm, both small and great, greeting.

Whereas my fathers and forefathers have oppressed the land of England with rigorous extortions and horrible depredations, and (I confess it) have not abstained from shedding innocent blood; and whereas it has ever, from the commencement of my reign, and shall be to the end of it, been my earnest desire, to make satisfaction, both before heaven and before the world, for these my sins and the sins of my fathers, and with due devotion to improve the state of the whole of the holy mother church, and of each of the monasteries established under my rule, and to make amends for all the shortcomings of my patronage, and by these and other good works to render all the saints of God friendly to me in my necessities and favourable to my prayers. Now, this writing witnesseth that of my substance I offer as an earnest of this my satisfaction to St. Guthlac of Croyland, and the rest of the saints of the same place, one cup, and confirm to Brithmer the abbot, and his monks, the whole of the monastery of Croyland, together with the island on which it stands, and the two adjacent fens—to wit, Alderlound and Goggislound, with the same bounds and limits as the said island and the said two marshes are more particularly described in the writing of the renowned king Edred, its restorer. I confirm also all churches and chapels, lands and tenements, liberties and privileges, contained in the deed of the same king, with the whole of which the said king Edred, to the honour of God and of Saint Guthlac his confessor, whose body rests within it, endowed and enriched the said monastery of Croyland, and confirmed the gift under his hand. And I order that no one of my subjects shall dare, in any respect whatsoever, to disturb the aforesaid monks in their quiet possession of the said premises; and be it known that if any one shall presume to do so, or shall attempt to usurp their rights, he shall feel the edge of my sword, and pay the penalty due to

[1] Printed by Kemble in his Cod. Diplom. No. dccxlviii. (iv. 41), from Gale's edition. This charter is a forgery.

sacrilege, and without any remission or redemption whatsoever, shall be punished in proportion to the measure of the injury inflicted on the said monks.

✠ I, Cnut the king, in the one thousand and thirty-second year of the incarnation of our Lord, at London, have confirmed this my writing with the sign of the holy cross.

✠ I, Egelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, have confirmed it with the sign of the most holy cross.

✠ I, Alfric, archbishop of York, have affirmed this writing of the king.

✠ I, Leffius, bishop of the Wiccians, have signed it.

✠ I, Elfward, bishop of London, have assented.

✠ I, Brichtmer, bishop of Lichfield, have confirmed it.

✠ I, Brichteg, abbot of Pershore, have confirmed it.

✠ I, Ulnoth, abbot of Westminster, have signed it.

✠ I, Oswy, abbot of Thorney, have approved it.

✠ I, earl Godwin, have assented.

✠ I, earl Leofric, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Edwin, brother of earl Leofric, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Harold, son of earl Godwin, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Algar, son of earl Leofric, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Turkil, thane of the king, have heard it.

✠ I, Alfget,[1] thane of the king, have witnessed it."

In the fourteenth[2] year of his reign, king Cnut went to Rome, where he was honourably received by pope John[3] XV.,[4] and by the emperor Conrad, who was then present, and by many other of the kings and princes of every part of Christendom who were at that time assembled round Rome for the celebration of Easter; and on his return towards England, through Denmark, he sent a letter by the hands of the abbot of Tavistock, by name Living, to the archbishops and the whole people of England, to advertise them of his success and welfare, in the following words:—

"[5]I, Cnut, king of the whole of Denmark, and of England, and of Norway, and of part of the Suevi, to Egelnoth the metropolitan, and Alfric archbishop of York, and to the bishops and primates, and to the whole nation of the English, both noble and ignoble, greeting.

I notify to you that I have lately gone to Rome to pray for the redemption of my sins, and for the safety of my kingdoms and the people of my realm. In this journey I have performed a vow long ago made to God, but in which, up to this time, I have been prevented by the affairs and impediments of government. Now, how-

[1] Elfget is given as a various reading.

[2] This passage, as far as the word "kings," does not occur in Saville's text.

[3] Here, in common with the generality of the English historians, the Saxon Chronicle leading the way, Ingulf errs in placing Cnut's journey to Rome in the year 1031, whereas there is satisfactory evidence that he was in that city on the Easter of 1027. See Jaffé, Regest. Rom. Pontiff. p. 358, and Lappenb. Hist. ii. 211, note [1], Alford Annal. A.D. 1027, § 1.

[4] Read, XIX.

[5] Another copy of this letter is extant in William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum, p. 310, ed. Hardy.

ever, I render humble thanks to almighty God in that He has vouchsafed to grant me the will and the power to visit the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and every sanctuary which I could discover either within or without Rome. At that solemn paschal festival there was with our lord the pope, and the emperor Conrad, a vast concourse of christian nobles, including the princes of every nation from Mount Garganus to the western sea, all of whom received me with distinction, and presented me with a variety of precious gifts, gold and silver vases, and valuable palls and garments. Then it was that I spoke with the emperor, and the pope, and the princes, who were present, of the grievances of my people both English and Danes, and demanded on their behalf the concession of more equitable regulations, and greater security for their pilgrimage to Rome, together with the abolition of the oppressive system of frequent barriers, and the collection of extortionate and unjust tolls. My demands met with the assent of the pope, and king Robert,[1] who has the principal control of the barons and all the princes, confirmed by their edicts the right of my subjects to go to, and return from Rome, entirely free from the vexation of the barriers and of tolls, without fear of violence, and under the protection of just laws.

In the next place I complained and expressed my vehement displeasure at the fact, that my archbishops were mulcted in an immense sum of money for receiving the pall, according to custom, from the apostolic see, and a decree was made abolishing this payment for the future. In fact, not a single demand did I make to promote the advantage of my people, but was at once assented to by the lord pope, by the emperor, by king Robert, and by all the princes through whose territories our journey lies to Rome; nor did they stop there, but they confirmed these concessions by an oath, to which four archbishops, twenty bishops, and innumerable dukes and nobles, who were there present, bore witness. Wherefore I render exceeding thanks to almighty God in that He has enabled me to accomplish my intended purpose, and satisfactorily to fulfil my vows.

Now, therefore, be it known to you all, that I have made a vow henceforth in every respect to justify my life before almighty God, to govern my kingdoms and subjects with justice and piety, and to observe perfect equity; and if, at any time, the intemperance or carelessness of my youth has allowed any transgression to be committed, all this, with the aid of God, I purpose hereafter to correct. Therefore I adjure and command the councillors, to whom I have entrusted the affairs of my kingdom, that they do not, in any way, whether from fear of my vengeance, or hope of the favour of any powerful person, suffer the perpetration of any injury, but that they nip every deed of injustice even in the bud. I enjoin also to all persons and to the sheriffs of my kingdom, as

[1] Malmesbury's copy of this letter here reads Rodolf, and more correctly, reference being made to Rodolf III., king of Burgundy, or Arles, who was present with Cnut at the coronation of the emperor Conrad at Rome in 1027. See Anderson's Genealog. Tables, p. 598.

they value my friendship or their own safety, to do no wrong or violence to any man, rich or poor, to afford to all, both noble and ignoble, the power to obtain their just and legal rights, and not to deviate from this course either to gain general approbation, or to pander to the wishes of the powerful, or to provide money for myself, since there is no necessity on my part to provide myself funds by the exaction of unjust demands.

I wish, therefore, to inform you that, returning by the same route by which I went, I am proceeding to Denmark, to establish, with the consent of all the Danes, a firm peace and treaty with those nations who have ever used their utmost endeavours to deprive me of my kingdom and my life; in which attempts, however, they have been foiled; for God, whom I pray in his mercy to preserve me in my kingdom and honour, and to annihilate the power of my enemies, destroyed their strength; and when I have succeeded in establishing this peace with the nations who lie in my way, and have left the whole of my eastern dominions in peace, so that on no side need we fear war, I purpose this summer, so soon as I can obtain a vessel, to return to England. This letter, however, I have sent beforehand, in order that my subjects may congratulate themselves on my success, for I (as you yourselves well know) never spared, nor shall I ever spare, any toil on my own part, to promote usefully the general advantage of my people.

In conclusion, I beseech you, my bishops, and you who are set over my kingdom, by the faith which you owe to me and to God, to do your utmost to provide, before my arrival in England, for the entire liquidation of all the debts which, by the ancient law of the land, are due; namely, that you all in your several dioceses cause to be paid the alms for the ploughs, a tithe of the animals born within the year, the pence which are due to Rome for St. Peter, both from the cities and vills, and to the holy church in the middle of August the tithes of fruits, and the first fruits of the harvest, (which we call in English, Kyrkeset,) on the feast of St. Martin. If in this you fail, the power of the law shall, when I arrive, strictly and without pardon punish the delinquent. Farewell."

In the year of our Lord one thousand and thirty-two, king Cnut, returning from Rome through Denmark, landed in England at Sandwich. At the harbour he was met by the lord abbot Brichtmer, who presented to him two very splendid palfreys. These he graciously accepted, and with unfeigned thanks presented the abbot in return with a full silken suit of vestments, interwoven with golden eagles, and a silver gilt thuribule, which latter, having in course of time been broken, was repaired by the lord Ednoth, our sacrist. The abbot also gave the king twelve bear[1] skins, which, having been placed in front of different altars, have lasted down to our time. At length abbot Brichtmer feeling strong in the favour of the king, and having obtained from him the above-mentioned confirmation of the grant of his monastery, rebuilt

[1] Such is the text furnished by Saville and Gale; but the latter gives, as a variation, the following reading:—"and he also gave twelve white bear-skins."

many of the manor-houses, which had long ago been destroyed by the Danes at Croyland. He built also a very beautiful court at Staundon, with chambers and offices necessary for the reception of his household, when the affairs of his monastery rendered it incumbent upon himself or his monks to travel to London; and the same at Drayton and Morbourne. In the rest of the manor-houses which had been destroyed by the Danes, namely, at Kotenham, Hoketon, Wendling,[1] Adyngton, Elmyngton, Langtoft, Baston, Bukenhale, and Halyngton, he, at the same time, constructed granaries, ox-houses, stalls, sheep-folds, and kitchens. In the eighteenth year of the abbacy of Brichtmer, and about the twentieth year of his reign, Cnut died, and was buried at Winchester.

On the death of the king, the dispute of his two sons Harold and Hardecnut for the crown seemed to be pregnant with a furious war. The Danes of London[2] espoused the side of Harold, the son of Elgiva of Northampton, but whose claims to be the son of Cnut common report asserted to be false; while the English and the rest of the country gave the preference to Edward, the son of king Ethelred, and next to him to Hardecnut, the son of Cnut by his queen Emma. Terrified by this threatening state of affairs, a vast multitude of men and women, with their children and movables, fled to Croyland, attracted by the mere suspicion of war, to the swampy fens, the alder woods, and muddy ponds, as their strongest camp of refuge. These interlopers never ceased to disquiet the whole monastery by their complaints and representations, continually intruding into the cloister, and either by means of the servants of the monastery, or by themselves, pouring into the ears of the monks stories of their own privations, and seeking to conciliate the favour of the lords of the place by assiduous flattery. Tormented by this, the monks deserted the cloister, and scarcely had the courage to descend from their dormitories to perform divine service in the choir, or participate at the common table in the refectory. None, however, was so thoroughly distressed at their vexatious conduct as Wulfy[3] a recluse of the clerks of Pega, whose life was made a burden to him by the clamours and exclamations with which these nightly and daily councils were distinguished; till, at length, with a bandage round his eyes, he started for Evesham, and there shutting himself up in a cell adjoining a certain chapel, he has remained undisturbed up to this day. Eventually, England was divided between the two brothers germane. Hardecnut obtained the provinces to the south of the Thames; Harold, the northern provinces, together with London and the whole country on this side that river. This division, however, did not last long, for Harold, taking advantage of Hardecnut's prolonged absence in Denmark, raised himself to the throne of the entire kingdom of England. This prince presented to our monastery his coronation robe of silk, interwoven with golden flowers, which our sacrist

[1] Wendlyngbure. Various reading.
[2] The Danes and Londoners. Various reading.
[3] Wulsi. Various reading.

afterwards converted into a hood, and (such was the favour which the lord abbot Brichtmer found with him) would have conferred many more advantages upon us, if he had not been snatched away by a sudden and premature death, just as he was creeping over the entrance of his reign. He died after having occupied the throne four years, and having only had time to taste, as it were, the fruits of sovereign sway, and was buried at Westminster. Hardecnut, his brother, but by another mother, Emma, was summoned from Denmark to succeed him; and no sooner had he ascended the throne, than he ordered the body of his brother Harold to be disinterred, to be decapitated, and then thrown into the neighbouring river Thames. The English and Danes, however, took the corpse out of the river, and caused it to be buried in the cemetery of the latter in London, and Hardecnut himself, after a reign of two years, breathed out his spirit at Lambeth, near London, and reposes near his father at Winchester.

After his decease the general choice of the people, (principally at the instigation of earl Godwin,) fixed upon Edward, the son of queen Emma and of Ethelred, the late king of England; and he was accordingly crowned king at London in the one thousand and forty-third year of our Lord's incarnation, on Easter-day [3d April], and reigned about twenty-four years. He married Egitha, the daughter of earl Godwin, a lady of exquisite beauty, of exceeding erudition, of exemplary conduct, of humble piety, and throughout the whole of her life an unsullied virgin; mild and retiring in character, she was not imbued with any of the rude and barbarous manners of her father or brothers; true and honourable in mind, she excited the enmity of no one; so that she deserved the eulogium of the well-known verse,—"As the thorn the rose, so Godwin begat Egitha."

Many a time have I, when a boy, on a visit to my father at the king's court, beheld her, and often has she met me on my return from school, and questioned me about literature and my composition; and then, diverting the conversation, as she much liked to do, from grammatical accuracy to the trifling subtleties of logic, of which she was a perfect mistress, when she has reduced me to silence by a cunning train of argument, with directions to her attendant to present me with three or four pieces of money, has she directed me to the royal buttery, feasted me, and sent me away.

To return to king Edward: he, born in England, but educated for a length of time in Normandy, had almost become a Frenchman, and brought with him in his train from that country numerous followers, whom he enriched with various dignities and advanced to great distinction. The chief among these was Robert, a monk of Jumieges, created by him bishop of London, and afterwards advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and William and Ulfelm the king's chaplains, the former of whom was made bishop of London, the latter bishop of Dorchester. Thus, under the influence of the king and the Normans who accompanied him, the whole land began to lay aside the manners of Englishmen, and to adopt many

of the customs of the French; the nobles in their courts began to use the French idiom as though it were the national one, to frame their charters and writings after the mode of the French, and in these and many other respects to blush at their native usages.

In the sixth year of king Edward, and in the one thousand and forty-eighth year of our Lord, the venerable abbot of Croyland, lord Brichtmer, fell sick, and, after having exercised his pastoral office with great zeal for eighteen years, died, and was buried in the entrance of the chapter-house. At that time the venerable father lord Ulgate, abbot of Pegeland, as I have before hinted, was engaged in a prolonged litigation in respect to a claim made by the abbots of Peterborough—Elfin, Arwin, and Leofric. At length he lost his abbacy and succumbed, and (shame on the impious act!) was by the judgment of the king's court deprived of the whole site of the monastery. So impotent was justice against wealth, and truth against cunning! So powerful in the court of king Hardicnut was the influence of earl Godwin! Nor was this all: for when the above-mentioned abbot Ulgate, having lost the site of his monastery near the bank of the river Weland, proposed to lay the foundations of a new monastery in his manor of Northamburgt, which lay nearer the banks of that river, and to transfer his abbacy thither, and by the aid of the alms of many of the faithful was busily engaged in the project of rebuilding the church and the rest of the offices of the monastery, Fernot, a knight, and lord of Bosworthe, commenced a suit to obtain the said manor of Northburt, and showed in open court, by the writings of the abbot himself, that the said manor of Northburt was given by his ancestors to the monastery of St. Pega and to the monks there serving God; whence he alleged that it followed, that, since the abbot Ulgate and his monks did not there serve God and St. Pega, they had no right thenceforward to possess the said manor. This demand was admitted by the king's justiciary, and it was forthwith adjudged that the said manor of Northburg, with all its appurtenances, belonged to the above-mentioned knight Fernot as his hereditary right, and that it was for ever alienated and taken away from the monks of the church of St. Pega. No sooner did it become known through the kingdom that the abbot of Peykyrk had first lost his monastery, and then, as a consequence, a manor which formerly belonged to it, than Edmer, a knight, and lord of Holbrok, impleaded the same abbot and his monks to recover his manor of Makesey; Horsyng of Wathe to recover his manor of Badyngton; earl Siward to recover his manor of Bernak; Hugolin the treasurer to recover his manor of Helpiston, and many others to recover other manors which for long had belonged to the above-mentioned monastery, the whole of whom for the same reasons obtained a judgment adverse to the monks; and the abbot of Peykyrke was nefariously and cruelly ejected from both his manors and his monastery, as though to prove it true that misfortunes never come single to any one. When, then, the abbot Ulgate and his convent of monks, in number eighteen, stripped of their monastery, were reduced to wander about hither and thither, as chance led them, and were tossed about by every blast, through

the surrounding country, the most pious king Edward received them all into his court; and until he could provide for them, bade them attend daily in his own chapel and hall.

Scarcely had the king uttered this bidding, than the news arrives of the death of Brichtmer, abbot of the monastery of Croyland, and his pastoral crozier was presented to the king by the prior of the monastery and two other of the brethren who accompanied him. And this was done, because since the time of king Ethelred, his father, the position of abbots had been more clearly recognised in the courts of the kings, and it was thenceforward a matter of continual occurrence for monks, in their excessive ambition for dignities and prelacies, to present the thanes of the kings with a variety of complimentary presents, and to show their respect to them by adulation and court. Accordingly, among the principal monasteries, Croyland held a very high place; with so profuse a liberality had it, in the time of the Danish tribulation, poured its donatives and tributes into the king's court. Thus, for many years, no election of prelates had been quite independent and canonical; but all the dignities, both of bishops and abbots, had been conferred by the king's court, according to its pleasure, by the ring and crozier. The most pious king Edward, then, receiving the pastoral crozier of the monastery of Croyland, in the presence of the lord Gerard, prior of Croyland, and of two of his fellow-monks, who had come with him to the court, and in the presence of the rest of the monks of Pegeland, with whom, as their fellow-countrymen and very dear neighbours, the monks of Croyland had formerly held very intimate relations, invested by his pastoral crozier the venerable father, lord Ulgate, the abbot, with the pastoral rule over the monastery of Croyland; and thereupon addressed the following letter to the convent at that place.

"I, Edward, king of the English, to the sub-prior and holy convent of the monastery of Croyland, greeting.

Compassionating the lord Ulgate, formerly abbot of Pegeland, who, by no crime of his own, but by the decree of the law, has been deprived of his monastery; compassionating also you, who by no wish of your own, but by the bereavement of death, have lost your father, I purpose to apply a healing remedy for both your evils, by giving you the above-mentioned father Ulgate, as a head. For yourselves, you will act like good and holy men, if you obediently receive as your father and pastor him who has been proved in so various and searching tribulations, and treat with hospitality and brotherly love his fellow-monks, your brethren, who accompany him to sojourn among you, so that, after having run the race of this present life, you may together reach the heavenly goal, and join the holy choir of your patrons, who on earth were your brothers. Farewell, and never cease day and night to pray for me and the whole of my kingdom."

At this same time king Edward, at the suggestion of the lord Gerard, the prior of our monastery, and the diligent superintendent

of its affairs, yielded to the petition of the lord Ulgate, abbot of Croyland, and confirmed the whole of our monastery of Croyland in all its lands and tenements, marshes, and other things thereunto appertaining, by his writing in the following terms :—

"I, Edward, by the grace of God king of the English, at the request of the lord Ulgate, abbot of Croyland, and at the humble prayer of the lord Gerard, prior of the said monastery, do hereby approve and confirm in all respects the bequests of my predecessors, kings of England,—to wit, of the most pious king Edred, and the renowned king Edgar, my grandfather, to the said monastery of Croyland. By the which he gave and confirmed to God and St. Guthlac, and to his monks, as a sole and exclusive site for the monastery of the said monks, the whole island of Croyland, situate and being within the limits and boundaries particularly set out and described in the writings of the aforesaid kings, together with the two fens thereunto belonging,—to wit, Alderlound and Goggislound, lying opposite the western side of the said island, within the same metes and bounds as they are described in the same writings. These, and all other gifts of the aforesaid kings,—to wit, Edred, the restorer of the said monastery, and Edgar, my grandfather, to the aforesaid monks and their successors, I hereby grant and confirm, together with all the liabilities and privileges granted to the said monastery, and contained in their writings, to hold to St. Guthlac and his said monks in frankalmoigne.

Witness; Egitha my queen, Edfy and Alfric, archbishops, Godwin, Geofric, and Siward, earls, and many of the rest of my nobles present at my court."

Accordingly the venerable father lord Ulgate came to Croyland with all his monks, in number sixteen, (for two of them had died at London,) and with all his movables, and was received there on the day of St. Mark the Evangelist [25th April], in the year of our Lord one thousand and forty-eight, in which year, on Sunday,[1] the kalends of March [1st March], there occurred a great earthquake, followed by an excessive mortality amongst men and cattle. In this year also, Egelric, a monk of Peterborough, was, at the instance of earl Godwin, created bishop of Durham. This bishop, having acquired vast wealth, caused to be constructed of beams of wood and sand, through the middle of a very extensive forest and deep marshes, from Depyng to Spaldyng, a firm and hard road, a very useful and expensive undertaking, which now possesses, and will retain so long as it lasts, the name of Egelric, its maker, that is to say, the name Elricherode—a work for which he received the thanks of the whole of the Girvii and the Middle Angles, while, on the other hand, it was condemned by the inhabitants of Durham. Egelric, having replenished his purse, gave up his bishopric, returned to Peterborough, and resigned his ring to Agelwin, his brother, and a monk of that monastery, who, in turn, was, at the

[1] In 1048 the 1st of March fell upon Tuesday. See Florence of Worcester, p. 280, for the origin of this error.

request of earl Godwin, made bishop, and has continued in that office to the present day.[1] But of this in the sequel.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-one, Alfric,[2] archbishop of York, died at Southwell, and was buried at Peterborough. In that year also, the most pious king Edward (moved with compassion at the very general sufferings of his people, who were reduced to such distress by a famine consequent on the failure of the harvest, as from the scarcity of corn, and their want of bread, to die by thousands) remitted for ever throughout England that most grievous tax called Danegeld. With regard to this Danegeld, there is a story[3] that after it had been collected into the treasury, the king was taken by his treasurers to see the immense heap of money. No sooner did he behold it than he shuddered with horror, and protested that he saw the devil dancing upon the heap and exulting with joy. Accordingly he ordered it to be immediately restored to its former possessors, and refused to retain a single fraction of so cruel an impost. More than this, he remitted it for ever, in the thirty-eighth year from the time when, in the reign of king Ethelred his father, Swane, king of the Danes, demanded that it should be paid to his army.

At this period also, the venerable father abbot Ulgate, seeing that the hardness of the times was increasing, and that his children, the monks of his monastery, who before his arrival had fared delicately, and been clothed in fine raiment, now lived on coarse bread and a few small fishes from the river, grieving from his heart that he had multiplied their numbers, but had not augmented their happiness, held a general consultation with them as to what was the most expedient course to oppose the threatening famine, and, with earnest prayers, adjured the rich among the friends of the monastery to contribute of their wealth, and the wise to assist with their counsel, in the present time of imminent peril. Among the intimate and benevolent friends of our monastery at that time, the chief adviser was a sheriff of Lincoln named Thorold, with whom many persons yet living, both regulars and seculars, were personally acquainted, of the family of that sheriff Thorold who formerly, acting in the most generous manner to our monastery, gave us his manor of Bokenhale with all its appurtenances. Accordingly this Thorold, induced by his piety and feeling of affection towards our house, in order to relieve and exonerate our monastery, conferred by his writing, for the sustenance of six monks, that is to say, one prior and five brethren, and their necessary household, the whole of his manor of Spaldyng, with the rents thereto belonging and the services, in perpetual alms. Six monks were thereupon sent from our monastery with Thorold, and the refectory was much relieved. He himself also purposed to remove his household from the said monastery, to make his chapel more worthy of its purpose, and to convert his hall into a refectory, his chamber into a dormitory, and the walking-

[1] According to Simeon of Durham and Florence, Egelwin died in 1071, before which date this passage professes to have been written. See Godwin, p. 726.

[2] Compare Florence, p. 282.

[3] See Brompton, ap. Decem Scriptores, col. 942.

ground into a cloister for the monks. Besides this, he presented us with the beasts which were required for agricultural purposes, the necessary vessels for the kitchen, the brewery, and the bake-house, and all the utensils.

At this time the most noble and renowned earl William the Norman, with a large body of followers, came to England to visit king Edward. By him he was honourably entertained, and during a stay of some duration was taken round to the royal cities and castles, and after having had civilities worthy of his rank shown to him, was presented with a variety of gifts and returned to his own domains. Of succeeding to the throne, either he had as yet no expectation, or, at all events, no mention was made of it in this interview.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-two, the lord Ulgate, abbot of Croyland, after having completed four years in his pastoral office, died on the nones of June [5th June], and was buried on the day of St. Medard bishop [8th June], in the chapter-house. The venerable father lord Uuketul, formerly a monk and sacrist of Peterborough, was collated by king Edward to the abbacy as his successor, and was installed on the feast of the blessed Mary Magdalene [22d July]. Emma also, formerly the queen, the wife of the kings Ethelred and Cnut, and the mother of the kings Hardecnut and Edward, died, and was interred at Winchester.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-three, earl Godwin was questioned while at the king's table concerning the murder of his brother, and after repeatedly denying it on his oath, at last claimed to purge his crime and verify his oath by the ordeal of swallowing a piece of bread;[1] but no sooner had he tasted the bread than he was choked and fell down dead. The earldom of West Saxony was conferred on his son Harold, and that of the latter (that, namely, of East Saxony,) upon Algar, the son of Leofric, earl of Leicester.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-six, Siward, the brave earl of the Northumbrians, died, and was buried in the cloister of the monastery of St. Mary, which he himself had built outside the walls of the same city. His earldom of York was conferred upon Tosty, the brother of earl Harold; that of Northampton and of Huntyngdoun, with the rest of his lands, upon the celebrated earl Waldeve, his son and heir. At this time also, king Edward, at the instigation of evil counsellors, without any cause whatever, banished from the country the most illustrious earl Algar. However, by the aid of Griffin, king of the Welsh, and of the Norwegian fleet, whose assistance he had unexpectedly obtained, after a great amount of bloodshed he became reconciled to the king and regained his earldom. The fleet sailed to Chester and departed after having been largely rewarded by his father.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-seven, Leofric,

[1] See the formula, "Exorcismus panis ordeacii," ap. Spelman's Glossary, voce Ordal, extus Roffensis, p. 33, and Thorpe's Glossary to the Anglo-Saxon Laws, voce Corsnæd.

the most noble and excellent earl of Leicester, died, and he reposes at the monastery of Coventry, which he had built and enriched with vast donations and extensive privileges, in the fortieth year from the time when he conferred upon the monastery of Evesham our manor of Baddeby for the term for which it was leased to his brother Norman. This year also was distinguished by the death of Edward, the cousin of king Edward, who had been summoned from Hungary, and had hardly reached England when he died of weakness and exhaustion, and thenceforth the hope which was entertained of the continuation of the royal blood began to decline.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-eight, Algar, the bold earl of Leicester, was banished a second time; but again seeking the aid of Griffin, king of the Welsh, he hired the Norwegian fleet, and recovered his earldom by force. This Algar was a great benefactor to our monastery, and not only in a liberal and generous manner towards our house confirmed all the gifts of his progenitors, but added some special provision for the support of our convent and the brethren settled at Spaldelyng. At the same time, by the advice and consent of the same earl, the venerable father abbot Uulketul assigned to the aforesaid monks, in order to provide them with the means of showing hospitality, after the custom of monasteries, to the visitors of that spot, both poor and rich, and whose numbers were very considerable, the full right, title, and possession of the chapel of St. Mary of Spaldyng, and all its profits, together with all the rents belonging to our monastery on the eastern side of the river Weland.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and fifty-nine, Benedict, the usurper of the apostolic see, was expelled by the zeal of the faithful from the papacy, and by the election of the cardinals, in accordance with the canons, his place was supplied by Nicolaus, bishop of Florence, who was the bishop who, with that mutual affection which similar minds bear towards one another, had sent the pall to Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. In this year also occurred the death of earl Algar, one of the closest friends of our monastery, who with infinite bravery, by the aid of God prospering him, had survived the attacks of his rivals, and numerous perils by sea and land. He was followed to the grave with the sincere regrets and the love of the whole people, and reposes near his father at Coventry, leaving behind him three children,—two sons, Edwin and Morkar, afterwards earls, and an only daughter, the countess Lucy,[1] who still survives.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty, Kynsey, archbishop of York, died and was buried at Peterborough, where he had formerly been a monk. His successor was Aldred, bishop of Worcester, to whose charge, when bishop of the Wiccii, king Edward had commended the bishopric of Hereford; [2]and when he pro-

[1] Lucy, the daughter of earl Algar, married for her third husband Ralph, earl of Chester, whom she survived; and in 5th Stephen (?) paid a fine of 500 marks for permission not to be compelled to marry again for five years. Dugd. Baronage, i. 10, 37. The exact year of her death is not known.

[2] Here Saville's text is imperfect.

moted him from that diocese to the see of York, that king conferred the bishopric of Hereford upon one Walter, the chaplain of queen Egitha, and a native of Louvaine.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty-one, Uulketul, the lord abbot of Croyland, favoured by a succession of prosperous years, commenced the construction of a new church; the old one, founded by the venerable lord Turketul, threatening imminent ruin. In this work he was assisted by the ardent devotion of the illustrious earl Waldeve, who on that occasion gave to our monastery his vill of Bernak, and assigned it for the purpose of building the church, partly from a feeling of remorse at its having been formerly an ecclesiastical possession, and partly because it was an essentially valuable acquisition to us on account of there being a stone quarry in it.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty-two, the holy Wulstan, formerly a monk of Peterborough, afterwards prior of Worcester, and subsequently abbot of Glastonbury, was at length made bishop of Worcester.

At this time there lived a knight, equally noble by birth and eminent in arms, lord of Brunne and of the adjacent fens, named Leofric, a beneficent friend and adviser of our monastery, and the relation of the famed Radin,[1] earl of Hertford, who married Goda, sister of king Edward, and who is buried at Peterborough. This Leofric, by his wife Ediva, who was of equally distinguished family, (for she was the niece of the great duke Oslac, the contemporary of the late king Edgar,) had become the father of a son named Herward,[2] at that time a youth of an exceedingly powerful frame, a stately person, and great beauty; but withal of a temperament warlike and impetuous to excess, and even in wrestling and other juvenile games so headstrong, that very often "every man's hand was against him, and his hand against every man." [Gen. xvi. 12.] Accordingly, when the youths of the same age with himself challenged him to a trial of strength in wrestling or other sports, if he failed to triumph over them all, and to have the laurel crown offered him as the reward of victory, what his arm was too weak to obtain, he not unfrequently gained by his sword. Upon this the neighbours complained to his father Leofric, and incensed him so highly against his son, that, with all the virulence of a bitter enemy, he disclosed to king Edward a variety of his provoking boyish freaks upon himself, and his excessive violence towards his neighbours, and procured his son's banishment. In his exile, the dauntless Herward went to Northumberland, Cornwall, Ireland, and last of all to Flanders, in all which countries he bore himself with the greatest bravery, and within a short time acquired a glorious and magnificent name. There was no peril upon which he did not throw himself with intrepidity; none from which he did not escape without hurt; no military conflict in which he did not

[1] A various reading gives Ralph. The genealogical statement here made respecting Goda is open to suspicion.

[2] A romantic narrative, containing a more detailed account of the exploits of this individual, will be found in a subsequent part of this work.

single out the bravest as his opponent, and defeat him; and so universal was his valour in conquering the enemy, and his success in escaping unharmed from critical dangers, that it was doubtful whether his bravery or his fortune were the greater. When, therefore, by his distinction and invincibility in single combat and in the field, even his enemies spoke loudly of his fame, and his brave deeds had penetrated to and were sung in England, his father and his mother, and all his friends and relatives, together with the whole of his neighbours, turned to him with the most ardent affection, and by the agency of God's providence changed the hatred which they had borne towards him into exceeding love. At length he married in Flanders a certain noble lady, named Turfrida, and had by her an only daughter, who still survives and is resident in our neighbourhood, and who has lately contracted a marriage with an illustrious knight, Hugo Evermue, a close friend to our monastery, and lord of the vill of Depyng, with his paternal inheritance of Brunne, and its appurtenances. The mother of this Turfrida came with her husband to England, and, convinced of the manifold changes of this transitory state, at length, with the permission of her husband, relinquished all the pomps of the world, and, assuming the monastic habit in our monastery of Croyland from the hands of the lord abbot Uulketul, professed a religious life for a length of time with great sanctity. Scarcely four summers have elapsed since her death, and she now reposes in our monastery. With regard to Herward himself, he, with his wife, after having contested many a hard-fought field, and surmounted a thousand dangers both against the king of England and his earls and barons, and against his sheriffs and presidents, and become the theme of the common songs in the streets, and having avenged his widowed mother by the strength of his right hand, at length, by the assent of the king, obtained his paternal inheritance, ended his days in peace, and very lately selected a spot for his burial in our monastery. But of this, more hereafter.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty-three, Harold, earl of West Saxony, set in motion an expedition of very considerable force against the Welsh, who were in the habit of harassing the neighbouring villages with frequent forays and depredations. Perceiving, however, that the heavy bodies of the English forces were ineffective against the rapid movements of the Welsh, and that the latter, after committing their deeds of violence, retired immediately to their defiles, whither our soldiers were unable to follow them, gave orders that they should be made accustomed to the use of shields of tanned leather, and light arms in general. On this the Welsh were seized with terror, were reduced to complete submission, and abjured their allegiance to their king Griffin.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty-five, Griffin, king of the Welsh, was murdered by his subjects, and his head, together with the beak of his ship, sent to Harold. To his two brothers Blethgent and Ruthy king Edward gave and granted for them and their posterity the quiet possession of Wales, and they in return took the oath of fealty for the services due and payable

therefrom to the kingdom of England. In the same year, king Edward, by this time bowed down by old age, seeing that Edgar, the son of his eldest son Edward, who was now dead, was not qualified either in mind or body to occupy the throne, and that the wicked descendants of earl Godwin were daily increasing, fixed his inclinations upon his relation, William earl of Normandy, and, with a resolute determination, named him his successor; and not without reason, for this earl William had proved himself superior to, and the conqueror of, the king of France in every encounter, and on public occasions represented the whole body of the neighbouring earls of Normandy; he was also unsurpassed in the use of arms, a most just judge in judicial investigations, and very scrupulous and devout in performing the services of religion. On this account king Edward sent his private legate, Robert archbishop of Canterbury, to him, and by means of that arch-prelate intimated to him that the claims of kindred and of valour had induced him to nominate him to the succession; upon which Harold, the seneschal of the royal palace, went to Normandy and swore, not only that he after the death of the king would preserve the throne for earl William, but plighted his faith in marriage to his daughter, and upon this returned home with magnificent presents.

In the year of our Lord one thousand and sixty-six, a comet, portentous of a great change in the kingdom, of the slaughter of its inhabitants, and of general misery in the land, appeared in the sky, whence originated the following lines:—

> In the year one thousand and sixty-six,
> The bounds of England saw a comet's train.

For, as philosophers say, in that direction in which its tail extends, there will it bring disaster.

Soon after, the king Edward, about Christmas-day, became sick unto death, [1]and caused a church to be consecrated at Westminster on Innocents'-day; and, his disease day by day gaining strength, he died on the vigil of the Epiphany [5th Jan.], and was buried at that place, having nearly completed the twenty-fourth year of his reign. On the morrow after the royal funeral, earl Harold, inconsistently with his station in the kingdom and the oath which he had taken, repudiating his plighted faith; and wickedly disregarding his allegiance, forced himself upon the throne, was crowned with due solemnity by Aldred archbishop of York, and reigned nine months. Thereupon William earl of Normandy sent ambassadors to complain of the infraction of the treaty, to disclose the compact between them, to demand the performance of his promise, and to require some equitable settlement. To these king Harold listened with impatience, denied that he had broken the treaty, repudiated the compact, excused himself from the performance of his promise, and contemptuously derided the offer of an equitable settlement. While these negotiations then were daily going on, and the passing and repassing of the messengers throughout the summer produced no effect, William, with premature haste,

[1] The greater portion of this sentence is omitted by Saville.

laid his complaint before the pope, and was induced to accept from him as a gift the banner suggestive of a victory legitimately his own. Harold, however, contemning the decision of the pope, visited the harbours, collected his army, and first of all pursued and drove away his brother, earl Tosti, who infested his shores. No sooner was this done, than Harold king of Norway, with whom Tosti had united his forces, with a fleet of two hundred ships, entered the mouth of the Humber, and sailed down the little river Ouse, almost to York. Thence the fleet was sent back, under the care of its officers; York was attacked, taken, plundered, and the inhabitants put to the sword. Two earls, however, Edwin and Morkar, who were brothers, with a small band of their fellow-countrymen, flew to its relief, but being unarmed were easily repelled by the armed force of the enemy. At length Harold, the king of the English, with a firm body of soldiers, engaged them in a pitched battle at Staunfordbrig, and although the Norwegians made an obstinate resistance, after some difficulty the English obtained the victory, the leaders, king Harold and earl Tosti, with an immense number of the barbarians, being left dead on the field. Olave, the son of king Harold, and Paul earl of the Orkneys, to whom the fleet had been entrusted, were alone, with only twenty ships, permitted to return to their country in freedom.

While Harold was yet glorying in his victory over the Norwegians, news continued to pour in daily that the Normans had landed on the south coast; while he, overjoyed at his late triumph, indulged in the vain dream that similar success would attend his future plans. Accordingly, by forced journeys he got the start of the general body, and accompanied by only a very small number of his army, arrived at Hastings. There he collected a heterogeneous crowd of the natives, and with these rude and weak materials, preparing to encounter the enemy, refused to wait the arrival of the main force of his army, and, the fates hurrying him on to his destruction, he engaged the earl on the following day. Very bravely did he prolong the contest from morning till evening, unconquered; often like a common soldier did he fight hand to hand with his adversaries, with great courage and strength engaging two of the enemy right and left. At last, towards twilight, he fell, on a small hill where he had collected his forces, pierced by an arrow shot into the air. There died king Harold, and with him his brothers the earls Gurth and Lefwin, and the whole army of the nobles of England.

When the most victorious king William had thus obtained the palm of conquest, and succeeded in covering with his forces, in a short time, the western part of England, he, accompanied with a number of bishops, reached London. There he was proclaimed king with joyful and triumphant acclamations, was crowned on Christmas-day by archbishop Aldred, and ascended the royal throne. Archbishop Stigand, however, was the person upon whose dignity the office of performing the rites of the coronation duly devolved; but the king refused to receive them from his hand, on account of his having heard that a charge had been made

against him by the apostolic pope of not having been canonically invested with the pall. Upon this, Stigand,—being deposed from the bishopric of East-Anglia, and abusing the simple and innocent mind of the king, under the idea that all right could be perverted by money, seized upon the bishopric of Winchester, and afterwards, in the lifetime of archbishop Robert, ascended the cathedral chair of Canterbury, retaining at the same time that of Winchester. Of this charge he was accused, was publicly condemned, and subsequently deposed by the legates of the apostolic see in the council of Winchester. His successor was the very reverend patriarch Lanfranc, a man of no less experience in temporal affairs than he was pre-eminent in sanctity of life and religion, and moreover versed in all the liberal arts from a most excellent and luminous instructor, the abbot of Caen, and he was canonically consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.

For a time many of the princes of the land resisted the new king, the most victorious William; but presently broken by his strength and overthrown, they submitted to the Norman rule. Of these, the before-mentioned brothers, earls Edwin and Morkar, were both treacherously massacred by their followers; Roger[1] earl of Hereford was thrown into chains for life; Ralph earl of Suffolk[2] was banished; earl Waldeve, however, was bound to allegiance by the marriage of his niece; Agelwin, bishop of Durham, was incarcerated at Abendon, and his brother and predecessor Egelric at Westminster, while all the others who refused the yoke were either deposed and deprived of their prelacies, or exiled beyond the sea, or consigned to prison in their several monasteries, and at length yielded an unwilling submission to the new king. With this summary and brief account I close my narration of the exploits of the most victorious king; because I feel that to give a full account of his progress year by year is a task beyond my strength. I will remark, however, that he followed up his conquest by the distribution of the earldoms, the baronies, the bishoprics, and prelacies of the whole land amongst his Norman followers; and, with but few exceptions, permitted none of the English to occupy any post of honour, or to possess the lordship of any demesne.

Herward, whom I have before mentioned, was the only one who resisted with eventual success. That earl, hearing, while in Flanders, that the land of England was being subjugated to a foreign yoke, and that his paternal inheritance, upon the death of his father Leofric, had been by a gift of the king presented to a certain Norman, and that his widowed mother was persecuted by grievous injuries and indignities, under a feeling of very natural grief hastened back to England along with his wife Turfrida. There he collected a by no means contemptible band of his relations, and thundering with the sword upon the injurers of his mother, drove them far beyond the boundaries of his inheritance. Then considering that he was at that time the chief of a body of very brave men—some of whom were knights—and that he was not yet duly, and according to knightly custom, girded with the belt, he selected

[1] See Dugd. Baronage, i. 67. [2] Ralph Guader, earl of Norfolk. Id. i. 68.

from his own troop a very few esquires to be duly consecrated knights at the same time with himself; with this object he sought his uncle, the then abbot of Peterborough, named Brand, a man very religious, and, as I have heard from my predecessor lord Uulketul the abbot, and many others, very liberal in alms to the poor and adorned with every virtue. From him Herward petitioned that, after having made a complete confession of his sins, he might be made a legitimate knight.[1] And this he did, because the English had a custom that whoever was to be consecrated to the honour of knighthood should on the eve of the day of his consecration, with contrition of heart and compunction of conscience, make confession of all his sins to a bishop, or abbot, or monk, or priest, and then, after receiving absolution, pass the whole night in prayer, devotion, and penance; on the morrow also he was to hear mass, and make an offering of his sword upon the altar; which done, the priest, after reading the gospel, was to bless the sword, and place it, with another blessing, upon the neck of the knight, who then, after having communicated at the same mass in the sacred mysteries of Christ, became and remained a true knight from that time forward. This custom of consecrating a knight the Normans abominated, and, refusing to look upon such an one as a true knight, considered him merely as a sluggish and ignoble horseman.

Nor was this the only custom which the Normans changed; for the Anglican mode of attesting writings, which up to the time of king Edward had been confirmed by the subscription of such of those who owed fealty to him as were present as witnesses, accompanied by signs of golden crosses and other sacred marks, was condemned by them. The writings were called deeds; and the validity of them made to depend on a waxen impression of the special seal of each party, attested by the name of three or four witnesses. At first also many estates were conferred by bare words, without any writing or deed, but only with the presentation of the lord's sword, or helmet, or horn, or cup; and very many tenements with that of a spur, a piece of gold, or a bow; while some were conferred by the presentation of an arrow. This, however, was only at the outset of his reign; in subsequent years the custom I have first described was universal. Moreover, such was the abomination in which the English were held, that however superior their merit, they could seek no dignity with success, while foreigners, of whatsoever nation under heaven they might be, were gladly selected for the post. Even the very idiom was held in such abhorrence, that the laws of the land and the statutes of the English kings were translated into the Gallic language, and boys in the schools learnt the rudiments of grammar in French, not in English. The English mode of writing also was given up, and the French introduced in deeds and books. But enough of this.

To proceed: the abovementioned earls who resisted the renowned king William, together with many other nobles who had been deprived of their estates, retired to the marshes of Ely. Thither

[1] See Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church, ii. 2.

Herward was summoned by a rapid messenger to take the command of the war, in which he performed so many glorious actions, defeated his adversaries in so many engagements, outstratagemed them in so many critical junctures, as to acquire a fame that will last for ever. In short, he it was who upheld the ruins of his falling country as long as was possible, and did not allow his countrymen to perish unavenged. The rest of the nobles surrendered to the king, and threw themselves upon his mercy; he alone refused this alternative to the last, for a length of time deferred his submission, and then removed out of the way.

At this time the abbot of Peterborough, the abovementioned Brand, the uncle of Herward, died, and Thorold, a foreigner, was collated to the abbacy. Upon this, Herward seeing with displeasure that a foreigner was placed over his relations and friends, seized upon Peterborough and put the abbot to flight; and although the lord abbot Thorold had summoned to his defence Yvo Talbois, one of the most powerful Normans of that time, and one who, by the gift of the king, had been invested with the lordship of the whole of Hoyland in the vicinity, yet Herward took him prisoner in a pitched battle, and did not suffer him to depart in freedom until he had paid an immense ransom.

To this Yvo Talbois, the renowned king William, after the death of the two brothers and earls Edwin and Morkar, had given Lucy,[1] their sister, with all the land and tenements belonging to them, in marriage, and on account of these lying principally in Hoyland, he was honoured by its inhabitants with the greatest respect, and submitted to with humility as lord. Their trustfulness and affection was not reciprocated; for although they paid him all the honours which they could bestow, and all the services which were his due, he continued to persecute and afflict them, to inflict vexatious exactions, to imprison and torture them, and by these means and by loading them with new services with ferocious cruelty compelled very many of them to sell their property and to seek other countries. As for our monastery, he was excited against it by an instinct of diabolical fury; throughout Croyland he hunted with his dogs the animals in the fens, drove them to a distance, drowned them in the lakes, cut off their tails and ears, and not unfrequently rendered the beasts of burden perfectly useless by breaking their backs and legs. Above all, he never ceased with might and main to attempt the destruction of the then abbot, my predecessor the lord Ulketul, or to seek to terrify him by his violence; and at last his accusations succeeded in deposing him, and in causing him (contrary to all justice) to be consigned to the distant cloister of Glastonbury, in order that he might be deprived of the solace and enjoyment of the sight of his native land. But of this more hereafter.

Against our cell and our brethren, who belonged to the same neighbourhood with himself,—against the prior and his fellow-monks, sojourning at his gates, and performing their religious profession under his eyes,—his tyranny and fury were excessive. He

[1] See p. 661, note [1].

repeatedly mutilated their beasts of burden, both oxen and horses; he daily impounded their sheep and fowls; he beat, destroyed, and killed an immense number of their pigs and porkers incessantly; the servants of the prior were oppressed by unbearable exactions in the earl's court, were frequently wounded by swords or clubs in the common streets, and were sometimes killed. On this account the prior and monks, after trying prayers and presents and innumerable donations to his ministers, after suffering everything which they thought it their duty to suffer, and finding that their patience availed nothing, but that the wickedness of the tyrant and the burning malice of his ministers increased, taking with them the sacred chalices, their books and bed-clothes, leaving their cell in the hand of the Lord, and shaking the dust of their feet upon the children of eternal fire, returned to their monastery of Croyland. For some time they continued to send daily to the wooden chapel of St. Mary a monk of Croyland, to celebrate there divine rites for the people, until the abbot Uulketul and his whole convent, feeling the labour to be immense and more than their strength could bear, by the common advice of all, decreed thenceforward that a monk should be sent on alternate days. After this practice had been carried on for some time (as is too well known and notorious amongst our fellow-countrymen), in the morning of the festival of the virgin St. Lucy [13th Dec.], a great storm arose, and a vast flood of water striking the skiff in which the monk, lord Manerius, a venerable old man and very religious, was crossing, he was drowned at Wodelode. Confused by so heavy a misfortune and terrified beyond measure, all the monks of Croyland have thenceforward ceased to send over any one from thence. Earl Yvo, however, rejoicing that the Lord appeared to join with him against our monastery, sent to Anjou[1] to the lord Natalis, abbot of St. Nicholas, begging him to send monks thither, and promised in return for a prior and five monks to give in his vill of Spaldyng a decent and sufficient cell, ready built, and well endowed with lands and tenements. Accordingly the monks of Anjou came and occupied our cell, and thus under our very eyes strangers devour the fruits of our lands. On this account a false charge was brought against the lord abbot Uulketul, in the king's court, when all the Normans confederating together justified and ratified the depredations and oppressions, the murders, and all the other wrongs committed by Yvo Talbois against the inhabitants of Croyland; and as in the body of the Behemoth scale is closely joined to scale, so they shut up every breathing hole of truth [Job xli. 15, 16,], and the sinews of his stones are wrapped together [Job xl. 17], so these persons with a thousand excuses defended each other in their wickedness.

At this time, to complete the calamities of Croyland, earl Waldeve (a very kind friend to all religious persons, and a great benefactor to our monastery,) was most cruelly beheaded; and although the venerable archbishop Lanfranc, his confessor, asserted that he was entirely free from all reproach of rebellion or conspiracy, and that, even though he were to die in his cause, he

[1] See the Monast. Anglic. i. 306.

would be witness to his innocence, yet by the impious machinations of his wife, (who was desirous of contracting a new marriage, and for that purpose hurried on the death of her husband,) and of some Normans who were gaping open-mouthed for his earldoms of Northampton and Huntyndon, and by the cupidity of Yvo Talbois, earl of Anjou, who in order to gain his lands and tenements, which were very vast over the whole of England, thirsted for his blood, he, though innocent of all guilt, on the day before the kalends of June [31st May], was beheaded and became a martyr, and his body was forthwith buried at Winchester, under a humble mound of turf. After fifteen days, however, the body of the martyr was by the permission of the king raised from the tomb, and even then as free from decay, and flowing with blood as fresh, as though he had been slain on that very day, was borne with due reverence to Croyland and honourably interred in the chapter-house of that monastery. Here, when the Lord, in order to show the innocence of his martyr by the power of miracles, displayed himself wonderful in his sanctuaries and worthy of glory for ever, Judith, his relict, heard of the mighty works of Christ, whereupon she approached the tomb of her husband, and in our sight made an offering of a silken pall upon it, which, as though it had been rejected by the hand of a living person, sprung back to a distance from the tomb. At that time also the manor of Bernake, which he had long before given to our monastery, was taken away from us, and was confiscated together with the rest of his lands near the Trent, in order to furnish a dowry for that most impious Jezebel, his wife. After the lapse of a short time, however, upon the renowned king William determining to dispose of his niece in marriage to a certain Norman noble, by name Simon,[1] of Senliz, she rejected the match on the ground that the said Simon halted on one leg. Irritated beyond bounds at this conduct, the king conferred the earldom of Huntyngdon, with all the lands belonging to it, upon the said Simon; and she, dreading the anger of the monarch, fled with her daughters, and by the just judgment of God, equally despised and detested, led with them a wandering life from one hiding-place to another. At length the wretched woman, acknowledging her crimes, and very penitent for the death of her husband, remained throughout her life in celibacy, although she was unable ever to free herself from universal and well-merited suspicion and contempt.

Her eldest daughter, named Matilda, the before-mentioned Simon, after forming many projects, at length chose as his wife, and by her has issue, Simon, Waldeve, and Matilda, all of whom are still infants and below the age of marriage. Alice[2] the sister of Simon's wife, was given by that earl to Ralph de Tournai,[3] a most illustrious man, with the whole of the demesne of Wilchhamstowe,[4] lately belonging to earl Waldeve, her father. By her Ralph has

[1] Dugd. Baronage, i. 58. [2] See Id. i. 56.
[3] Ralph de Tony, or de Conchis. Id. i. 469.
[4] The hundred of Welcomstow, in Essex, ibid., the church of which was given to the monks of Conchis, in Normandy. Gall. Christ. xi., Instr. 130, 146.

issue, but with their names I am not acquainted.[1] I may mention of this Simon, earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, that he built a castle at Northampton, and a monastery to St. Andrew not far from it; and with this I have said all that I think necessary at present on the subject of the wife and children of the holy martyr.

Soon after the burial of the holy martyr, the venerable abbot Uulketul openly preached to the neighbouring villagers, and published to the people in general the miracles which the Lord daily wrought around his sanctuary. Excessively indignant at this, and unjustly enraged against this good man, they, with Yvo Talbois (who persecuted him with a malignity even beyond that of the others), summoned him to appear in person at the next council to be held at London. He appeared at the day, and a nefarious conspiracy wickedly perverted the reverence which he properly paid to the holy martyr, into an accusation of idolatry. With still greater wickedness he was deprived of the care of the monastery, and, to complete their sin, he was condemned by them to retire to the cloister of Glastonbury, under the rule of the then abbot, the bloodthirsty Thurstan, far from his friends and country. Thereupon, the venerable father abbot Uulketul, having been thus deposed from the pastoral office, and the monastery plundered of all its treasure, my poor self was appointed to the succession.

I, Ingulph, the humble servant of St. Guthlac and his monastery of Croyland, born in England, of English parents, of the noble city of London, was in my more tender age placed at Westminster to learn the rudiments of literature, and afterwards sent to study at Oxford, where in the apprehension of Aristotle I acquired a proficiency beyond many of my own age, and became thoroughly imbued with the knowledge of the first and second books of the rhetoric of Tully. On attaining a more mature age, I began to look with contempt upon the humble sphere of my parents' life, and burned daily more and more ardently to quit my paternal hearth, to visit the palaces of kings or of princes, to be clothed in soft raiment, and to don the fine cloaks of the ceremonial processions. Nor was an opportunity long wanting; William, our present renowned king of England, then earl of Normandy, was on his way to London, to a conference with his relation, Edward, the then king of England, with a large suite of followers. Among these I lost no time in gaining a place, and, by devoting myself to the performance of emergent business, whenever it arose, and by my general success, I, in a short time, acquired the knowledge and firm friendship of the most illustrious earl, and sailed with him to Normandy. There I became his secretary, and ruled, not without exciting some envy, the earl's court, arbitrarily humbling and exalting whom I chose. After a time, when impelled by the ardour of youth I had become unable to bear with patience the idea of remaining stationary, even in a position so much higher than that in which I was born, and my mind, impatient of rest, and my passions, immoderately insatiable of ambition, were ever prompting

[1] See them enumerated by Dugdale, as above cited.

me to aim at higher objects, the news was spread through the whole of Normandy, that very many of the archbishops of the empire, with some other of the princes of the land, wished, for the good of their souls, with due devotion to set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Accordingly a considerable number of persons of the household of our lord the earl, both military and clerical, of whom I was first and chief, by his permission and with his good wishes, girt ourselves for the journey; and our party, consisting of more than thirty knights, set out for Almannia, where we united ourselves with the lord [bishop] of Mayence. Thence, all our preparations having been completed, we, numbering together with the lords bishops seven thousand, passed through a vast length of country, and arrived at Constantinople, where we paid our respects to Alexis[1] the emperor, visited Agiosophia, and kissed innumerable sanctuaries. From that place we diverged through Lycia, and fell amongst bands of Arabian robbers, by whom we were completely stripped of a large sum of money, and it was not until we had lost a considerable number of our body, and, in fact, narrowly escaped losing our own lives, that we at length entered with a joyful step Jerusalem, the object of our most ardent desires. There we were received by the then patriarch, Sophronius by name, a man whose venerable hoary locks claimed our respect and reverence, in person, accompanied with the loud thunder of cymbals, and a brilliant illumination, and were conducted to the most divine church of the most holy sepulchre in a solemn procession both of Syrians and Latins. What prayers we uttered, what tears we shed, what sighs we breathed in that place, our Lord Jesus Christ, its tenant, only knows! However, from that most glorious sepulchre of Christ, we were led to visit the other sanctuaries of the city, and beheld an infinite number of holy churches and oratories, which the Soldan Achym had long ago destroyed, and after having had our sympathies most affectingly excited by, and wept frequently over, all the ruins of the most Holy City, and having bestowed not a few sums of money towards its restoration, we sighed to go out into the country, to dip ourselves in the most sacred river Jordan, and to kiss the footsteps of Christ with the most ardent devotion. This, however, was prevented by the Arabian marauders, who infested the whole of the road, whose vast numbers and fierce habits deterred us from reaching any considerable distance from the city. Accordingly, on the approach of the spring, taking advantage of a fleet of ships of Genoa touching at the harbour of Joppa, we, after the Christian merchants had bartered their merchandize through the maritime cities, went on board, and consigned ourselves to the ocean. Tossed about by the waves and by innumerable storms, we at length made Brundusium, whence by an easy journey through

[1] Ingulfus (as is here remarked by Sir Francis Palgrave) does not state the exact year of his journey to Jerusalem. It took place, however, not long after his official promotion; and the mention made of the patriarch Sophronius fixes the event between the years 1053 and 1059 (Art. de vérifier les Dates, i. 267). But the accession of Alexius I. did not happen till 1080 (Pagi, ad an. § xvi.), long after Ingulfus was settled at Croyland.

Apulia we arrived at Rome, and kissed the thresholds of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and the very numerous monuments of holy martyrs in all districts of the city. From thence the archbishops and the rest of the princes of the empire returned to Almannia by the right, we toward France by the left, and separated with inexpressible thanks and mutual embraces, and at length, of thirty persons who had left Normandy in a sleek condition and on horseback, scarce twenty poor pilgrims, on foot and emaciated, returned thither.

After the whole of my companions had dispersed to their several places of abode, in order that I might not for the future become involved in the vanities of the world, and determined by penance and scourging to preserve my house free from spot and closed up against the seven spirits of evil, I hastened to take refuge in the most holy monastery of Fontanelle.[1] There I took upon myself the monastic rule of life, under the venerable father lord Gebert,[2] the abbot, and following the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, set to work with sleepless vigilance to wipe out the stain of my youthful delinquency, and to amend my life for the future. At length, after an interval of many years, upon the decease of the venerable prior lord Wito, the venerable father, the lord abbot Gebert, summoned me out of my humble station to share his anxious duties; and, notwithstanding that I was conscious of my unworthiness and struggled against my elevation, yet, bound as I was by the rope of obedience, he made me prior of his monastery.

At this time, my renowned lord William earl of Normandy, to whom messengers day after day had notified the death of his relation Edward, the most pious king of England, was impatiently waiting in the harbour of St. Waleric, for a favourable breeze in order to transport a powerful army to enforce the performance of his right. At that moment I chanced to be going thither with a present from my lord abbot, and seizing an opportunity to gain access to him on the part of my before-mentioned father abbot, I placed at the service of his expedition twelve chosen youths, mounted and armed, with a hundred marks for their expenses. With a profusion of thanks, he, with munificent liberality, gave a deed of gift of the whole vineyard of Carus-locus[3] to our house for ever, and I, full of joy and gratitude, returned to my monastery. For himself, he obtained a fair passage into England, and after (as I have premised) reducing it to subjection, has ever been connected by the closest ties of friendship with our monastery of Fontanelle, and shown much honour and respect

[1] Fontanelle, or S. Vaudrille, a monastery in the diocese of Rouen, for the history of which see Gall. Christ. xi. 155.

[2] Concerning this Gilbert, or Gerbert, who ruled the monastery from A.D. 1063 to 1089, see the work last quoted, col. 178, and Mabill. Acta SS. ord. S. Bened. sec. vi. part i. p. 321, seqq. He is mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis and Guill. Pictaviensis, and thus became known to the author of the present narrative.

[3] Several charters granted to the monastery of Fontanelle by William the Conqueror, are printed in the Appendix of Instruments illustrative of the eleventh volume of the Gallia Christiana, but none of them contain the locality here mentioned.

both to my lord abbot and all the brothers of that monastery, whenever they came in his way.

After the lapse of some years, and the deposition of the venerable father lord Ulketul, abbot of Croyland, my predecessor, from his pastoral office, my renowned lord king William sent a messenger to the venerable father my lord Gerbert, the abbot, to speak on behalf of my humble self. He obtained his request, and I found myself placed on the candlestick of the church of Christ within God's temple, being very sorrowful at the idea of undertaking so onerous a burden, but very joyful at the prospect of returning to my native soil. On my departure the venerable abbot and all the rest of the holy congregation of brethren besought and supplicated me with many prayers never to dismiss from my recollection the memory of my sacred nest and my mother, but that I should speak in their favour with my lord the king, whose intercourse (as I was about to stay in England with him,) they supposed I should very often enjoy, whose roof I should frequently share, and at whose table I should sometimes be a guest. Besides this, they besought me to take with me some memorial from the tombs of the saints, very many of whom rest in the said monastery, by which my devotion to God might be increased, and my love for the place be maintained.

Accordingly, passing the entire night in the church before the shrines of Saint Wandragesil[1] the abbot, and Ulfran[2] and Ansbert,[3] bishops, I poured out my soul to God, beseeching Him devoutly to vouchsafe to guide my life, for the merits, and by the intercession, of those my patrons. The vigil of St. Andrew the apostle [29th Nov.] (for it was on that night) had scarcely half passed, when, after I had completed the repetitions of my prayers, and had just read the account of the victorious passion of that holy apostle, slumber suddenly stole over me, and I reclined upon one side of the lectern which stood before me. All at once, I saw an abbot of an exceedingly beautiful appearance, accompanied on either side by two very reverend bishops, proceed from the back of the altar, and in the middle of the choir meet a like number of saints, of whom two were resplendent with sacerdotal robes, and who were conducting between them a third, dressed in the spendid garb of an earl, and wearing a golden chain upon his neck. When they had exchanged mutual salutations and had finished the Lord's prayer, one of the bishops called me to him, and with anxious admonition bade me admit his friends, whenever they sent for me, into my monastery, and diligently keep alive the flame of the hospice, and in this supplication the other saints joined. On my doubting whether I could acquiesce in their commands, the holy bishop, strengthening my weak courage, added,—"Go, and my right hand

[1] St. Wandregisil was the founder and first abbot of Fontanell. See Gall. Christ. xi. 166; Mabill. Acta SS. ord. S. Bened.

[2] Wulfram, a monk of Fontanelle, afterwards became archbishop of Sens. Gall. Christ. xii. 10, 11. He died A.D. 720, and was buried in this monastery. Ib. and xi. 156.

[3] Ausbert, archbishop of Rouen, had formerly been abbot of Fontanelle, and his remains were translated thither. See Gall. Christ. xi. 16, 17, and 167.

shall be ever with thee;" and thus the vision disappeared, and our sexton sounded the bell to arouse the brethren to perform the morning vigils of the above-mentioned apostle. For many years, however, I remained in ignorance of the interpretation of this vision, until on my return to that country, and reflecting upon it, I thus apprehended its meaning. The two bishops were the two patrons of the monastery of Fontanelle, Ulfran and Ansbert. The abbot in the middle was the holy abbot Wandragesil, the founder of this place, and its first inhabitant; these proceeded from the back of the altar, because their sacred bodies repose there. The two, adorned in sacerdotal robes, who met these, were St. Guthlac and St. Neot, both very holy priests of God, and especial patrons of Croyland; the earl in the middle, who was distinguished by the golden chain round his neck, was the very holy martyr earl Waldeve, who was beheaded in spite of his perfect innocence, and buried in that monastery, and to whose service I had been assigned, during the time when I assumed the pastoral office in this monastery of Croyland. The hand of the holy bishop Ulfran is ever with me, because I have obtained by the donation of the whole convent his right elbow bone as a perpetual memorial. After having been presented with this holy arm, I went to my lord the king at London. There I was invested with the crozier of the pastoral office in the monastery of Croyland, and having been admitted by, and receiving the benediction of the venerable father, archbishop Lanfranc, and the very reverend bishop of Lincoln, on the day of the Nativity of our Lord [25th Dec.], I, for the first time, entered Croyland, and was installed in the year of our Lord one thousand and seventy-six,[1] on the Conversion of St. Paul the apostle [25th Jan.]. In that monastery, to the service of which, under God, I am devoted, I found sixty-two monks, of whom four were lay brothers, besides monks from other monasteries who had become members of our chapter, and each of whom had a stall in the choir, a seat in the refectory, and a bed in the dormitory. These returned, according as they desired, some after half a year, some after a year, to their own monasteries; and they, especially in times of war, and when the least howling of the tempest threatened the disturbance of peace, took refuge at Croyland. Of this number there were ten from Thorney, six from Peterborough, eight from Ramsey, three from Hely, nine from St. Edmund's, twelve from St. Alban's, ten from Westminster, two from St. Andrew's at Northampton, fourteen from Christ's church at Norwich, fifteen from Tetford, seven from Coventry, six from St. Mary's without York, ten from St. Mary's at Stow, six from Michelneye, and five from Malmesbury, besides daily visitors, and some who seeing the security of the place, and the mutual affection of the brethren of Croyland, devoutly besought us to allow them to become members of our college, and were permanently settled among us. The kindness which from a remote period had been engendered in our monastery rarely or never repelled any one who knocked at its gate.

On my arrival at the monastery, I found all the inhabitants

[1] A various reading gives A.D. 1075.

reduced to a state of humiliating despair and distress on account of the various misfortunes which had concurred from every quarter to crush their house. Accordingly I consulted both the laymen and the literates who had been acquainted with its substance as to the means and resources by which they had seen it relieved in former years, and earnestly begged them truly and plainly to explain them, and in no manner to conceal from me any information which they thought to be necessary. They answered that one Asford of Helieston,[1] a former bailiff of the lord abbot Uulketul, my immediate predecessor, had, for many years, had the management of the manors and rents of the whole monastery, that he had let out the lands and tenements on leases, that he had received the rents and profits, that he had paid all the workmen of the monastery according to his arbitrary will and pleasure, that he himself had become immoderately rich, that he had very rarely repaired the ruins of the monastery, that he alone was acquainted with its state, and, in fine, that he was the only person who had the power to give it relief. Upon this I, Ingulph, caused Asford himself to be sent for, showed him clearly the indigent state of the monastery, and that it required his counsel and aid, and, with many prayers and promises, laboured most diligently to gain his good-will and to procure his assistance. And not only this, but I set before him my own inexperience and recent arrival, and explained to him to its full extent the extreme misery which both I and the whole monastery would suffer in case he refused to lend his hand to aid us. Hard as iron, and impenetrable as adamant, like a deaf asp stopping its ears, he listened to my prayers with contempt, laughed at my promises, and, seeming to feel joy at the distress of the monastery, despised my advice. Observing this, I begged and insisted that the rent rolls of all the lands and tenements should be given up to me, and with eager entreaties besought him to inform me from which of the neighbouring vills our rents were drawn. At length induced by large promises he named many of the tenements of the monastery in the different vills, until he came to the vill of Helieston,[2] when he not only refused to disclose what our rents were, but with many oaths falsely asserted that our tenements were his own, and that he possessed them by hereditary descent; nor did he regard the contradiction of the older inhabitants of the monastery, or the incontrovertible proof of muniments and charters, but laughed at our rights, and, asserting with much violence that he would verify his claim to the tenements' being his own patrimony, before the king's justices, he departed. Accordingly we laid a claim for the said tenements before the ministers of the king, and a day was named for the trial at Stamford. When the day arrived, I commended myself to the prayers of my brethren, and, trusting in the Lord, rode towards Stamford to appear before the king's justices on the affairs of the monastery. He, however, trusting in the vastness of his wealth, and reposing all his hope in his treasures, with erect head rode to contend with God, when, all at once, his horse,

[1] Helpestone, or perhaps Helyestone, is given by Gale as a various reading.
[2] See the last note.

stumbling against a stone of offence in the middle of the journey, threw its rider, broke his neck, and the soul of him who was proudly going to fight against the Lord descended into hell. The news was brought to the king's court, and to us who were waiting for the decision at Stamford; but full credit was not immediately given to so remarkable a casualty, and another day was assigned for the trial. On the morrow, however, when he was being borne by his neighbours and relations on a bier towards the monastery of Peterborough, which he had frequently directed to be the place of his burial, the bearers crossed ten acres belonging to our monastery, which the deceased in his lifetime had claimed as his own, when, lo! a densely black cloud covered the whole orb of the sun, and overshadowed the earth with the darkness of night, and such a flood of rain was poured forth from the sky, that the flowing waters resembled the deluge of Noah; moreover, the bier was suddenly broken, the corpse fell on the ground, and was defiled for a length of time with filthy mud. On seeing this the bearers, recognising the hand of God, plainly confessed their injustice; and his relatives and friends meeting us, (for at this very moment we had arrived from Stamford,) besought our pardon for so great an injury, and prostrating themselves at our feet, deprecated the wrath of heaven thus manifestly displayed against them. We, returning thanks to God and to St. Guthlac for his aid, forgave the injury, and received a complete disclaimer from them of their right to this meadow and all the other subjects of our demand, the whole of which we have enjoyed without molestation up to the present time. In all things blessed be God, who has rendered to the wicked man after the works of his hands, making foolish and weak the counsels of his heart!

The account of this divine vengeance upon the adversaries of our monastery was disseminated far and wide on the wings of public report, and thundered with terrible force in the ears of our rivals. Henceforward there was no one bold enough to offend in any respect the Lord our defender, or presumptuous enough to provoke St. Guthlac to anger. Nay, Richard de Rulos, who had married the daughter and heiress of Hugo de Evermue, lord of Brunne and Depyng, a man devoted to agriculture, and who took especial delight in the possession of large numbers of beasts of burden and cattle, being disposed to enlarge his vill of Depyng by enclosing a great portion of the common marsh, and making of it meadows and several pastures, did not for a moment presume to do so without the licence of our monastery, but with great devotion came and eagerly prayed us to grant to him and to his affection the confirmation of our chapter-house. This we conceded, and consented to the inscription of his name and that of his wife upon the martyrology of our brethren. He conferred by way of alms twenty marks of silver upon our monastery, and obtained, as he well deserved, a licence to enclose as much of the common marsh as he wished. In pursuance of this, he enclosed from the chapel of St. Guthlac, which the brethren of our monastery, before the arrival of the Danes, when the said vill belonged to us, had built there, the whole

of his land towards the east as far as Caredyk, and passing Caredyk as far as Cleylake without Crammor, shutting out the river Weland with a very strong bank, because it used every year to overflow with long-continued inundations all the meadow adjacent to its bank; whence that vill had from remote antiquity been called Depyng, that is to say, a deep meadow. After that, by building upon the bank a number of tenements and cottages, he, in a short time, formed a large vill, marked out the boundaries of gardens, cultivated the plain, and in the meadows which lately were deep lakes and impassable swamps, there were disclosed to his eyes, when the river was shut out, fields of great fertility and an extent of very desirable land. In short, out of ditches and accursed swamps he made a garden of Eden. Simultaneously with the discovery of this fertility of the soil, he changed the said chapel of St. Guthlac into a parish church for his new vill. Towards our monastery he continued to display the greatest friendship, and to be a ready intercessor and an untiring advocate on every occasion on our behalf before our lord the king.

Now that more prosperous times had arrived, and the estate of our monastery, both in temporal and spiritual matters, by the aid of the Lord prospering us and multiplying our friends, had brought forth abundantly, I resolved to approach my lord the king, and by some means or other to obtain some grace for lord Ulketul, my predecessor, who was still in exile at Glastonbury. For I well knew that he had the most intimate acquaintance with the estate of our monastery, and that he, by long labour and experience, possessed full information about our tenements, which, dispersed as they were through different earldoms, and almost lost by the malice and iniquity of Asford, were undiscoverable by my inexperience. Accordingly, I proceeded to London, and found there my venerable lords and ancient friends, the very reverend archbishop Lanfranc, and the lord Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the uterine brother of the king, earl of Kent and chief of the palace, by whose nod and counsel both the king himself and the whole kingdom were guided on all occasions. To them I explained boldly the cause of my arrival, and made use of my influence to obtain their intercession with the king. I put also other mediators and friends (among whom the above-mentioned Richard Rulos, the king's chamberlain, stood forward first and foremost) into communication with my lord the king, to discover what his feelings were towards my above-mentioned predecessor the lord Ulketul. They found his antipathy to his person much mitigated, but that he was quite inexorable against allowing him to be promoted to any prelacy, great or small, and that he remained obstinately fixed in his former determination. However, by the intercession of the aforesaid lord archbishop of Canterbury, his brother the lord bishop of Bayeux, Richard of Rulos, the king's chamberlain, and a number of other persons whom I had long ago known in Normandy, and who were closely bound to me by the intimate relations of friendship, I obtained permission for him to return from Glastonbury to Peterborough. There he was to reside without making any distant journey into the country,

and without any cure or office, with this sole exception, that whenever I thought proper I might send for him to give me information about the estate of my monastery. Having obtained this measure of grace, I brought him from Glastonbury to Peterborough, under the honourable escort of a body of horse; and from thence to Croyland, where, seeing that his venerable person was worthy of all favour and filial love, and preeminent in the sanctity of religion, I placed him in his former stall; nor while he survived did I ever consider myself as the real bridegroom, but as the bridesman or steward of the monastery. Observing also by my devotion and the affection of his sons, that no tribulation had been able to change our former kind feelings towards him, he restored to our monastery the chalice which formerly belonged to his chapel, one portiforium of the use of our church, and one missal, one silver cup with a covering of the same metal, and twelve silver spoons; besides which he promised other things, as soon as he could speak to some former servants of his on the subject. In this way, sending for him with a fitting attendance of servants, twice or three times a-year, detaining him oftentimes a month, sometimes half-a-year, taking him with me with great respect, to every place, whether the choir or the refectory, I gained from his willing communications a perfect knowledge of the estate of the monastery, and found that while he remained my companion in life, prosperity attended me; just as, after the expiration of ten years, when he died, great adversity, day after day, came upon us. He was deposed in the year of our Lord's incarnation one thousand and seventy-five, and survived ten years, when, under a sudden stroke of paralysis, he remained sick unto death for four months, through the whole of which time he was powerless, and unable to express his last will. He died on the day of St. Jerome the presbyter [30th Sept.], in the year of our Lord one thousand and eighty-five. Some of the muniments and valuables of our monastery yet remain at Peterborough without having been restored to us, notwithstanding his frequent promises to that effect, not to mention his urgent and repeated injunctions to his brethren in his last moments, that full restitution should be made.

To retrace the history a few years before this time. When Cnute, king of Denmark, had assembled a very large fleet and prepared to invade England, the renowned king William distributed his mercenaries, hired from every quarter—from France, Germany, and Spain—amongst all the monasteries of the kingdom, and destined them to sojourn particularly in those monasteries which held their demesnes of the king without military service; and under this regulation six soldiers were assigned to Croyland, and twenty-eight archers. At the same time, leading an army into Northumberland, where the Danes had more than once before landed, he cropped close the whole country, and by consuming the produce, almost reduced the land to a desert, and rendered it for a long time afterwards uninhabitable. This he did that the enemy on their arrival might not find a supply of food sufficient to induce them to stay, but, under the pressure of famine and hunger, might be compelled to flee from the country, and from the want of victuals might more

speedily return to their native land. Traversing at the same time Northumberland, and passing beyond it, the renowned king William came to Scotland, reduced it to subjection, and compelled Malcolm its king to do homage and swear fealty, at Abernethi. On his return to England, he commanded each of its inhabitants to do him homage at London, and to swear fealty to him against all men, and made a survey of the whole land. There was not a hide in the whole of England, but he knew its value and its possessor; there was not a lake, nor any place, but was described in the king's roll, and its rents and profits, the possession itself and its possessor (so far as the commissioners, who were chosen indiscriminately from various parts of the country, and who surveyed each his peculiar territory, could be relied on), brought to his knowledge. These commissioners displayed great goodwill and affection towards our monastery, and did not estimate it at its true value or extent, with very pious and benevolent forethought, compassionately enabling us to take precautions against future royal exactions and other burdens. This roll was called the Winchester Roll,[1] and on account of the universality and completeness with which it specified all the tenements of the whole land, was named by the English, Domesday. A roll very similar to it had been formerly published by king Alfred,[2] who, as has been before remarked, had marked out the whole country by counties, hundreds, and tithings. This roll was called the Winchester Roll, because it was deposited for preservation at Winchester, the capital city of his hereditary kingdom of West Saxony, the most noble and distinguished of all the kingdoms into which England was divided. In the former roll, however, generally called the Winchester Roll, from its being prepared upon the model of the latter, not only were the counties, the hundreds and tithings, the woods and copses, and all the vills of the whole land described, but also the number of carucates, of ploughlands, and of acres, the pastures and fens, the tenements and tenants contained in each district.

I then went to London, and extracting at no small trouble and expense these tenements of ours from each of the aforesaid rolls, commonly called by the English Domesday, I determined for the benefit of those who should follow me, concisely, if I could do no more, to note them down, abbreviating a great part, and setting forth other parts more at large for the better information of my successors. But if any one prefers to become acquainted with these tenements word by word, as they are described in the said original rolls, let him seek those rolls and search them with diligence; in which case he will, I trust, heartily esteem this my brief description worthy of

[1] See Sir Henry Ellis's General Introduction to Domesday, i. 1, ed. 1833.

[2] On this passage the eminent antiquary last cited remarks, that the formation of such a survey in the time of Alfred may be more than doubted, as we have not a solitary authority for its existence, and the most diligent investigation has not been able to recover, among the records either of Saxon or of later times, the slightest indication that such a survey was ever known. Had it existed in the century immediately preceding the Norman Conquest, it would have prevented the necessity of giving those minute descriptions of land so common among the later of the Saxon charters. The separation of counties also is known to have been a division long anterior to the time of Alfred.

admiration, and my labour worthy of approval, in that I have so anxiously and so succinctly collected from so confused a mass so much abstruse and scattered material, and, at the same time, have digested it into this form.

In the first place, in Lincolnshire, in Ellowarp and in Croyland Saint Guthlac had and has woods and fens four leucæ in length and three in breadth. This I find to be the seat of the abbacy in the time of king Ethelred, free and acquitted of all secular services. In Holeben[1] and Capelade, St. Guthlac had and has three carucates and six bovates subject to geld; he now has there in demesne one carucate and three villeins, with half a carucate and twelve acres of meadow: in the time of king Edward the value was twenty shillings of [2]the current coin. Likewise in Spaldyng, a berewick of Croyland, he had and has two carucates of arable-land subject to geld, with arable-land to the amount of a carucate and a half, and seven villeins and four bordars holding three carucates: in the time of king Edward the value was twenty shillings of the current coin. Likewise in Pincebek St. Guthlac has and had in the time of king Edward half a carucate subject to geld. In the hundred of Kerketon in Algare, another berewick, St. Guthlac had and has twelve bovates of arable-land subject to geld; arable-land to the extent of ten bovates is now become waste through the inundations of the sea. In Donnedik St. Guthlac had and has two carucates of arable-land subject to geld, and arable-land to the extent of two carucates, with sak and sok; there is now one carucate in demesne, and thirteen villeins with one carucate and twenty acres of meadow: in the time of king Edward the value was twenty shillings of the current coin. Likewise in Drayton St. Guthlac had and has one carucate of arable-land subject to geld; there is arable-land to the extent of one carucate, but the villeins do not plough there; the value of four salt works there is five shillings and fourpence, and there are five acres of meadow. In Burtoft St. Guthlac had and has one bovate of arable-land with sak and sok, the church of Sutterton, and, in the time of king Edward, a presbytery, a soke of Donnedek. The like in Soudithing. In the hundred of Hawardesbow, in Bukenhale, St. Guthlac had and has two carucates and a half subject to geld; there is now one carucate in demesne, five villeins, two bordars, and eight sochmen, holding one carucate; there are also twenty-six acres of meadow and fifty acres of wood; these, with seventy acres of wood in addition, were in the time of king Edward valued at thirty shillings of the current coin. Likewise the liberty of Beltisford. Also in Halyngton St. Guthlac had and has ten bovates of arable-land, four bovates of inland, and twenty-two acres of meadow. The liberty of Tad. Also in the hundred of Nons. In Langtoft St. Guthlac had and has six carucates of arable-land subject to geld; there is arable-land to the extent of six carucates; there is now in demesne, to wit,

[1] So in both editions; but read, Holebech.

[2] A variation given by Gale would enable us to read, "the value was twenty shillings, at the present time the same." Subsequent passages of the same import may be corrected in like manner.

five carucates, and eight villeins, four bordars, and twenty sochmen holding five carucates of arable-land, and one hundred acres of meadow; there are two woods, firm fen-land two leucæ in length and two in breadth, there is arable-land fifteen quarentenes in length and nine in breadth: in the time of king Edward the value was four pounds—sixty shillings of the current coin. The value of Talba was three shillings. Also in Baston St. Guthlac had and has four carucates of arable-land subject to geld; the extent of arable-land is four carucates; there is now in demesne one carucate, five villeins, two bordars, and seven sochmen with two carucates; there is a church with a presbyter, and one whole mill and one half mill, and forty-five acres of meadow, of marsh fifteen quarentenes in length and eight in breadth: in the time of king Edward they were worth forty shillings of the current coin. Also in the hundred of Ivelound, in Repyngale, St. Guthlac had and has three carucates of arable-land subject to geld, and sixty acres of meadow: in the time of king Edward the value was twenty shillings. Oger holds land as tenant at a payment of a rent of sixty shillings to the abbacy, and subject to several other burdens. Also in the hundred of Aswardetierne, in Laithorp St. Guthlac had and has one bovate of arable-land; in Kirkby three bovates of land: in the time of king Edward the value was . . . . .[1] shillings.

Also in the hundred of Optonagrena, in Northamptonshire, in Croyland St. Guthlac had and has woods and fens two leucæ in length and two in breadth: in the time of king Edward these were free and quit of all services. In Peiekirk he had in the time of king Edward three virgates of arable-land subject to geld. In Wridthorp St. Guthlac had and has a hide and a half subject to geld. There is arable-land to the extent of two carucates; in demesne there is one carucate, and eleven villeins and eleven bordars with two carucates. There are in that place [2]three acres of meadow, and one mill worth five shillings; the value of these is forty shillings. Also in the hundred of Pokebrok, in Elmyngtone St. Guthlac had and has one hide of arable-land. There is one carucate of arable-land held in demesne, and two villeins and two bordars with one carucate and six acres of meadow: in the time of king Edward the value was eight shillings; the present value is sixteen. In Elmyngtone also St. Guthlac had and has two hides. There is of arable-land three carucates; there are five villeins and four bordars with three carucates. There are there twelve acres of meadow: in the time of king Edward the value was twelve shillings; the present value is twenty. Also in the hundred of Soudnaves-lound, in Adyngton St. Guthlac had and has two hides; there is of arable-land four carucates, one in demesne, and two serfs, and six villeins and three bordars with one sochman holding three carucates. There are there six acres of meadow and a mill worth thirteen shillings and fourpence: in the time of king Edward their value was fifteen shillings; the present value is forty shillings. He also has a church there, and in the other Adyngton half a virgate of arable-land subject to geld. Also in the hundred

[1] Blank in the editions. [2] "Six," various reading.

of Ausfordeshew, in Wendlyngburgh St. Guthlac had and has five hides and a half of arable-land; there is of arable-land twelve carucates; there is one carucate in demesne with one serf and twenty-one villeins, with a church and a presbyter, and seven bordars and twelve sochmen holding eleven acres. There are there two mills worth sixteen shillings, thirty acres of meadow worth fifty shillings, and the customary dues worth eleven shillings; the present value is six pounds. Also in the hundred of Ailwordesle, at Granelcrand in Baddeby St. Guthlac had and has four hides of arable-land. There is of arable-land eleven acres; in demesne there are eight carucates, and eight serfs and five female serfs, twelve villeins and eight bordars, with six carucates; there is a mill worth two shillings, and twenty-eight acres of meadow, and woods four quarentenes in length and two in breadth: in the time of king Edward the value was four pounds; the present value is the same. Also in the hundred of Widibroke, in Glapthorn St. Guthlac had and has one virgate of arable-land subject to geld, and twenty acres of wood.

Also in Leicestershire, in the wapentake of Goscote in Beby St. Guthlac had and has ten carucates and a half of arable-land. Of arable-land there are eight carucates; in demesne there is one carucate, and two serfs and twenty-one villeins, with five sochmen and three bordars holding six carucates. There are thirty acres of meadow: the value in the time of king Edward was sixty shillings; it is now forty shillings. Also in the wapentake of Guthlaceston, in Sutton St. Guthlac had and has two carucates, and two in Stapelton; there is of arable-land five carucates; there are there six villeins with two bordars holding one carucate and a half: in the time of king Edward their value was twenty-five shillings; it is now twenty shillings.

Also in Huntingdonshire, in the hundred of Normannescross on Morburne St. Guthlac had and has five hides, subject to geld; the arable-land is nine carucates; there are now there in demesne two carucates, and sixteen villeins and three bordars holding seven carucates; there is a church with a presbyter there, and forty acres of meadow and one acre of underwood: in the time of king Edward the value was one hundred shillings; the present value is the same. In Therming St. Guthlac had and has a hide and a half subject to geld. There is of arable-land one carucate in the liberty of Achumesbiry, a king's manor. Eustace holds it now of the abbot of Croyland, and has there one carucate and one villein with half a carucate and six acres of meadow: in the time of king Edward the value was twenty shillings; the present value is the same.

Also in Grantebrigshire, in the hundred of Nordstow in Hokitton St. Guthlac had and has seven hides and a half. There is of arable-land eight carucates; in demesne four hides; and there are there four carucates, and fourteen villeins and three bordars with six carucates. There are there four cottages and three serfs, of meadow two carucates, with a church and presbyter: in the time of king Edward the value was eight pounds; the present value is six pounds. In the hundred of Cestreton, in Cotenham St.

Guthlac had and has eleven hides subject to geld. There is of arable-land eight carucates; in demesne six hides; and there is there one carucate and twelve villeins and eight bordars with seven carucates. There is one serf, meadow, and eight acres of pasture at the pleasure of the vill in the eel-marsh, worth twelve pence at present. The value in the time of king Edward was eight pounds; the present value is six pounds; this manor always has been and is in the demesne of St. Guthlac. In Drayton St. Guthlac had and has eight hides and a half. There is of arable-land six carucates; in demesne there are four hides and three virgates, and there is there one carucate, twelve villeins, and five bordars and three sokmen with four carucates. There are four cottages and meadow, two carucates. The value in the time of king Edward was one hundred shillings; the present value is four pounds and ten shillings. This land is in the demesne of St. Guthlac, with its church and a presbyter.

In this place I deem it expedient and highly necessary for the information of my successors, that some points in the above description should not be transmitted to our posterity without a brief exposition of their present meaning. And first, as to the seat of our abbacy; this is said to contain four leucæ in length and three in breadth, the leuca being the measure in use among French surveyors, and consisting of two thousand paces. It may be that leuca is derived from leucon, a word which in the Scythian language means Philip, whence the Master in the third book of his Isagogæ, in interpreting leucon as Niveus, says that this leucon was the emperor Philip, who has been described as snow-white, because he was a Christian and was made whiter than snow by baptism. In another place too, in explaining the story of Phœbus having loved Leucothoe, he says, that God loved the Christianity of the kingdom of France, that is, of the Philips, the name of Philip being very general among the French; so much so, indeed, that king Henry, who now reigns in France, has lately named his first-born son Philip.[1] For Philip, the blessed apostle of Christ, after having preached the word of God to the Scythians, and converted very many of them to the christian faith, on his return to Asia travelled through the Sicambri, and was the first to announce to them the name of Christ. From these were derived the French, who, as many of their sacred chronographers testify, to this day consider the blessed apostle Philip as especially their first teacher and early apostle. From all this we collect that a leuca is called from leucon, that is, the measure of the Philippic land, that is, of the land of Philip or the Philips. The English, however, in their measurement of land make use of miles; and a mile is so named because it consists of a thousand paces, and is thus called, according to Isidore in the third book of his Etymologies, from Hercules having in one breath walked a thousand steps. With this knowledge then of leucæ and miles, my readers amongst our posterity

[1] Philip Augustus, son of Louis VII. king of France, was born 22d Aug. 1166. Anderson's Genealog. Tables, p. 618.

[2] See Acta Sanct. Bolland. mens. Maii, tom. i. p. 7.

and friends will be able to say, that since the seat of our abbacy is described as containing four leucæ in length, that is to say, from the further bank of the Schepishee on the east to Kenulphston on the west, it contains eight thousand paces in length; and that, since it contains two leucæ from the further bank of the Southee on the south, to the further bank of the Asendyk or the Weland on the north, its breadth is four thousand paces. Neither of these is true; for you must know that under the rule of the Normans the English adopted many of the manners of the French; and, accordingly, instead of miles made use of the word leucæ, but understood by that expression miles. And so, since the land exceeded in length four miles, and in breadth two miles, the surveyors, piously providing against the malice of our rivals, were willing to set it down rather at a greater than a less amount. The whole commissioners of the neighbourhood and the king's court accepted this valuation, although the [1]real extent was what was required to be incorporated in the royal rolls.

In the second place I must explain that Alderlound is described as being in the hundred of Optonagrena, notwithstanding that the contents of the charter of Edred, the late king and our restorer, show that that part of the fen on the southern side of the river Weland is entirely within and responsible to the county of Lincoln. The evidence of this is derived from those words of the charter of Edgar, the late king and the confirmer of those grants, in which he interdicts all his ministers, that is, the sheriffs, bedells, and bailiffs in the country of the Girvii (that is to say, in the county of Northampton), from entering within the bounds and limits of the said fen, or interfering in it in any respect whatever; thereby implying that that part of the fen was to be interdicted to his ministers of the county of Northampton, as it belonged with the rest of the territory of our monastery to the jurisdiction of his ministers in the county of Lincoln. Under the general oppression, however, of the Danish kings, Swane, Cnut, Harold, and Hardecnut, many innovations were made, the privileges of the monasteries were utterly disregarded and very many of them lost, and the metes and bounds of territories and counties were transferred far from their former position, according as the bribes of the wealthy weighed with the minds of the barbarians, whose whole pursuit was money. The monastery of St. Pega, in the time of Hardecnut, is a proof of this; for it owed its destruction to the prevalence of the wealth of the abbot of Peterborough over the just cause of the inhabitants of Pegeland, and of the influence of earl Godwin over the simple-mindedness of the poor. At the same time too, those monks of Peterborough (when their estimation was so high that all the world followed after them, and many of the chief people of the land, both bishops and nobles and rulers of provinces, selected their house as a place of burial,) did not refrain from impudently setting up the horns of their cupidity against our monastery. This wrong was

[1] On the partiality said to have been shown towards Croyland by the commissioners appointed to draw up the returns whence Domesday was compiled, see Ellis's Introduction, i. 30.

kept secret by the lord Ulketul, my predecessor, who, as though in connivance with them, could not be aroused from the lethargic and prolonged sleep in which he was wrapt to resist this grievous injury to our monastery. However, I trust that the day is not far distant when, by the benevolence of the king, full reparation will be made for this invasion of our rights, and that our estate will be restored to the condition in which we had through nearly three hundred and thirty years possessed it in peace.

In the third place, I must explain the assertion, that "From the time of king Ethelred the seat of our abbacy was quit and free from all secular services;" since there have been three kings Ethelred, and there are probable reasons which argue in favour of the said description applying to either of them. The first Ethelred[1] was the son of Penda and the brother of Peada and Ulfer, former kings of the Mercians. He succeeded to the above-named kings his brothers, and after a reign of thirty years, retired from the world, became a monk in the monastery of Bardeney, and was, at length, created abbot. Kenred, his relation, the son of Ulfer, the former king, who was the brother and predecessor of Ethelred, was appointed to his place on the throne of the Mercians, as has been mentioned above more at large; and this Kenred, on setting out on a pilgrimage to Rome, was, after an interval of five years, succeeded by Celred, the son of the aforesaid Ethelred, while the father abbot of Bardney yet survived and was living. Now this Celred (on his death, which happened in eight years[2]) was succeeded in the kingdom of the Mercians by our friend Ethelbald, who reigned forty-one[3] years, and who, in the first year of his reign, founded our monastery of Croyland, and gave us thereupon his charter, which the aforesaid Ethelred, abbot of Bardney, the former king, devoutly subscribed[4] immediately after the bishops. This Ethelred, by this time an old man and full of days, in the same year passed away to the Lord. Thus from the time of this Ethelred, that is to say, from the time of our first foundation, "our abbacy was quit and free from all secular services."

The second king Ethelred[5] was the son of Ethelwulph, and the brother of king Ethelbald, of Ethelbert, and Alfred, formerly kings. He, after all his brothers but one, held the sceptre of West Saxony with a firm grasp for five years; and after frequent encounters with the Danes, and some most glorious triumphs, died in the year of our Lord eight hundred and seventy-one, and in the year immediately following the overthrow of the monasteries of Bardney, Croyland, Medeshamsted, and Hely. The monks of Croyland, however, (as I have above related,) or the greater part of them, were, after a flight of three days, most mercifully saved; and even during all the period of their desolation, they possessed the site of the whole of this abbacy with the same liberty with which they had before held it from the time of king Beorred and king Alfred who afterwards occupied the throne, uninterruptedly; and this, too,

[1] See Beda, Eccl. Hist. iii. 11; iv. 21.
[2] He reigned from 708 to 716.
[3] From 716 to 757.
[4] See the present volume, p. 571.
[5] From 866 to 871.

notwithstanding that all the other monasteries, which had been destroyed by the ferocity of the Danes, had been confiscated and appropriated to the royal treasury, and their monks killed, ruined, or completely driven away. Thus, from the time of that king Ethelred, that is to say, in the time of its greatest desolation to its restoration, and thence up to the present time, our abbacy "was quit and free of all secular services."

The third king Ethelred[1] was the son of king Edgar. He, after the death of his cousin, the holy Edward, king, and afterwards martyr, reigned miserably for twenty-eight years. In his time the armies of the Danes grievously afflicted the whole of England, oppressed to an immense extent the churches and monasteries, and continued to inflict great distress for many following years, namely, through the reigns of four kings, that is to say, Ethelred himself, Knut, Harold, and Hardeknut. Thus, from the time of that Ethelred, that is, from the time of that king who was the legal successor of the royal seed of the English, and the father of the most pious king Edward, on relationship and consanguinity with whom our renowned king William founded his design of invading England, (the line of the kings of the Danish blood having been in the meantime interrupted, as possessing no power to compel allegiance,) our abbacy was "free and quit of all secular services."

In the fourth place, I must explain how it is that in the seat of Croyland there appear neither villeins, nor bordars, nor sochmen, contrary to what is the case in our other lands. None, or very few persons continued to dwell for any length of time with us unless under the fear of an impending war; but just as on the outbreak of war all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, both rich and poor, men and women, yet kept flowing from all quarters, in one stream, to Croyland for refuge, so, when the serenity of peace was restored by the Lord, they each returned to their homes, and left our monastery. Thus our domestic household, with the wives and children belonging to it, alone remained; and to them, as will be related hereafter, I had for a long time been in the habit of letting a great part of the fens and meadows of the whole seat of our monastery for a certain annual rent, and for the payment of other services,—to some on a lease for a certain number of years, and to others I granted it to be cultivated as a fee. But on this point more hereafter.

In the fifth place, I must explain the expression, "In Spalding, a berewick of Croyland;" and in another place, "In Algare, another berewick." It must be understood thus: "In Spalding, a berewick of Croyland," that is to say, a manor of Croyland; "In Algare, another berewick," that is to say, another manor.

In the sixth place, with regard to the manor of Badby, I must explain how it is, that, although it is at this moment in the hands of leaseholders, yet it is described in the king's roll as being now in our own hands. You must know, that the measurers of the lands and the valuers of that country, seeing that some monks, who, in fact, were monks of Evesham, held that manor, thought that these

[1] From 978 to 1016.

were our monks of Croyland, and considered and affirmed that it was our property, and not that of our leaseholders, although twenty years of their lease yet remain, before the hundred years[1] for which it was granted to Norman, formerly sheriff of earl Edric, are completed. These things in regard to our monastery and its appurtenances, I openly alleged before my lord the king and his council; all which he was graciously pleased to hear, and a copy of the king's roll was liberally granted to me.

At that time also I had carried with me to London the deeds and writings, and the principal muniments of our monastery, namely, those of Ethelbald the former king, our founder, and of all the other Mercian kings who confirmed the grant of our house, the whole of which were written in the Saxon character. Besides these, I took with me the charters of Edred the former king, our restorer, of king Edgar the confirmer of our monastery, and of the other English kings in succession, down to our time, of which some parts were written in duplicate, in the French and Saxon character. For the Saxon character was that universally employed in these writings by the Saxons and the Mercians up to the reign of king Alfred, who had received instruction in every sort of literature, from French teachers. After his time, it had fallen into desuetude and contempt; and the French character, which excelled it in its greater legibility and more agreeable appearance to the eye, daily found more and more favour among the English. Notwithstanding, however, that this Saxon character had been totally unused and was detested by the French and Normans, and at that time more than any other was no less despised and unacceptable to them than the race which used it; yet, by the merits and prayers of St. Guthlac, our advocate and special patron, the Holy Ghost breathed into the heart of the renowned king a divine spirit of grace and benevolence towards our monastery, and prevailed on him to allow the whole of our muniments, those written, as I have before mentioned, in both the Saxon and French character, to be openly read in the presence of himself and his council; and after a careful examination of them, to receive them with great favour and approbation. Not only were they all declared by acclamation to be most worthy to receive the royal confirmation, but the charter of the late renowned king Edred, our restorer, (who more particularly than any other endowed our monastery with privileges and confirmed us in the possession of our lands,) was heard with especial liberality; the king himself most graciously vouchsafed to confirm it, and it was, according to my most earnest desire and request, confirmed, in the following words:—

"I, William, by the kindness of God king of the English, at the humble petition of my friend Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, laud, approve, and confirm, and in all things enjoin to be effectually observed, the charter of privilege which the illustrious king Edred, my predecessor, granted and gave to God and St. Guthlac, and to

[1] See p. 648, where it appears (according to the statement of Ingulf) that this demise was made for 100 years, dating from 1013, so that the present calculation leads us on to the year 1093.

the monks of Croyland, which has been read and set forth before me and my council. I forbid any one of my subjects to presume to molest them without just cause, on pain of perishing by the sword of excommunication, and experiencing the torments of hell for his violation of the rights of the church. But let them hold these possessions in perpetual and royal alms of my gift and confirmation, to the praise of God, and out of reverence to St. Guthlac the confessor, whose body reposes there, with all that soch and sach, toll and tem, as it is called, together with the enjoyment in perpetuity of those laws and customs with which they held those possessions freely and quietly during the time when the aforesaid king Edred was living and in health. In corroboration of this writing the within-named persons were witnesses: Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas archbishop of York, Walkelin bishop of Winchester, Wilhelm bishop of Durham, earl William, earl Alfred, Alfred the son of Tope, William Malett, and others."

Perceiving that the mind of my lord the king and of his counsellors was, by the inspiration of the Most High, at that time well and favourably disposed towards my humble self, I openly brought forward and laid before my lord the king, and his whole council, the deeds of Thorold, the late sheriff, relating to our former cell of Spaldyng; and after, with sufficient distinctness, showing our title, I, with that zeal which the occasion required, demanded the restoration of the aforesaid cell to our monastery. Our right to this cell was for a length of time debated in the king's council, and, as, with but few exceptions, all who composed it were favourable, I thought that their judgment would restore it to us. The king's council, however, deemed it fit that Yvo Talbois should be sent for, since it was in his demesne that the cell was situated. He arrived with all speed, and no sooner became informed of our proposal, than he showed to the king that my petition contained a prayer for the ejectment, at once and for ever, of the French monks whom he had before, by his own royal writing, confirmed, and who had always remained faithful to him, and for the promotion of the English monks, who never ceased to invoke evils upon his head; and this consideration entirely altered the king's favourable disposition towards my proposal. Thus by the support and aid of his numerous partisans from Normandy and Anjou, who closely pressed my lord the king on the subject, he entirely succeeded in throwing impediments in the way of my object.

Accordingly I took with me my said lord the king's confirmation of the charter of king Edred, our restorer, which I had obtained from my gracious lord the king previous to the arrival of the said Yvo; and by the blessing of God, with all our muniments safe and uninjured, I returned in sound health and securely to our monastery. And this I did with a view to those successors of mine who in after times may chance to find a king favourable to the English. For when they shall think fit to renew their demand of the said cell, my advice is that they place their principal reliance on this deed of Thorold, the founder of the cell, and for good reasons

conceal the rest of the charters, since by the concurrent opinion of lawyers I have learnt that this deed has more force and authority than all the others for the establishing of our right.

"[1]I, Thorold, at Bukenhale, in the presence of my most noble lord Leofric earl of Leicester, and his most noble countess, lady Godiva, my sister, with the consent and good will of my relation, the lord earl Algar, his eldest son and heir, have given and granted to God and St. Guthlac of Croyland, into the hands of the lord Ulgate, abbot of the said monastery of Croyland, for the foundation of a cell for the monks of Croyland, to the honour of the holy mother of God, the ever-virgin Mary, in the vill of Spaldyng, the whole of my manor situated near the parish church of the same vill, between the manor of my said lord earl Leofric and the western bank of the river of the same vill, with all the lands and tenements, rents, services, cattle and utensils which I have in the said manor, and in the said vill, and in the fields in it, both on the eastern side of the river and on its western side, with all its appurtenances, together with Colgrine my steward and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Hardyng the smith and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Lefstan the carpenter and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Ryngulph the little with all his family, with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and marshes, without any reservation whatever. Also Elfstan the fisherman and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Gunter Liniet and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Outy Grimkelson and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Turstan Dubbe and all his family together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Algare the black and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Edric the son of Siward and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Osmund the miller and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Besi Tuk and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels

[1] See the Cod. Diplom. No. dccxcv. (iv. 126.) This is a forged document.

which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Elmer of Pyncebek and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever. Also Gouse Gamelson and all his family, together with all the goods and chattels which he has in the said vill, and in its fields and fens, without any reservation whatsoever.

These my serfs, and all their goods and chattels, together with all those late my cottages, situate on the eastern side of the river, round the wooden chapel of St. Mary, in the vill of Spaldyng, from ancient times belonging to the monastery of Croyland, together with all the rights and other things appendant, I have given to God and to St. Guthlac, for the building of the aforesaid cell, together with all my fisheries, as well in the adjacent fens as in the sea which comes near to the said vill, in frankalmoign, for the safety of my soul and the souls of all my progenitors and relatives.

✠ This my writing, I, Thorold, at Leicester, in the presence of many of the faithful of Christ, assembled there on the holy day of Pentecost [19th May], in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand and fifty-one, have confirmed with the sign of the holy cross.

✠ I, Ulfin, bishop of Dorchester, have ratified it.

✠ I, Ulgate, abbot of Croyland, rejoicing, have accepted it.

✠ I, Lefwin, abbot of Thorney, have approved it.

✠ I, Leofric, earl, have granted it.

✠ I, Godiva, countess, have long desired this.

✠ I, Algar, earl, have assented.

✠ I, Turner, the chaplain of my lord Ulfin, bishop of Dorchester, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Wulnar, the chaplain of my lord the same bishop Ulfin, have heard it.

✠ I, Sitric, chaplain of my said lord Ulfin, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Stanard, the thane of my lord earl Leofric, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Fulco, monk of Croyland, have applauded it.

✠ I, Pigot, monk of Thorney, have witnessed it.

✠ I, Living, clerk, have written this writing with my own hand, and have delivered it to be given from hand to hand by my lord Thorold the sheriff, to Ulgate abbot of Croyland."

On the same occasion, I brought with me from London to my monastery the laws of the most righteous king Edward, written in the same idiom in which they were published, and which my lord the renowned king William had proclaimed to be authentic and irrevocable, and had commended to his justices, with an order that they should, under severe penalties, be observed inviolably through the whole kingdom of England. In order, therefore, that it may never befal that either we or any of our body, through ignorance and to our own grievous peril, contravene them, or with rash audacity offend the king's majesty, and improvidently incur the strict censures which are more than once contained in them, I set them out as follows :—

These[1] are the laws and customs which king William granted to the people of England after the conquest of the land; being the same which the king Edward, his cousin, granted before him.

I.—*Concerning the peace and immunity of the Church.*

What crime soever a man has committed, if he can come to the holy church, he may have peace of life and limb. And if any one shall lay hands on that which mother church claims, if it be a cathedral church, or an abbey, or the church of a monastery, let him restore that which he has taken, and forfeit one hundred shillings; if the mother church of the parish, twenty shillings; if a chapel, ten shillings.

II.—*Concerning the king's peace.*

If any one break the peace of the king, if it be within Merchene lahe, let him make atonement by one hundred shillings. In like manner for hemfare, and of designed lying in wait. These pleas appertain to the crown of the king. And if any sheriff or provost transgress towards the men of his jurisdiction, and be attainted of this before the justiciary, the penalty is double that in which another would have been mulcted. And if any one within Dene lahe break the king's peace, he shall make amends by the payment of one hundred and forty-four pounds; and the forfeit for the king, which belongs to the sheriff, is fifty[2] shillings by Merchene lahe, forty[3] shillings by West-Saxene lahe. And if any freeman who has sache and soch, and toll and tem, and infangentheof, be impleaded, and be condemned to forfeit in the county [court], then there belong to the sheriff, in Dene lahe forty ores,[4] and to other persons who have not this liberty, thirty-two ores. Of these thirty-two the sheriff shall have ten ores for the use of the king; and to him who shall have impleaded him, twelve ores; and to the lord on whose fee he dwelt, ten ores. This is Dene lake.

III.—*Concerning pledges which escape.*

The custom in Merchene lahe is this: if any one be appealed of theft or of robbery, and he be bailed to come before the justiciary, and he shall flee while under pledge, he shall have the term of a month and a day to seek him, and if he can find him within that time, he

[1] The present version of the laws of William the Conqueror is from the text supplied by the two editions of Ingulf, collated with (and in some places corrected by) the copy given by Selden in his "Notæ et Spicilegium" to Eadmer, p. 173. The text contained in Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, i. 466, which is corrected by the Holkham MS., has been consulted with advantage. Much assistance has been derived from a Latin version (in many instances supplying us with a paraphrase) contained in the Harleian MS. 476, written about the beginning of the fourteenth century. Yet, with all these aids, there remain many obscurities, and the present version is not in every respect satisfactory, in consequence chiefly of the obscurity of the Norman dialect in which the original is written.

[2] Read, forty.

[3] Read, fifty.

[4] According to Somner, (Glossary ad Decem Scriptores, *v.* Ora,) these ores do not signify any definite coin, but are so many ounces of silver, twelve ores making a pound. It is more probable, however, that the value of the ora was sixteen pence, therefore fifteen of them made one pound.

shall bring him to justice; and if he cannot find him, he shall swear by twelve men that at the time when he bailed him he knew him not to be a thief, nor had any part in his flight, nor could seize him. Then he shall pay the goods for which he was arrested, and twenty shillings for his head, and fourpence for his apprehension, and a farthing for the . . . . . and forty shillings to the king. And in the West-Sexene lahe, one hundred shillings; twenty shillings to the plaintiff for his head, and four pounds to the king. In Dene lahe eight pounds is the fine; twenty shillings for his head, and seven pounds to the king. And if within a year and a day he can find the thief, and bring him to justice, there shall be paid to him the twenty shillings which the other has had, and justice shall be done upon the thief.

IV.—*Concerning a thief captured without hue and cry.*

If any one shall arrest a thief who is not pursued or called after by him whom he has endamaged, and he afterwards take him, it is reasonable that he shall pay ten shillings for hengwite; and he shall do justice upon him at the first court after his taking. But if he pass the court without the permission of the justice, he shall forfeit forty shillings.

V.—*Concerning the cattle which the provost of the hundred shall cause to be arrested.*

If any one shall have rescued horses, or oxen, or cows, or sheep, or swine, (which is called in English forfeng,) whoever claims them shall give to the provost for the rescue eightpence, how many soever he has; whether there be one hundred within the pinfold, he shall only pay eightpence; and for one pig one penny, and for a sheep one penny; and as far as eight, for each a penny; how many soever he has, he shall pay only eightpence. And he shall give security and find pledges that if any other person comes to claim the property within a year and a day, he will then produce in court, for the ends of justice, that which he had received.

VI.—*Concerning cattle found by chance, or any other things which are found.*

If any person shall find cattle or anything else, he shall exhibit them in three places of the neighbourhood, that he may have evidence that they were found. And if any one shall come forward to claim the thing, let him give security and find pledges, that if any other person claim it within a year and a day, he will produce in court the thing which he has found, for the ends of justice.

VII.—*Concerning homicides.*

If one man kills another, or be convicted, and yet he refuse to make satisfaction, he shall give to the lord for his manbote, for a freeman ten shillings, and for a serf twenty shillings.

VIII.—*Concerning the were of different people.*

The were of a thane is twenty pounds according to the Merchene lahe, twenty-five pounds in the West-Sexene lahe. The

were of a villein is one hundred shillings in the Merchene lahe, and the like in the West-Sexene.

IX.—*What shall be done with the were.*

Concerning the were; in the first place let there be paid of the hamsochne[1] ten shillings to the widow and orphans, and the surplus to the relatives and the orphans, to be divided between them. In the were, an entire horse may be reckoned at twenty shillings, and a bull at ten shillings, and a boar at five shillings.

X.—*If one person wounds another.*

If one man wounds another, and ought to make satisfaction to him, in the first place he ought to pay his lecheof;[2] and the wounded person shall swear upon the gospels that he could not avoid doing it, and that he did not do it of hatred. Concerning sarbote, that is of a wound—if the wound shall be on the uncovered part of the face, he shall by all means pay four pence by the inch. And for every bone which shall be drawn from the wound, for each bone at least four pence. Afterwards[3] at the reconciliation he shall render him respect publicly: and he shall swear that if the other had done to him what he had done to the other, he would receive in satisfaction thereof what he was offered, if he felt inclined thereto, and his counsel advised it.

XI.—*Concerning the mutilation of members.*

Should it happen that one person cuts off another's hand, or his foot, he shall pay to him the half of his were, according to his condition. For the thumb he shall pay the half of the hand. For the finger which comes next after the thumb, fifteen shillings—the English shilling being worth four pence. For the long finger sixteen shillings. For the ring finger seventeen shillings. For the little finger eight shillings. For the nail of the thumb if it be cut off, or the joint of the larger finger, five shillings. If the nail of the little finger, four pence.

XII.—*If one violate his neighbour's wife.*

If a man violate the wife of another, let him forfeit his were to his lord.

XIII.—*Concerning false judgment.*

Whosoever makes a false judgment, let him lose his were, unless he can swear upon the gospels that he could judge no better.

XIV.—*Concerning appeals of robbery.*

If a man appeal another of theft, and he be a free man and can produce testimony of his honesty, let him purge himself by his full oath. If he has been already accused, let him purge himself by oath by name; that is to say, by fourteen lawful men by name, if he can produce them; and so let him purge himself by the twelfth

[1] Read, healsfange. [2] Read, lecfeoh.
[3] Tyrrell (Hist. Engl. ii. 64) remarks that the remainder of this law is obscure.

hand. If he cannot produce them, let him defend himself by judgment, and the appellant shall swear by seven men by name, he himself being the seventh, that neither for hatred has he done this nor for any other cause, but only that he might obtain his right.

XV.—*If any one be appealed of the violation of a church or chamber.*

If any one be appealed of breaking into a monastery or a chamber, and if he have not been hitherto accused, let him purge himself by fourteen legal men by name, he being the twelfth. But if he have been accused already, then let him purge himself by the threefold oath, that is, by forty-two[1] legal men by name, he being the thirty-sixth. And if he cannot procure them, let him go to the threefold judgment, as he ought to have done by the threefold oath. And if he shall afterwards have made amends for the theft, let him go to the water [ordeal].

XVI.—*Concerning forfeitures.*

The archbishop shall have of the forfeiture forty shillings in Merchene lahe, and the bishop twenty shillings, and the earl twenty shillings, and the baron ten shillings, and the socheman forty pence.

XVII.—*Concerning St. Peter's pence.*

The man who has property in land to the value of thirty pence, ought to pay a penny to St. Peter. If the lord shall give four pence, his cottagers, ox-keepers, and servants shall be free. The burgess who has of his own property to the amount of a half mark, ought to give a penny to St. Peter. He who is a free man in Dene lahe, if he has landed property to the value of half a mark, shall give a penny to St. Peter; and by the penny which the lord shall pay, all those who dwell in his demesne lands shall be quit. Whosoever withholds St. Peter's penny shall pay the penny by the sentence of holy church, and shall forfeit thirty pence. And if the matter be pleaded before the king's justiciary, the forfeit to the bishop is thirty pence, and to the king forty shillings.

XVIII.—*Concerning those who commit a rape.*

If any one ravish a woman by force, he shall forfeit his members. If he shall throw a woman upon the ground to do violence to her, he shall pay to the lord ten shillings.

XIX.—*Of the putting out of an eye.*

If any one put out the eye of another by chance, whosoever it is, he shall make amends by the payment of seventy English shillings. But if the pupil remains, he shall pay only the half.

XX.—*Concerning reliefs.*

The relief of an earl which belongs to the king is eight horses, of which four shall be bridled and saddled, and four hauberks, and four

[1] Read, forty-eight.

helmets, and four shields, and four lances, and four swords. Of the others, two shall be hunting horses, and two palfreys, with bridles and bits.

The relief of a baron is four horses, two of them bridled and saddled, and two hauberks, and two shields, and two swords, and two lances. And of the other two horses, one shall be a hunting horse, and one a palfrey, with bridles and bits.

The relief of a vavassor to his liege lord,—he ought to be acquitted by the horse of his father, such as he had upon the day of his death, and by his helmet, and by his shield, and by his hauberk, and by his lance, and by his sword. And if he be unprovided so that he have not horse nor arms, he may be acquitted for one hundred shillings.

The relief of a villein,—the best beast which he has, whether it be horse, or ox, or cow, he shall give to his lord; and afterwards all the villeins shall be in franc pledge.

Whoso hold their land at a rent, their proper relief ought to be as much as the rent is for one year.

XXI.—*Concerning the production of a warranty.*

Concerning the prosecution of live stock, if one will claim it by emblad, and will give security and find pledge to prosecute his appeal, then it is necessary for him who has it in his possession to produce his warrant, if he have it; and if he have it not, then he shall produce his heimelborch and his witnesses, and produce them at the day and the term, if he have them; and the enterceur shall put them in pledge by the sixth hand, and the other shall put in his hand security, or shall give to his heimelborch such as he has. And if he has neither warrant nor haimelborch, but has witnesses that he bought it in the king's market, and that he knows no warrant nor pledges thereof, live or dead, who shall swear thereto with his witnesses with a full oath, he shall lose his property, if they shall testify that he took heimelborch. And if he cannot produce warrant nor testimony, he shall lose and make payment, and shall forfeit his property to his lord. This is in Merchene lahe and Dene lahge. In West-Sexene laghe he shall not vouch his warrant before he be put in waige. In Dene laghe the property shall be placed in an indifferent hand until it be adjudged; and if he can prove that it is of his raising by three parts of his neighbourhood, then it shall be adjudicated to him; for after that the oath has adjudged it to him, it cannot afterwards be taken from him by the judgment of England.[1]

[1] This law, according to Tyrrell, "is somewhat obscure, by reason of the perplexity of the syntax: but this is the purport of it. If any man shall cry emblet (that is, shall challenge any ware or merchandise as taken from him by stealth), and find pledges to pursue his claim, then he in whose lands the thing is found shall name his guarranty (that is, the person of whom he had it), if he have any such; but if he have not, he shall name his hemelburh (that is, his surety), that the thing shall be forthcoming, and his witnesses, whom he shall have ready at a certain day, or time; but if he have no guarranty, nor witnesses, he shall lose his goods, and pay a were to his lord, as it is in Merchene lay, Dane lay, or West-Saxon lay. The rest being very obscure through the faultiness of the copies, I will not take upon me to render it."

XXII.—*Concerning murder.*

If any one slay a Frenchman, and the men of the hundred do not take him (the murderer) and bring him to justice within eight days, to show what he has done, they shall pay for the murder forty-seven marks.

XXIII.—*If any one seeks land against his lord.*

If any one shall plead a covenant for land against his lord, he shall plead it by his peers of the same tenure, whom he shall summon as witnesses; for he cannot plead it by strangers.

XXIV.—*Should any one deny in the court that he has said that which is imputed to him.*[1]

If a man pleads in a court (in what court soever it be, provided it be not in the king's presence), and it be objected to him that he has said something which he will not acknowledge, if he can plead it by a creditable man of the suit, by hearing or by sight, that he has not said so, he shall recover his suit.

XXV.—*Concerning frank-pledge.*[2]

* * * * *

XXVI.—*Concerning the three royal roads.*[3]

Concerning the four roads, that is to say, Watlinge Strete, Erminge Strete, Fosse, Hykenild; if any one slays another on these four roads who is journeying through the country, or assaults him, he has broken the king's peace.

XXVII.—*If a thief be found along with the thing stolen.*

If a thief be found, in whose land soever it be, along with the thing stolen, the lord of the land and his wife shall have the moiety of the property of the thief, and the claimants shall have their goods, if they find it: and if they be found within land having sache and soche, the wife shall lose the other half, and the lord shall have it.

XXVIII.—*Concerning the Stretwarde.*

Out of each ten hides of the hundred, one man [shall be appointed] between the feast of St. Michael and that of St. Martin. And if the overseer of the highways shall have thirty hides, they shall be free for his trouble. And if any cattle die in a place where he ought to watch, and he cannot show that either an outcry has been made or violence has been employed, he shall make good the property.[4]

[1] Tyrrell remarks that this law is very obscure, but that it is to this sense:—"That if a man plead in any court, except that of the king, and shall be questioned for a thing which he does not acknowledge; if he cannot plead it off by eleven discreet men, he shall not recover the thing in controversy by his own word."

[2] In the French text this forms a portion of the twentieth chapter.

[3] The title acknowledges only three roads, and so also the Latin text; no mention being made of Ikenild-street.

[4] Here the Holkham MS. ends; what follows is from Ingulf collated with the other printed copies.

XXIX.—*Concerning the cultivators of the ground.*

They who hold the land by customary rent shall not be troubled for anything beyond their proper payment; nor shall it be lawful for the lords to remove the cultivators from their lands so long as they can pay the proper service.

XXX.—*Concerning the natives.*

The natives who depart from their land ought not to change their quarters nor to seek reception before doing the proper service which appertains to their land. The native who departs from the land where he is born, and comes to another land, no one shall retain either him or his goods, but shall cause him to return to do his service, as it appertains to him.

XXXI.—*Concerning the cultivation of the land.*

If the lords of the lands do not cause proper cultivators to come to their lands, the justiciary shall do this.

XXXII.—*That no one withdraw from the lord his due service.*

No one shall withdraw from his lord his proper service in consequence of any gratuitous service which he may have done him beforehand.

XXXIII.—*That no pregnant woman shall suffer the punishment of death.*

If a woman who is pregnant shall be adjudged to death, or to mutilation of members, justice shall not be done to her until she shall have been delivered.

XXXIV.—*Concerning those who die intestate.*

If a man die without a will, let his children divide the inheritance among them equally.

XXXV.—*If a father find his daughter committing adultery, or a son his father's wife.*[1]

If a father should find his daughter committing adultery in his house, or in the house of his son-in-law, it is lawful for him to slay the adulterer.

XXXVI.—*Concerning poisoning.*

If one man poison another, let him be put to death or banished for life.

XXXVII.—*Concerning goods thrown out of a ship for fear of death.*[2]

If one man cast the goods of another out of a ship under fear of death, he cannot be impleaded for this; for he did this damage to

[1] Tyrrell here remarks:—"This law is now out of use, and (I suppose) became so by non-user; but it seems strange that the husband of the adulteress was not allowed by this law the same privilege with the father."

[2] The same author observes upon the obscurity of this law.

the other under fear of death, when he could not escape the danger. And if the one can establish that the other did not do this under fear of death, he shall confirm it by oath; and the goods which remain in the ship shall be divided in common, according to their effects; and if any one shall cast the goods out of the ship without cause, he shall make them good.

XXXVIII.—*That none be pre-judged in consequence of the judgment of another.*

If two are co-parceners in an inheritance, and the one is impleaded without the other, and loses it by his folly, the other who was not present ought not on this account to be a loser; for a matter adjudicated between them should not pre-judge the others who are not present.

XXXIX.—*Concerning judgments and judges.*

They who have to pronounce judgments ought attentively to reflect how they may adjudicate as they desire to do when they say, "Forgive us our debts." He who shall inflict injury, or give false judgment, for hatred, or love, or money, shall forfeit to the king forty shillings, unless he can purge himself to the effect that he did not know how to do better justice: and he shall forfeit his franchise, unless the king restore it to him at his pleasure. And if he is in Dene lae, he shall forfeit his laxlite,[1] unless he can prove that he did not know how to do better.

XL.—*That none be adjudged to death for a small fault.*[2]

We prohibit that any man be condemned to death for a slight fault. But let him be punished with a light punishment, proportionate to the quality and quantity of his transgression, as a warning to the people. For it is not fitting that, for a trifling matter, the creature should be destroyed whom God has created according to his own image, and redeemed with the price of his own blood.

XLI.—*That Christians be not sold out of the country unto the Pagans.*

And we forbid that any one sell a Christian out of the land, especially into a heathen country. Care must be taken that the soul be not lost which God purchased back with his life.

XLII.—*Concerning those who reject just judgment.*

He who shall refuse right law and right judgment, let him pay forfeit to the person to whom of right it belongs. If this is towards the king, let him pay six pounds; if towards the earl, forty shillings; if it is in the hundred, thirty shillings; and towards

[1] A mulct for offences committed by the Danes, corresponding with the wite inflicted upon the English under similar circumstances. See Thorpe's Glossary, under the word Lah-slit.

[2] There is no French text for this law; the version is from the Latin.

all those who hold court in England, one[1] shilling English. In Dene lae, he who refuses right judgment shall forfeit his laxlite.[2]

XLIII.—*That no one complain to the king unless the hundred or county court shall have failed him.*

No one shall bring his suit to the king unless the hundred or the county court shall have failed him.

XLIV.—*That no one unadvisedly take a distress.*

No man shall take a distress, either within the county or without, until he shall have thrice demanded right in the hundred or the county court. And if he cannot have it at the third demand, let him go to the county, and the county shall appoint him the fourth day. If then the person against whom he claims should fail to appear, then let him have leave to take his distress, far and near.

XLV.—*That no one buy anything without witnesses.*

Let no one buy anything, neither dead nor living, to the value of four pence, without the testimony of four men of the borough or of the town. And if any one afterwards challenge it, and if he have neither testimony nor warranty, he shall restore his property to the man, and shall make forfeit to him who ought to have it. And if he has witness, as we have said above, let him vouch them three times, and at the fourth time let him stand trial for it, or else restore it.

XLVI.—*That proof be not made by witnesses.*

It does not appear to be reasonable to us that proof be made by witnesses who know that the thing is put into the hands of a third person; and let none prove this before the term of six months after that the property was stolen.

XLVII.—*Of a defaulter who does not appear when summoned.*

Any one who is accused of disloyalty by testimony, and avoids the plea for three times, and at the fourth the summoner shall give notice of his three defaults, then shall he send one who shall find pledge, and shall come to judgment. And if he will not do this, and if he cannot be found, dead or alive, let all that he has be seized, and let his property be given to the accuser; and let the lord have the half of the remainder, and the hundred the other half. And if no friend of his will defend this suit, let the forfeit to the king be six pounds, and let them seek the thief, and in whose power he is found, let him have no warrant for his life; nor can he recover it afterwards by pleading.

XLVIII.—*That no one retain a guest beyond three nights.*

Let no one retain a guest after three nights, unless he be recommended by the person by whom he was at first introduced. Nor shall any one permit his man to depart from him after he shall have been indicted.

[1] Probably, as it stands in the Latin text, thirty shillings. [2] See p. 699, note [1].

XLIX.—*That no one permit a thief to escape.*

If any one meet a thief, and permits him to pass by without raising a cry, let him make amends according to the value of the thing stolen; unless he can purge himself by full oath that he did not know that he was a thief.

L.—*Concerning the not following up of a hue and cry.*

He who shall hear the cry and shall stop it, shall make amends to the king for the stoppage, or shall purge himself.

LI.—*Concerning one accused in the hundred.*

If any one who is accused be within the hundred, and be accused by four men, let him purge himself by the twelfth[1] hand.

LII.—*That the lord shall have his servants in frank-pledge.*

Every lord shall have his servants in his pledge; and if they be accused, that he have them for justice at the hundred court; and if they escape while under accusation, the lord shall pay their were. And if one accuse the lord that the accused had escaped by his connivance, let him purge himself by the sixth hand. And if he cannot do this, let him make amends towards the king, and the man shall be an outlaw.

I brought with me also, at the same time, from London, a copy of the decision of the whole of the controversy between the churches of Canterbury and York, as to which primacy had pre-eminence; a question which had been in agitation for a long time previously, and which a few years before my arrival in England had been the subject of very protracted discussions before the king's council, and which now at length had been finally determined. This controversy was set at rest by the irrefragable and authoritative sentence[2] of the apostolic see to the following effect:—

"In the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand and seventy-two, in the eleventh year of the pontificate of our lord the pope Alexander, in the sixth year of the reign of William, the glorious king of the English, in obedience to the precept of the same pope Alexander, and by the consent of the same king, in the presence of the king himself and the bishops and abbots, there was discussed the cause relating to the primacy which Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, claimed by the rights of his church over the church of York, and relating to the ordinations of certain bishops, with regard to whom it was by no means clear to which primacy they specially belonged; and it was at length proved and shown by the authority of divers holy writings, that the church of York ought to be subject to that of Canterbury, and in all things to obey the commands of its archbishops, as being the regulations of the primate of all Britain in respect to those matters which

[1] That is, by the oaths of twelve men.

[2] See Malmesbury, de Gestis Pontiff. fol. 1176. Baronii Annal. 1072, § 8—23. Alford, ad an. § 1.

concern the Christian religion. With regard, however, to the submission of the church of Durham, that is to say, of Lindisfarne, and of all the country from the see of the bishop of Lichfield, and the great river Humber, to the extreme boundaries of Scotland, and of whatever on the side of the aforesaid river belongs of right to the diocese of the church of York, this the metropolitan of Canterbury has conceded to the archbishop of York and his successors. So that if the archbishop of Canterbury wishes, at any place where he thinks fit, to assemble a council, the archbishop of York will, at his summons, give his presence with all those subject to him, and will be obedient to his canonical regulations.

To the performance of this duty moreover the archbishop of York ought of right to bind himself to the archbishop of Canterbury by an oath, as Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, shows by the ancient custom of his predecessors; but on account of the king's affection for him this obligation of taking the oath was relaxed in the case of Thomas archbishop of York, and Lanfranc received his written profession only, without prejudice to his successors who might wish to exact from the successors of Thomas the oath as well as the profession.

In case of the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York shall come to Canterbury, and shall, in conjunction with all the other bishops of the aforesaid church, consecrate him who shall be elected, as their proper primate of right. But in case of the death of the archbishop of York, he who is elected to succeed him, having received the gift of the archbishopric from the king, shall go to Canterbury, or wheresoever the archbishop of Canterbury shall choose, and shall receive from him ordination according to the canonical rules.

To this constitution the aforesaid king, and Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas archbishop of York, and Hubert,[1] subdeacon of the holy church of Rome and legate of the aforesaid pope Alexander, and the rest of the bishops and abbots who were present, consented. This cause was first debated at the city of Winchester during the solemnity of Easter [8th April], in the royal chapel situated in the castle; afterwards in the royal vill called Widlesore [Windsor], where also it came to a determination in the presence of the king, of the bishops, and of the abbots of the different orders who were assembled at the court during the feast of the Pentecost [27th May].

✠ The sign of king William.

✠ The sign of queen Matilda.

✠ I, Hubert, reader of the holy church of Rome and legate of the lord pope Alexander, have subscribed it.

✠ I, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, have subscribed it.

✠ I, William, bishop of London, have consented.

✠ I, Hermann, bishop of Shirburne, have subscribed it.

✠ I, Uulstan, bishop of Worcester, have subscribed it.

[1] This was the celebrated Humbert, afterwards a cardinal, concerning whom see Baronius, A.D. 1049, § 28, seq. His writings are enumerated by Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. 139.

✠ I, Walter, bishop of Hereford, have consented.
✠ I, Giso, bishop of Wells, have consented.
✠ I, Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, have consented.
✠ I, Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, have subscribed it.
✠ I, Herefast, bishop of Helmstan, have subscribed it.
✠ I, Stigand, bishop of Chichester, have consented
✠ I, Siward, bishop of Rochester, have consented.
✠ I, Osbert, bishop of Exeter, have consented.
✠ I, Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, have consented.
✠ I, Goisfrid, bishop of Coutance, and one of the primates of the English, have consented.
✠ I, Scotland, abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine, have consented.
✠ I, Eilwin, abbot of the monastery called Ramsey, have consented.
✠ I, Elnoth, abbot of Glastonbury, have consented.
✠ I, Turstan, abbot of the monastery situated in the isle called Hely, have consented.
✠ I, Uulnot, abbot of the monastery called Cheretesei, have consented.
✠ I, Elwin, abbot of the monastery of Evesham, have consented.
✠ I, Frederic, abbot of St. Alban's, have consented.
✠ I, Goiffred, abbot of St. Peter's,[1] not far from London, have consented.
✠ I, Baldwin, abbot of the monastery of St. Edmund's, have consented.
✠ I, Turold, abbot of Peterborough, have consented.
✠ I, Adelm, abbot of Abendon, have consented.
✠ I, Ruald, abbot of the new monastery of Winchester, have consented."

In that same council it was resolved and determined, according to the decrees of the canons, that the bishops should pass from the vills and translate their seats to the cities of their dioceses. The bishop of Dorchester therefore migrated to Lincoln, the bishop of Lichefield to Chester, the bishop of Selsey to Chichester, the bishop of Shirburne to Salisbury, and the bishop of Helmstan to Thetford. The bishop of Lindisfarne had long ago been translated to Durham.

On my return from London to my monastery, equipped with books and laws and with the renewed confirmation of my lord the king of the charter of our restorer, and with all our other writings and muniments most graciously admitted by the whole of the king's council, and approved by the before-mentioned royal confirmation, I caused infinite joy to all the friends and sons of the monastery. However, I had not arrived more than a few days, when an unusually severe winter set in: the waters by which we were surrounded were thickly frozen with ice; the passage of vessels was day after day entirely interrupted; and although the ice was not sufficiently strong or thick to admit of our necessaries

[1] That is, of Westminster.

being carried into the monastery over it, yet it was sufficiently strong and thick to put a stop to all navigation; the cellarer reported that there was a deficiency of bread in the cellar, and that the corn in the granary had failed; and I, God knows, was afflicted with exceeding sorrow and despair at the prospect of the famine impending over the brethren. Reduced to these straits, although the daily increasing inclemency of the weather prevented us from importing into the monastery victuals from the manors at a distance, I never ceased to put my trust in the Lord, and in our most pious patron the very holy father Guthlac. I gave myself up to prayer before the holy tomb of that precious confessor of Christ, and the whole night long devoutly prayed for his intercession with God on our behalf that he would not suffer his servants to perish of hunger, but that he, who with great piety never refused aid to the crowd of strangers who flocked to him and asked his assistance, would not (contrary to his wont) close the bowels of his compassion against the sons of his womb, and that he would with his accustomed benignity afford us some help against the imminent peril of famine, and would vouchsafe of his grace mercifully to give us protection. These prayers, intermingled with frequent sobs and tearful lamentations, I poured into the ear of the most pious father, and passed the whole night through in watching before his precious tomb. When the morning dawned, and we had in common performed in the choir the first service of the day to the Lord, and the convent was anxiously bending at their devotions before the different altars to beseech the mercy of God in their grievous difficulties, lo! on a sudden from the northern side of the monastery a voice sounded in our ears, like that of an angel thundering the following words:—"Receive victuals for the brethren, and prepare bread that these may eat." Hearing these words, and much wondering, we went out into the cemetery to see whose and wherefore was the voice. On opening the door we could perceive no one, but we found four very large sacks, of which two were filled with corn, two with very pure meal. Thereupon we returned very devout thanks to God and the most holy father Guthlac, who did not desert those who put their trust in Him, but has, to the praise of his holy confessor, shown us his mercy in the day of our tribulation and need. From that time forward food has never failed the brethren; but, eating daily and abundantly, we perceived that the miracle of the five loaves mentioned in the gospel was repeated in our case, until after a long time the frost relaxed, and we received in the spring a fresh supply of provisions from our manors. According to the saying of Ambrose, "The food of those who ate grew in their mouth under their teeth. Their food was multiplied all the more by being consumed. In the hands of those who break it the bread pours down like a torrent. Men take up the untouched and unbroken fragments." Moreover, since that miracle happened on the fifth day of the week, we all determined, whenever the fifth day of the week was unappropriated, solemnly to perform in the choir a divine service to our most holy patron Guthlac.

In the following summer the inhabitants of Hoyland, of Multon, of Weston, and of Spaldyng, following the example of those of Depyng, entered into an agreement with one another, and, by a common resolution, divided their fens situated beyond our water of Assendyk amongst themselves, man by man. Some of these used their portions for agriculture, some for hay, some allowed theirs to lie as before, as a several pasture for their cattle. They all found the land fertile and prolific. Instigated by their achievement, I, [Ingulf,] abbot of Croyland, L.[1] de Hacbeth, and some persons from Cappelad, divided amongst one another, and turned into arable-land, that portion of ours in Cappelad which descends towards the same water, and in like manner found the soil rich and fruitful.

Hitherto I have run my journey in prosperity and rejoicing: now the harsh notes of labour, and sorrow, and death, clash around me. The beginning of our evils and the cause of our grief was our ever-rancorous enemy Yvo Tailboys. To him my lord the king William, in the year of our Lord one thousand and seventy-two, had given in marriage Lucy, the daughter of the late valiant earl Algare, after the death of his two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, with all their lands. Elevated thus beyond measure, he rose against God and his saints; and so persecuted our monastery of Croyland, and the monks of our cell of Spaldyng, who exercised their daily profession at his gates, that they left (as has been before mentioned) their cell in the hands of God, and in the year one thousand and seventy-four returned with all their effects to their monastery at Croyland.

Again, when the holy martyr of God, Waldeve, after his cruel decapitation, was borne out by the lord Ulfketul, abbot of Croyland, in order that he might perform for him the charitable office of sepulture, the said venerable father was, in the year one thousand and seventy-five, impiously deposed and banished to a remote spot. He, as has been related, survived his deposition ten years, and was at length snatched from amongst us by a sudden attack of paralysis. Many of our muniments and valuables have never to this day been restored to us, so that I have been cheated out of the accomplishment of my desired object, and bitterly deceived in my hopes.

In that same year, viz. in the year of our Lord one thousand and eighty-five, died my most illustrious lady queen Mathildis, who had always used her influence with my lord the king in my favour, had not seldom relieved me with her alms, and had very frequently assisted me in matters of importance and times of difficulty.

In the second year after her death, viz. in the year of our Lord one thousand and eighty-seven, my lord the renowned king William assembled a powerful army, traversed France on horseback, and nearly exterminated Cenomannia [Mans] with fire and sword. His excessive ardour and laborious exertions in this expedition threw him into a disease, and, on receiving the announcement from his physicians that death was impending, he gave Normandy

[1] So in the original; whatever the meaning of the first contraction may be, it seems clear that the place alluded to is Holbeach.

to his elder son Robert, England to his second son William, and to his younger son Henry all his mother's lands, and a great sum of his own treasure and valuables. At length, well provided with means to secure his journey to heaven, he died, and was interred by his sons with regal magnificence at Caen, in the monastery of St. Stephen, which he himself had built from its foundations, in the twenty-second year of his reign, the fifty-second of his dukedom, and the sixtieth of his age. He was succeeded on the throne of England by his son William, who was solemnly crowned by archbishop Lanfranc at London.

On the arrival of the report of the death of the king from Normandy, we were all struck with sudden consternation. I, who had lost a most dear master, one who had been a most excellent patron to me from my infancy, and my indefatigable protector against my adversaries in all my necessities, more than all the rest, in my heart wept over his death with tears and inconsolable lamentations. May Abraham receive his soul into his bosom, and place him before the face of God in the rest of the blessed.

No sooner did Yvo Tailbois, my most bitter enemy, learn that the lord king, my ancient defender, had yielded to fate, than, trusting in his friendship with the new king, he vomited forth all his malice against our house. He rapaciously took into his own hands all our lands which were situated in his lordship, namely, in Cappelade, in Spaldyng, in Pyncebek, and in Algare, as well the lands which we held by the gift of Algare the elder, with the churches and chapels, from which he ejected the priests and ministers, and into which he thrust his own clerks by force, as those fresh ones also which Thorold the sheriff had lately conferred upon us. He drove away all our ministers, and replaced them by his own; and into our church of Cappelade he tyrannically intruded his clerk Fulcard, and ejected our priest Joceline. Thereupon I obtained the pacific mediation of Richard, lord of Rulos, and other friends and well-wishers of the monastery with him, but his obstinate determination to pursue his nefarious course still increased. At length, seeing that this child of everlasting damnation in the hell of the wicked contemned the words of life, I took counsel with our faithful servants and friends, and carrying with me our muniments of the above-mentioned lands, I again sought London. Passing through that city, I went to Canterbury, where I consulted my old friend the lord archbishop on my affairs, and prostrating myself repeatedly before his feet, I suppliantly implored his intercession with the new king, his pupil, for the defence of my monastery. He, with much compassion for my calamitous state, kindly promised his intercession, and appointed a day within the following fortnight on which he would go to London, warning me at the same time to come prepared with any better charter of the above-mentioned lands which I might chance to possess, and that, since (as he alleged to me) many books cause confusion, I should avoid showing the rest of the muniments. On the appointed day, according to his command, I was present, and showed to the venerable father, the lord archbishop, in his chapel, the writing of earl Algare relating

to the said lands described in the Saxon character. He then summoned a council of his clergy, and examined the said writing, and being perfectly informed on every article in it, and having well considered the matter, he proceeded with it to the king, whose gracious approval, blessed be God! he obtained in every respect according to my wish. I obtained a letter from the lord king to the sheriff of Lincoln, to take an inquisition of the lands contained in the said deed, and that if he could find by the said inquisition that they belonged of old to our monastery, and that, in the time of his father, we were seised of them without opposition, he should restore them to us in their integrity. This was done. The before-mentioned Fulcard, however, who had been wickedly intruded by the aforesaid Yvo into our church of Cappelade, understanding more fully the favourable disposition of the archbishop of Canterbury, and placing no confidence in his own right, appealed, by way of subterfuge, to the apostolic see.

The deed[1] of earl Algare, which was so praised by the archbishop and sheriff, and approved of by the faithful Christians of the neighbourhood, and by the king's justices in the county, is as follows:—

"To all Christians, inhabitants of any part of Mercia, earl Algar, greeting.

I will that you all understand, that I have given to my spiritual father Siward, abbot of Croyland, and all the abbots there after him, and to their monks, in Holebech and Cappelad four carucates of arable-land and twelve acres of meadow, together with the parish church of Cappelad and its presbyter, and together with the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the same vill, together with a fen of two thousand acres on the sea-shore, and a fen of three thousand acres near their water of Schepishee; and in Spaldelyng two carucates of arable-land; and in Pyncebek half a carucate of arable-land; and in Algare eleven bovates; and in Donnedik two carucates and twenty acres of meadow; and in Drayton one carucate and six acres of meadow, and four salt works, and together with one carucate in Burtoft, with the church of Sutterton, and with its chapel of Salteney. These my donatives I have given in frankalmoign to the aforesaid abbot Siward, and his monks, for the sustenance of his monastery; since, as I have often learnt, their own island is not productive of wheat; and the same, I, by this writing at Leicester, in the presence of my lord king Kenulph, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord eight hundred and ten, have irrevocably confirmed.

✠ I, Kenulph, king of the Mercians, have granted.
✠ I, Ulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, have consented.
✠ I, Wonwona, bishop of Chester, have approved.
✠ I, Celwulph, the brother of king Kenulph, have approved.
✠ I, Algare, the son of Algare, have approved."

This, the first charter of the above-mentioned earl Algare relating to the aforesaid lands, I have inserted into this history,

[1] Printed by Kemble, Cod. Diplom. No. mxxvi. (v. 67), from Gale's edition. It is a forgery.

that our posterity may know what arms they possess to oppose the wickedness of so powerful an adversary, in case he should at any time, by the instigation of the devil, again raise his horns and presume to usurp our possessions.

After an interval of two years, which passed but too rapidly, died my venerable father, my ever dear patron, my lord the archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, who, since the death of my lord the king, was the only friend left to me,—indefatigable in all my necessities, and an unwearying keeper in all my tribulations. One of our monks has written a very elegant epitaph on his death, beginning thus :—

"Alas! alas! let England mourn, let Italy beat her breast; let France weep, let Almannia wail; let Scotland, Ireland, and every foreign nation; let the whole earth wail that its flower has fallen! Let the spouse of Christ grieve that she has lost her great ornament, and refuse to receive consolation in this life for the loss of Lanfranc. Oh, all ye who pass by, stay a little, and lament with me Lanfranc, the apostolic man, with tears and lamentations for his death."

After an interval of two years from his death, there befel me that most disastrous misfortune, portended by so many prodigies,—that total destruction of so great a monastery, announced beforehand repeatedly and plainly by visions and apparitions,—that untameable conflagration, which gorged itself with such cruelty on so many and so sacred habitations of the servants of God.

It arose as follows :—Our plumber, who had been employed on the tower of the church in repairing the roofs, neglected to extinguish his fire in the evening, but with fatal madness covered it over with some dead cinders, in order that he might be more prepared to begin his work in the morning; and so he descended to supper. After supper, when all our servants had gone to bed, and were buried in deep slumber, a strong north wind arose and accelerated the coming of this truly unparalleled misfortune upon us. For this wind, entering into the tower through the numerous open lattices, blew the dead cinders into a blaze, and drove the living flame upon the nearest pieces of wood, where, finding a material dry and congenial, it fastened upon it more firmly, and began also to seize upon the thicker beams. The inhabitants of the town, although they had for a long time seen a great light in the belfry, thought that either the clerks of the church or the plumber were performing some of their duties, till at length, perceiving the flames belching forth, they began to shout and batter at the gates of the monastery—for it was at that still time of night when we were all reposing in our beds, enjoying our first and deepest sleep. At last, the loud clamour of the populace aroused me, and hurrying to the nearest window, I distinguished as clearly as if it were noonday all the servants of the monastery in the direction of the church, shouting and wailing and rushing hither and thither in disorder. Clad in my night-dress, and awaking our companions, I hastily descended into the cloister, and there the whole place shone as though illumined by a thousand

lights. Thence running to the door of the church, and attempting to enter, I was almost cut off by a stream of molten brass from the bells, and by the dropping of boiling lead. However, withdrawing and beholding that the flames within were everywhere triumphant, I directed my steps towards the dormitory, when I was severely burnt on the shoulder by the lead, which was running down and rapidly penetrating into the cloister; indeed, I should have been well nigh burnt to ashes, had I not sprung back with great speed into the court of the cloister, where observing that the fire-vomiting flames were still rolling their smoke from the church tower, and that they had reached the nave, and were throwing a continuous train of sparks in the direction of the dormitory of the brethren, (who were yet plunged in the sleep, it might be, of death,) I called to them, and had difficulty in awaking them, even with my loud shouts. On recognising my voice, they leaped from their beds in excessive terror, in their night-dresses and half naked; and on hearing that the cloister was on fire, they rushed through all the windows of the dormitory in pitiable confusion. Many were wounded; many were bruised; and, sad to relate, many had their limbs broken by the fall. The flames, however, still gained strength, and throwing continual burning brands from the church towards the refectory, they first gorged themselves with the chapter-house, next the dormitory, afterwards the refectory itself, and at the same moment the gallery within the infirmary, and the whole of the infirmary with its contiguous offices. Seeing that very many of the brethren, the whole body of whom had fled to me in the court, were half naked, I attempted to regain my chamber, in order to get the clothes which I had there and distribute them wherever there appeared to be peculiar necessity. So great, however, was the heat at the entrance to the hall, and so dangerous the stream of molten lead which kept pouring down on all sides, that even the boldest of the young men dared not attempt to enter. As yet I was ignorant that the fire had reached our infirmary on the other side, and I went round through the northern part of the cemetery towards the eastern end of the church; I then found that our infirmary was in flames, which, invincible in their fury, were venting their rage irresistibly against green trees, ashes, oaks, and growing osiers. Thence returning to the western side, I discovered my chamber vomiting forth incessant flames, like an oven; and passing to all the other contiguous buildings towards the south, namely, the hall of the converts and the strangers' hall, and the rest of those which were roofed with lead, I saw, with tears which were not lightly shed, that they were all in a conflagration. Then the tower of the church fell upon its southern side, and I, terrified at the crash, dropped upon the ground half dead, in a swoon; I was raised by my fellow-brethren, and borne to the chamber of our porter, and hardly regained my right senses or strength till the morning.

At dawn of day, when I had somewhat recovered from my fainting fit, the brethren, weeping and depressed, and some of them pitiably mangled and burnt in the limbs, performed in common divine service with mournful voices and woful accents in the hall of Grimketul, our guest-master. After having fully completed the daily

and nightly hours of divine service, we proceeded to examine the state of the whole monastery. In many of the offices we found the flames not yet subdued, and I then, for the first time, perceived that not only had our granary and stable been on fire, and that it was not yet extinguished, but that their posts had been eaten by the flames to a considerable distance below the ground. By the third hour of the day, the flames were considerably got under, and we entered the church. There, by pouring water upon it, the fire, by this time diminishing, was generally extinguished. We searched the choir, which had been reduced to ashes, and found that all the books of the divine service, both the antiphoners and graduals, had perished. Entering the vestry, which had been roofed over by a double arched vaulting of stone, we found that all our sacred vestments, the relics of the saints, and some other valuables there deposited, were uninjured by the fire. In our charter-room, (to which the stone arch which entirely roofed it in had been no protection, since the flames rushed in through the wooden windows, and which was like a burning furnace or red-hot oven,) we found that although the boxes appeared to be safe and uninjured, yet that all the muniments contained in them had been shrivelled up and reduced to ashes by the excessive heat. Our very beautiful writings in the vulgar character, and ornamented with golden crosses and elegant paintings, and highly ornamented letters,[1] and which had been there deposited, were all demolished. The ancient and excellent privileges conferred by the Mercian kings, similarly signed with golden pictures, and written in the Saxon character, were all burnt. The whole of our muniments of this kind, greater and less, were almost four hundred in number, and were all, by a disastrous misfortune, instantaneously lost and destroyed in one black night.

A few years before, however, I had taken from the charter-room many duplicates and triplicates of writings in the Saxon character, and kindly given them to our chanter, the lord Fulmar, to be preserved in the cloister, so that the younger amongst us might learn the Saxon character, which had for a length of time, by the Norman influence, been neglected and had fallen into disrepute, and at that time was known to none but a few of the elders; for the purpose that, by knowing how to read it, they might, in their old age, be more able to produce these muniments of their monastery in evidence against their adversaries. These writings, deposited in the cloister in an old chest, which was protected by the wall of the church, were alone preserved safe from the conflagration. Thus these documents, formerly of secondary value and laid on one side, and, by reason of the barbarous character in which they were written, held in light esteem and regard, are now our principal and best muniments,—according to the words of the blessed Job, "The things that my soul refused to touch are as my sorrowful meat." [vi. 7.] Besides these, our whole library, containing more than three hundred original volumes, besides the lesser volumes, numbering more than four hundred, perished. By that casualty we have lost a very beautiful and valuable tablet, admirably constructed of every kind of metal, to represent the

[1] "Venustissimis picturis ac elementis preciosissimis adornata." Orig.

various stars and signs. Saturn was made of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, the sun of brass, Mercury of tin, Venus of a compound of silver and lead, the moon of silver. To the colures[1] and all the signs of the zodiac were appropriated their own peculiar figure and colour; and by the multiplicity of gems and metals, both the eyes and the minds of spectators were perplexed beyond measure. There was no such nadir in the whole of England known or even named. It was given by the king of France to Turketul, who upon his death transferred it to the common library, as well for an ornament as for the instruction of the younger monks. It was now consumed and melted away by the voracious fire.

Our chapter-house was completely burnt. Our dormitory, all the bed-furniture of our brethren contained in it, as also the necessary house, perished in the flames. Our infirmary, with the chapel and the washing-house, and all the adjacent offices, were likewise consumed. Our refectory and all its contents, except a few dark-coloured cups, and a horn, and the cross-cup of the late king of the Mercians, Wichtlaf, which were preserved in stone boxes, together with the kitchens adjoining, and the hall and chamber of the lay brethren, with all their contents, were at the same time reduced to ashes. Our cellar and the very casks full of beer were destroyed. The abbot's hall also, and his chamber, and the whole court of the monastery, which the diligence of my predecessors had with admirable taste surrounded with very beautiful buildings, (woe is me, that my existence has been so far prolonged for me to see it!) sadly perished in this conflagration, the flames of which, burning as it were with Greek fury, overran them on all sides. A few of the huts of the almsmen, the feeding-houses of our beasts of burden, and the sheds of the other animals, which were separated from the spot and covered with stone, alone remained unburnt. But besides the northern arm of the church, from which quarter the current of the wind drove the flames violently towards the south, all the buildings of the monastery, and particularly those roofed with lead, whether built of stone or wood, our charters and valuables, books and utensils, bells and belfrys, vestments and victuals, were, I most unhappy being the president, in one moment of time destroyed and burnt.

This conflagration was prognosticated by many signs and portents. Repeated visions by night predicted it; all were understood after the occurrence of the fact. The words of our holy father Turketul in his last moments, earnestly warning us to guard diligently our fire; the words of our blessed father Ulfran, bidding me, in a nightly vision at Fontenelle, to preserve well the fire of the hospice of the three saints, Guthlac, Neot, and Waldeve,—of all these plain warnings I now understand and recognise the meaning; but I do so unprofitably and too late. I now indulge in vain complainings, and pour forth those lamentations and inconsolable tears, righteously exacted by my faults.

[1] The colures are two circles passing through the equinoctial and solstitial points, and cutting each other at right angles at the poles. See Macrobius, Somn. Scip. i. 15.

But to proceed with our tragedy. The news of our grievous misfortune rapidly spread through the whole neighbourhood, and many of our neighbours, having bowels of pity towards our miserable state, kindly regarded our indigence with the eye of their mercy. Our lord and most holy father Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, graciously granted forty days' indulgence to all who should relieve us, or even procure us relief. In addition to this, he gave to us in money forty marks of silver, and, at his admonition and instigation, the venerable canons of the church of Lincoln, and the citizens of that city, our adjoining neighbours, transmitted to us a hundred marks. On the same occasion Richard de Rulos, lord of Brunne and Depyng, as our faithful brother and loving friend in the time of our tribulation, gave us ten quarters of wheat, ten quarters of malt, ten quarters of peas, ten quarters of beans, and ten pounds of silver. These were the alms of Richard de Rulos for the restoration of our monastery. Haco of Multon gave us twelve quarters of corn and twenty fat salted pigs. These were the alms of the said Haco. Elsin of Pyncebek gave us a hundred shillings of silver and ten salted pigs. Ardnot of Spaldyng gave us six quarters of corn, and the carcases of two oxen, and twelve salted pigs. Numerous others also gave us different presents, by which our wants were much relieved. May our Lord Jesus Christ inscribe their names in the book of life, and reward them in the glory of heaven! Nor in this long list of our benefactors may the sainted memory of a poor woman, Juliana of Weston, be forgotten, who gave us of her poverty her whole substance, namely, a great quantity of rolls of thread wherewith to sew the vestments of the brethren of our monastery.

At that time Eustace, sheriff of Hundyngdon, who held land of ours in Thyrnyng, by a demise of my predecessor lord Ulgketul, pressed us to confirm the said land to him for the term of his life, and promised to defend us before the county and hundred courts, and elsewhere, and pledged himself to maintain our rights as if they were his own. To this we consented, and drew up thereupon a writing in the following form:—

"This is the agreement between Ingulph the abbot and all the brethren of Croyland, and Eustace sheriff of Huntyngdon: To wit, that the abbot and his brethren have granted to him, as long as he shall live, in consideration of his giving his counsel, aid, and labour in the affairs of our monastery, wheresoever and whensoever we shall be impleaded in the county of Huntyngdon by any adversary, our manor of Thyrnyng, with all our lands appendant; to wit, one hide of arable-land and a half, with the same full rights and powers as he has hitherto held the said land on the demise of the lord Ulfketul, the late abbot. But after the death of Eustace, the whole land shall revert to us without any diminution or delay.

✠ I, Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, have caused this writing to be drawn up.

✠ I, Odo, prior, have consented.

✠ I, Laurence, chanter, have written this deed.

✠ I, Sigwata, the steward, have subscribed it.
✠ I, Trigus, the procurator, have subscribed it.
✠ I, Eustace, the sheriff, have given my consent.
✠ I, Baldewin, the son of Eustace, have acquiesced."

At the same time, Oger, presbyter of Repynghale, came to us, and all took to farm of us our manor of Repynghale, with the whole of our land appendant; to wit, three carucates of arable-land, and sixty acres of meadow. Whereupon we entered into the following written agreement with him:—

"This is the agreement between Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, and all his monks, and Oger, presbyter of Repynghale: To wit, the abbot and his monks have to farm demised to the aforesaid Oger the whole of his land in Repynghale; to wit, three carucates of arable-land, and sixty acres of meadow, and their manor in the same vill, as long as the said Oger shall live, in consideration of sixty shillings and twelve salted pigs, to be paid yearly to our monastery on the feast of St. Martin. And when he shall exchange this life for another, if his heir shall wish to hold the said land, he shall hold it with our full consent on the terms of the same rent.
✠ I, Ingulph, abbot, have caused this writing to be made.
✠ I, Odo, prior, have consented.
✠ I, Laurence, chanter, have written it.
✠ I, Sigwata, the steward, have consented.
✠ I, Asius, the procurator, have subscribed my mark.
✠ I, Oger, presbyter, have bound myself to it."

At the same time, Robert, the servant of Simon of Baston, came to us, and took of us to farm in Baston thirty-six acres of arable-land for the term of his life, in consideration of a certain sum of money which he gave to us in our urgent necessity, and of a yearly payment to us of two shillings on the feast of St. Bartholomew. Whereupon we entered into the following written agreement with him:—

"This is the agreement between Ingulph, abbot, and all the monks of Croyland, and Robert, the man of Simon of Baston: To wit, the abbot and his brethren have granted to him in fee so long as he shall live, thirty-six acres of arable-land in Baston; and, if he shall have an heir worthy of the said land, and who, with the consent of the abbot and brethren, is competent to do service for it, he shall hold it on the terms of the same agreement. As a rent service for the said land, Robert shall give each and every year two shillings and the tithes of the land, as well of that which he has acquired, as that which he shall acquire. And when he ends his life, his body shall return to the church of St. Guthlac, with a half of the whole of his money. And he himself and his heir shall give each and every year two shillings at the feast of St. Guthlac.
✠ I, Ingulph, abbot, have caused this writing to be made.
✠ I, Odo, prior, have consented.
✠ I, Laurence, chanter, have written it.
✠ I, Sigwata, steward, have consented.

✠ I, Trigus, procurator, have subscribed it.
✠ I, Robert, the man of Simon de Baston, have given consent.
✠ I, Simon de Baston, have confirmed the act of my man."

At the same time, in consideration of money which William the miller gave for the rebuilding of our church, we granted to the same William thirty roods of meadow near Southee, and to his partner, Agge de Neuton, the whole of our fishery in the said water from Tedwarther to Namansland-hyrne, to him and his heirs, on paying to us on the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle [24th Aug.], on our great altar, a yearly payment of two shillings. Upon the grant of which thirty roods of meadow, and fishery, we entered into the following written agreement with them :—

"This is the agreement between Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, and all his brethren, and William the miller, and Agge de Neuton, his partner, their heirs and assigns: To wit, for that the abbot and his brethren have given in full to the aforesaid William the miller thirty roods of meadow near the bank of the water of Southee from the corner called Tedwarthar to Namansland-hyrne, and to Agge de Neuton, his partner, all our fishery in the said water of Southee, extending between the aforesaid corners, to them, their heirs, and assigns, to hold as freely and fully as we have previously held them, they and their heirs shall offer to us each and every year on the feast of St. Bartholomew [24th Aug.], upon our great altar, two shillings, as long as they shall wish to hold the said fishery and the said meadow.

✠ I, Ingulph, abbot, have caused this writing to be made.
✠ I, Odo, prior, have consented.
✠ I, Laurence, chanter, have written it.
✠ I, Sigwata, steward, have consented.
✠ I, Trigus, the procurator, have put my mark.
✠ I, William the miller, have accepted it.
✠ I, Agge de Neuton, have given assent."

At the same time, under the pressure of the same necessity, we demised to Gunter Siworth two hundred acres of arable-land and meadow near our waters of Weland and of Asendyk, and all our fishery in our aforesaid waters from Wodelade to Aswyktoft, for the space of twenty years. Whereupon we entered into the following written agreement with him in regard to the aforesaid arable-land, meadow, and fishery :—

"This is the agreement between Ingulph, abbot, and all his monks of Croyland, and Gunter Siword of Spaldyng: To wit, the abbot and his monks have granted to the aforesaid Gunter for the space of twenty years, two hundred acres of arable-land and of meadow bordering on their waters of Weland and of Asendyk, and all their fishery in their said waters; to wit, from Wodelade to Aswyktoft, exempt from any right of ingress on our part, except for the purpose of navigation, but not for the purpose of fishing, without the licence and good-will of the said Gunter. But the aforesaid Gunter shall give to the aforesaid abbot, his brethren and servants,

a passage to the sewer of Asendik, and to Cokerdyk, by the way which he shall appoint, as often as and whensoever they shall require it.

✠ I, Ingulph, abbot, have directed this writing to be made.
✠ I, Odo, prior, have consented.
✠ I, Laurence, chanter, have written it.
✠ I, Sigwata, steward, have subscribed.
✠ I, Aegelmer, the procurator, have negotiated it.
✠ I, Gunter Siword, have accepted it.
✠ I, Fareman, brother of Gunter, have acquiesced.
✠ I, Aldieta, the wife of Gunter, have given my benediction.
I, Ulmer, son of Gunter and Aldieta, have agreed."

At the same time we also granted to different men of our household, and to many others, (who, terrified by the rebellion which was now raging between the nobles of the land and the king, had lately flocked to us in streams,) the whole of our land between Wodelade and the vill of Croyland, near the bank of the water of the Weland, to hold of our cellarer by certain services, labours, rents, aids and works to be done for us and our monastery, as are more fully scheduled in the roll of our cellarer, and a few of which shall be inscribed here for the information of those who come after us. All the men of Croyland, who hold meadow or arable-land, excepting those on whom the charters of the abbacy confer the free possession of their lands, owe to the abbot three days' work, to wit,—one day to reap, one day to bind, and one day to carry, for the provision of food for the abbot. Also all the inhabitants of Croyland who wish to take turns in the abbot's fen owe one day's work, or three halfpence for the cutting of turf for the court of Croyland, of which the abbot is to receive a penny, and the cellarer a halfpenny for the stipends of the chaplains of the hermitages. Also all who do not hold by a free tenure ought to give a penny, now called routpeny, to pay for the labour of the men who are appointed to carry the abbot and his monks wherever he wishes on fresh-water streams. Also, all who do not hold by a free tenure, shall give taillage and letherwyte and gersum for their daughters. Born villeins also shall perform many other services for the monastery, which are enrolled in the aforesaid register-book of our cellarer.

Thus compassionately aided by the bounty of so many of the faithful of Christ, both of our neighbours and of more distant friends, we did all we could to prove that they had not committed themselves to a barren soil. Day and night we exerted ourselves with the utmost diligence to raise the house of the Lord. We placed a new nave[1] on the roof of the church instead of the old one which had been burnt, and added some other appendants of one sort and another. Instead of the old tower of the church, we erected a low belfry with two small bells, which Fergus, the worker in brass at Boston,[2] had lately given to us; and, waiting for

[1] "Imponentes novam navim tecto ecclesiæ pro vetusta quæ combusta fuerat." Orig.
[2] "Quas Fergus ærarius de sancto Bot." Orig.

future years of plenty, we propose then by the assistance of the Lord to restore and improve the whole, and to raise from more stable foundations a temple worthy of the God of hosts.

When the wounds of our church had been thus by our common care closed up and refreshed, sorrowful and sorrowing that the tomb of the holy martyr Waldeve, who was interred in our chapter-house, lay in the open air exposed to every shower and every tempest, I took counsel with my brethren, and we resolved to translate it into our church, and for the glory of God to place it in a more honourable position, to remove it from under a bushel and to put it upon a candlestick. With prompt devotion all our brethren consented to its removal, and a day convenient for the purpose was named. On the appointed day, with a suite of officials and a display of lights, which our reverence for him demanded, and with a large crowd of other faithful servants of Christ, we approached the holy grave, supposing that the corpse would have been, like other corpses, reduced to ashes, and that dry bones only would have remained; for this was the sixteenth year of his falling asleep; when lo! on opening the tomb we received evident proof of the glorification of the martyr: the body was as entire and undecayed as on the day of his burial; the head was united to the body, and a mark like a scarlet thread yet remaining, gave token of his decapitation. Seeing this, and unable to restrain myself for joy, I interrupted the response which the brethren were singing, and began with a loud voice the hymn, "Te Deum laudamus," and the chanter hearing it directed the convent to sing it. In the meantime I looked into the face of the most holy martyr, and clearly recognised the countenance of that most noble earl, whom I had once seen in a nightly vision at Fontenelle. When the hymn was finished and the confession repeated, all present, both literates and laics, on bended knees prayed for the mercy of God upon me, and, submitting their confession to me, received absolution at my hands. Then, creeping on my hands and feet, I kissed with my lips the mouth of the most holy martyr; and now after I have felt and touched him with my hands, I relate of the martyr what I have seen with my eyes and what my hands have handled. Moreover, in that kiss I inhaled more exquisite fragrance from his holy body than I ever remember to have smelt from all perfumes either in the king's court or in the remote Syria. Accordingly, setting up that response, "Ecce odor filii mei," I directed the chanter to go on with it; and on its completion we opened the tomb, and raising it on the shoulders of the monks we translated it, accompanied by the measured tones of our solemn melody, into our church. There we deposited it under a stone vault, in a spot prepared for this purpose, by the side of St. Guthlac, returning hearty thanks to the most high God, in that He vouchsafed to show and make known to us the body of the true martyr as being yet remaining among us, and to prepare for his sons such a gift of consolation in the day of their tribulation.

When the report of the translation of the holy martyr had spread through the country, crowds of the faithful daily flocked to

his tomb, and, offering their vows, did much to revive the vigour of our monastery.

To promote the honour of God and the edification of his people, I, recollecting that in the monasteries beyond the sea, those namely of Fontenelle, Fécamp, Jumiege, Molesme, and Clugni, as also in Fleuri, and in all other of the more ancient monastic houses, the maundy for the poor[1] was daily performed after grand mass, and that the people of God was much edified thereby, and aware that in all the English monastic houses this maundy for the poor was either omitted or entirely unknown, I determined by the advice of my whole convent that it should be from that time forward daily performed in our monastery in memory of our benefactor. Accordingly, giving to our almoner for the time being permission to leave the choir at grand mass after the consecration of the sacrament of the Lord, I directed him to proceed straightway to the door of the monastery, and before the end of the grand mass to bring in three strangers into the great parlour, and if there were no strangers, then to bring in three poor old men; if, however, these old men were not at hand, then three respectable boys as the representatives of three bedridden paralytics (as well women as men), to be chosen from the town in rotation, were to be introduced into the parlour; the feet of these were to be washed in the same way as those of other strangers and old men, but the whole of the victuals were to be conveyed to the paralytics, in whose place they had sat. I directed, however, that the feet of the wayfarers and old men should be washed, and that they might, if they wished, eat their victuals there, and carry away with them the remains of the food and drink; but that if they did not wish to eat them there, they should have free leave to take them away with them into the town. For the performance of this maundy, the almoner receives daily three monks' loaves, three flagons of the convent beer, and three rations from the kitchen; and he is to take care that all these be ready prepared before the arrival of the monks, who, after the grand mass is finished, will come daily from the choir to wash the feet of the aforesaid poor, and to provide, as properly as he can, both persons and victuals. If, however, at the instigation of the devil, either from avarice or insubordination, the almoner shall not introduce three, but two, or sometimes one poor man, on that day he shall live on bread and water for his offence, without being allowed to atone for it by a fine. And unless he furnish on the following day an additional number, equal to that by which he was previously deficient, he shall, on the following day, be deprived of as many rations as he was deficient in the number of persons; and he shall, notwithstanding, remain in penance for his disobedience, unless Sunday or the feast of some saint shall intervene. But if he be not reformed by this penance, he shall be ejected from his office, and another almoner shall be appointed, who will be more willing to watch over the interests of the poor in accordance with the regulations which we have already specified. After we had adopted this custom for some time, our brother monks who came to us from

[1] See Martene de Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus, p. 294.

other monasteries became much edified, and on their return to their own houses introduced the same regulation amongst themselves. We now therefore rejoice much in the Lord, in having been the first to afford an opportunity for such devotion to other most distinguished monasteries, and, having been as it were the fountain source of it among the English, we hope for great rewards with God, for having been the originators of so meritorious a work.

At this same time certain noble personages of our household, perceiving our indigence, made us very liberal payments out of their substance, demanding in return simply a release of their services for the term of their life, together with the spiritual benefits of our chapter-house. We granted the office of keeper of our infirmary to Wulsin Barbour, who came before our convent in our public conference, and swore to be faithful and loyal to us, and to discharge his office diligently as hitherto. We then repeated to him his duties, namely,—to shave the whole convent according to their rank, without any respect of persons, unless it happened that any elder wished, of his own accord, to take his turn after a younger; to serve the monks at table, whenever they took their meals in the infirmary; and, above all, to show especial kindness to such as were infirm of body, or confined to their beds, namely, by fetching them bread and beer from the cellarer, at the times appointed by him both for the refreshment allowed by our rules, as well for breakfast as dinner; at all hours of the day to be ready at hand in the infirmary to execute their desires, by fetching their victuals from the kitchen and the cellarer, and by performing for them such services as they may require. But in case two persons shall be sick and confined to their beds, he shall serve the elder and shall sleep near him; the clerk, however, of the infirmary shall serve the younger, and shall attend upon him; and if a third sick person shall come in, the cook of the infirmary shall wait upon him, and shall sleep near him in like manner. At the same time, whenever there is need, the one shall assist the other in administering to the sick. But, if a sick person shall have received holy unction, then, on the first night, the servant of the infirmary and the assistant to the shoemaker shall watch with the sick man in company; on the second night the clerk of the infirmary and the servant shoemaker shall watch with the sick man in company; on the third night the cook of the infirmary and the servant of the baths in like manner shall watch in company; and thus in rotation for nine nights they shall watch one after another in turn, and attend the sick person, so long as he shall require their aid. The servant of the infirmary shall receive for each sick person who dies, in return for his labour, one tunic or four shillings, or anything else of the value of four shillings; but if he desires to sell the said tunic or other garment, he shall sell it to some monk of the same monastery, and on no account to one of another monastery, nor to any secular person, in order to avoid various scandals. Moreover, if any of the other servants watch with a brother who has received unction, he shall receive for each night two pence of the goods of the sick

person, which shall be sold on his death, in order that greater care may be bestowed upon the said anointed person in consequence of special rewards being assigned to the servants for this special labour. We will, moreover, that all the goods of the deceased brother be sold by the prior and the chamberlain, and given to the poor for the good of the soul of the deceased, or be distributed among the lesser clerks for the saying of psalms. The abbot, however, shall superintend the whole, in order to see that everything be done properly. Every bedridden brother shall have some one of the brethren to wait upon him by permission of the prior, and he may make a selection of such a one from among the convent; and he shall nurse the sick man and watch over him in all respects, and during this time the keeper of the infirmary shall provide for his usual duties in the convent. This same servant of the infirmary shall assist the prior in celebrating [masses], and the clerk of the infirmary shall assist the keeper of that department, or the other aged persons who wish to celebrate there, provided he be not hindered by attending upon some invalid. This said servant of the infirmary shall receive a respectable allowance of bread, drink, and meat from the kitchen, such as the servants in the abbot's hall are accustomed to have, and he shall also receive annually from the cellarer four shillings for his wages. If it should happen, however, that the whole convent should dine in the refectory, and there be no sick person in the infirmary, the said servants of the infirmary shall not go to their dinner in the refectory before the ringing of the bell; but if the monks dine in the infirmary for their own pleasure, or as a relaxation, or while they are being let blood, then the servant of the infirmary shall wait upon them until all their victuals have been placed on the table; and then he may go to his own dinner, unless he be detained by the prior or one of the seniors of those who are sitting at meat; and then he shall bring his own loaf, and the monks who are dining shall provide him with meat from their own rations. If on the second day he is commanded to remain, then the clerk shall bring his loaf; and thus upon every alternate day shall they provide bread in rotation, while the monks provide the meat. The cook's servant shall have for his own dinner the broken meat which remains; but if they leave behind them too little, or nothing at all, the almoner shall provide it.

Moreover we forbid Wulsin Garbour, and our clerk and cook, and all other our servants whomsoever therein, that they neither by themselves or others permit the entrance of any laymen, or boys, or women, from the town or elsewhere, into the infirmary, whence scandal, or annoyance, or disturbance to the sick inmates might occur. And our pleasure is that no laymen be shaved or let blood within the office of the infirmary, without the licence of the abbot, or prior, or of the monk who presides in their absence. We command also that these said three servants of ours, namely, the servant, the clerk, and the cook, should sleep all night within the infirmary, to guard against divers perils which might occur, unless they shall have permission from the prior to remain in the town; but this shall be granted very sparingly. If any of our said servants

shall transgress against any of the regulations which we have mentioned, the defaulter shall lose his allowance for one week, and no favour whatever shall be showed to him.

These statutes concerning the servants of our infirmary we have issued, as well for the future times as for the present; since it is incumbent upon us, according to the holy rule which we profess, to make especial provision that our infirm people do not suffer from neglect. We have furthermore granted the office of servant of our church to Seniannus[1] de Lek, who came before the convent in our public conference, and in like manner made oath that he would be faithful and true to us, and would fulfil his office as diligently as hitherto; and we enumerated its duties; namely, that he should have the charge of the church as well by night as by day, and that he himself should light all the lights in the church, excepting those round the great altar, and should extinguish them, at the fitting times; and that he should ring all the chimes, as well by night as by day, within the church, whenever we shall have a larger number of bells, excepting at the twelve lessons at the high mass, at vespers, at matins, and for the obits which are read in the chapter-house after the chapter, because at these times the monks shall ring them; and that he should daily place out the vestments for those who celebrate at the great altar and for their attendants; and should make all the tapers, as well the paschal taper[2] as the others which belong to the office of the saint. He shall also assist the sub-sacrist to grind the flour for the oblates[3] and hoasts for the convent, whenever it may be necessary; nor shall he introduce into his chamber suspected women [for this purpose], nor permit them to enter into any private places, whereby the suspicion of evil or any scandal may arise against either himself or the monks. Nor shall he sleep out of the walls without the permission of the prior or sacrist; and then the sacrist, with the consent of the prior, shall in the meantime appoint as his deputy for the care of the church some trustworthy person from among our other servants who are sworn to us. He shall also walk before the convent in the larger processions, and take every precaution that nothing disgraceful or indecorous occur in them, and shall receive on the part of the abbot decent allowance of bread and drink from the kitchen, and his stipend as an official which he has hitherto been paid.

These two offices I have described more fully than any others, both in showing their burdens and their advantages, in order that our successors may neither increase the burdens, nor diminish the advantages; for they have given largely of their goods to our monastery in consideration of serving us in the manner above laid down, and of reaping in their integrity the above-mentioned rewards for their services.

We granted also other of the offices of our monastery to other persons of our household; not, however, with the same indulgences,

[1] Or Semannus.

[2] Concerning this paschal taper, see Martene de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, p. 431, seq.

[3] This passage is illustrated by Martene in the work last quoted, p. 232.

because they had not made payments to us of their substance with the same liberality. We assigned the office of servant of our refectory to Harald Gower, and the office of servant of our guest-house to Roller Quater, subject to certain labours and with certain allowances. These persons, in like manner, came before the convent in the public conference, and swore to be faithful and true and diligently to discharge their duties. All these servants of ours will receive their allowances each day, whether absent or present, provided that their absence is occasioned by the business of a monk; but if they are occupied abroad about their own business without having obtained the licence of the prior, they will in the meantime receive nothing of their allowances; nor shall they go anywhere out of the monastery with a monk, even about his own business, without the licence of the prior; and, if they do so, they will in the meantime lose their allowance. Without the licence of the prior, no one who has taken the oath in the conference shall go out, excepting only the shoemaker and the buyer of victuals, who go to the markets each week; and in whose case it would be too wearisome to apply to the prior each time.

To this was added a particular injunction that these servants of ours should answer to their masters annually for the vestments, vessels, garments, and utensils, committed to their custody, in order that they might not by reason of their negligence be broken, or removed, or in any way destroyed; and if this be found to be the case, they are to make satisfaction for the missing articles. The servant of the church is to answer to the sacrist for the sacred vestments, the sacred chalices, the phials, the lavatories, and lamps, and the other ornaments and utensils of the church entrusted to his charge. The servants of the infirmary and the refectory are to answer to their masters for the silver and earthenware cups, for the silver spoons, the drinking cups, the saltcellars, the cloths, the napkins and towels, and all other vessels and utensils; each servant for those entrusted to him. The servant of the guest-house is to answer to his master for the bed-furniture, the table-cloths, the cups, the forms, tables and stools, delivered into their care. The cooks of both kitchens (both that of the infirmary and of the convent) are to answer to their masters for all the brass vessels, the jars, pitchers, boilers, dishes, gridirons, frying-pans, plates, platters, saltcellars, spits, mortars and pestles, and all other vessels and utensils entrusted to them, that they may not by negligent treatment be spoilt or broken, or in any other manner be removed or lost; and if anything of this sort shall be discovered, each servant is to make satisfaction for the results of his carelessness, unless he can give a just and reasonable answer to the charge. With regard to our books, whether the lesser ones without, or the larger with covers, we strictly interdict and prohibit, under pain of our anathema, their being lent to any one in any distant schools without the licence of the abbot, and without his being well informed of the time at which they will be restored. As to lending the lesser books, namely, the psalteries, Donatuses, Catos, or similar poetical works, and the unbound music-books, to boys and

relations of the monks, we stringently forbid the chanter and the keeper of the aumbries, whoever he be, under pain of suffering the penalty of disobedience, to lend or deliver them for more than one day to any person, at least without the licence of the prior; and in case any one shall in future presume to do so, he shall be deprived of his privileges for two years and be incapacitated from holding any office in the cloister.

Then also, with the unanimous consent of our whole convent, we made some additions, (which appeared to us not only essentially requisite, but consonant to sound reason,) to the most holy statutes of our venerable father lord Turketul the abbot, who had with great sagacity divided the whole college of the monks of our monastery into three grades; namely, that those of the first grade who have not yet arrived at their twenty-fourth year spent in our order, whenever they take their meals within the close of the monastery, should distribute no part of the provisions set before them to persons without the close, unless they had disclosed to the prior or president, whoever he should be, before dinner, the cause why their necessities required this indulgence, and should, upon the consideration of this, prove to be deserving of obtaining his licence; and that they should do this as often as their indigence demanded it. Those, however, of the second grade (namely, of those who have lived from the twenty-fourth to the fortieth year in the order), may give donations of their provisions, if they have sought and obtained the licence of the president, although they have not explained the cause to him before dinner, why their necessities required it. To this the officials form an exception, who, by reason of their offices, day by day maintain their servants out of their provisions; for instance, the sacrist, the master of the works, and others who provide servants as labourers every day; and this, although they may be of the first grade of juniors, yet, by reason of their offices, we will that they follow the usage of the seniors. Let all, however, of the second grade, as our holy father, the lord abbot Turketul, righteously decreed, be absolved from singing the smaller chant, from reading the epistle, the gospel, the martyrology, and the holy Scriptures, in the chapter-house, and from performing the office of the taper-bearers, according to the ceremonial book of the chanter, and from all similar minor labours of the choir and cloister. Let those, however, of the third grade, viz. from the fortieth year upwards, be absolved from the orisons before matins, before prime, and before vespers, and from the matins in the three lessons, unless it shall be the day of the expiation[1] in Easter week, of Pentecost, and of the Nativity of our Lord, when all belonging to the convent go in procession. Let them be absolved from reading during dinner, and from performing the maundy on the Saturdays. These may walk round the garden of the infirmary and sacrist whenever they will, without asking permission of the president, provided that the prior knows where they are, in case he should require anything of them.

[1] See Martene, as above, pp. 512, 513. Many of the technical terms which here occur in the original, are rendered with some hesitation as to their accuracy.

Besides this, since, by the provisions of our holy rule, the lights in the dormitory of the monks were to continue to burn during the night until morning, in order to avoid many dangers therefrom, I, with the consent of our whole convent, granted to the office of sacrist an annual salary of forty shillings, payable by the vicar of Wedlongburc, which the abbot has hitherto enjoyed, on condition that the aforesaid sacrist should provide all the lights, both in the cloister and dormitory, at the times appointed, as follows; namely, that on the approach of winter, from the feast of St. Bartholomew [24th Aug.] to the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.], immediately after the ceasing of the bell for the collation, the domestics of the church should light three lights in the cloister, and four in the dormitory, viz. two in the dormitory itself, and two others in the house of necessity; in addition to which, the light in the chapter-house must be lighted before the bell for the collation begins to sound, and continue to burn until matins are over, and the monks have ascended into the dormitory: that towards the end of winter, from the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary [2d Feb.] till the feast of the deposition of St. Guthlac [11th April], the same rule for the burning of all the aforesaid lights be closely observed: that from the feast of St. Michael [29th Sept.] to the feast of the Purification [2d Feb.], all the aforesaid lights be lighted before the monks enter the refectory, to drink the beverage provided by the rules of our order; and that they remain thus lighted all the year until sunrise, with the exception of the lamp which hangs in the chapter-house, and which must be extinguished when mattins are completed in the church, and the convent has ascended into the dormitory: that from the feast of St. Guthlac [11th April] to the feast of St. Bartholomew [24th Aug.], during the whole summer, the above-mentioned lamps be lighted at sunrise by the sacrist or sub-sacrist, so that a layman may not have occasion to enter the dormitory in the night time, and that they continue to burn till daybreak. And if, by the negligence of the sacrist, any of the said lights shall fail to be burning at the appointed times, let the sacrist on the following day in the refectory be confined to bread and water, without respite; but should he, in disregard of this our most just regulation, again make default in the lighting or continuing alight of any of the aforesaid lights, let him for the full space of fifteen days take his meals in the refectory, on every sixth day contained in them, on bread and water alone. And if for a third time there is any deficiency in the aforesaid lights, let him be removed from his office, and for the following two years remain incapable of discharging any office whatever. And if any neglect in lighting any of the aforesaid lights at the proper time shall happen by the default of the domestics whose duty it is to light them in the summer time, when the convent is not in the dormitory, let them for each omission lose their allowance of food for a week; but if this is repeated more than once or twice, let either some more severe castigation be added, or the before-mentioned penance be doubled. By the common counsel and consent of our convent, we have determined that these censures be enforced

against the delinquents, so as to deprive the prior or other president of the power of relaxing them for the future, without a special grace from the abbot for the time being.

At the same time we appointed that every day as soon as grace after dinner is said, the soul of king Ethelbald, our founder, shall be specially absolved, and that at grace after dinner, in memory of king Wichtlaf, by whose horn we have been refreshed, there be repeated by the inmates of the convent in the choir the verse, "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus," with the addition, "Cornu ejus exaltabitur in gloria." [Ps. cxii. 9.]

Our monastery having now in some degree sprung up again (praised be the Lord!) from the ashes of the fatal conflagration, and our round of duties, in whatever my inexperience judged requisite, towards our fellow-monks, our domestics, servants, and the dead of our monastery, having been settled, this history would have come to a conclusion, had not the manifest malice of our enemies induced me to add yet these few observations on their wickedness, and to guard my successors against their recurrence, so far as my ability serves. When the most glorious king William the First had yielded to fate, after having demised Normandy to his elder son Robert, and bequeathed England to his younger son William, the latter immediately upon the death of his father hastened to England, was received with a joyous welcome by archbishop Lanfranc his tutor, and the rest of the nobles of the whole kingdom, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster. No sooner had he arrived than he counted the treasure of his father, then deposited at Winchester, and found that it contained sixty thousand pounds of silver, besides gold and gems and other valuables to a very large amount. Thereupon he distributed, according to the last wishes of his father, to the larger churches of the whole of England ten, and to the lesser five marks, while to each of the churches of the towns he gave five shillings. To each county he transmitted a hundred pounds to be distributed among the poor in behalf of the soul of his father. Led on by the possession of this large sum of money he fell into prodigality, and after the death of archbishop Lanfranc, giving free reins to his licentiousness, he more than ever went astray after every temptation. Thus his paternal treasure was rapidly dissipated, and he began to oppress the whole land with fresh exactions, and to excite the disaffection and hatred of the people. Many of the bishops and earls conspired against him, some of whom he regained by flattery, some by threats, while some were sent into perpetual exile.

At this time, Yvo Tailbois, ever our implacable enemy, thinking that, as was the report, all our charters had perished in the burning of our monastery, caused us to be cited to show on what title we held the lands of ours which were in his demesne, although he had repeatedly before seen our charters and heard them read. However, when our steward, brother Trigus, appeared at Spalding on the day of the trial, and showed the charters both of the sheriff Thorold and of both of the earls Algare still entire and unburnt, he, frustrated in his hopes, had recourse to cavilling and abuse,

saying that our barbarous writing was worthy only of ridicule and derision, and could be held of no force or value. To this brother Trigus answered, that these muniments had been discussed before the renowned kings William, father and son, and that they, after having been approved, confirmed, and recited, had been by the royal authority assented to and corroborated, both by those monarchs themselves and the whole of their counsellors, from beginning to end; and that, in the event of either him or any other person, in contempt of the king's majesty, impeaching them, we should appeal thereupon to the tribunal of our lord the king and to an audience with him. Then rolling up our charters, he in the presence of us all delivered them to his clerk to carry, and left the court, when having again received the charters from the clerk, he returned to the monastery, the clerk returning, at his desire, to the court in order anxiously to listen and find out what might be the determination of Yvo with regard to Croyland. At length on the breaking up of the court towards evening, the clerk set out for Croyland; but in crossing the dike of our water of Asendyk he was set on by three servants of Yvo who were concealed there, and who rushed upon him from their lurking-places: he was thrown from his horse and severely beaten; and when on a careful examination of his cloak and the folds of his dress they failed in finding our charters, aware of the real state of the matter, they left him half dead of their blows and wounds. The clerk, then, creeping to a small vessel which was approaching, when it was quite night arrived at Croyland. I, however, hearing of this bitter malice on the part of our enemy, in order to preserve our charters against conflagration as well as against similar hostile tricks, took them and placed them in so secure a place of custody, that, our Lord Jesus Christ and our blessed patron St. Guthlac affording (as I firmly believe they do) their kind protection to their servants, so long as I live, neither shall the fire consume, nor an adversary steal them.

To continue my history: within the following fortnight this enemy of ours was on account of the before-mentioned conspiracy, to which he was privy and consenting, proclaimed the enemy of the king also, was banished, and still remains an exile from England in Anjou.

This history I, Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, have for the information of posterity brought down to this period, as I have been able to collect it from our archives, and as my fathers have related it to me. For from its foundation to its desolation five sempects have written the account of our monastery. The acts of the lord Turketul the abbot have been written by abbot Egelric the younger, his relation. From him to the present time I have recounted the events of our age.

GAIMAR.

HERE BEGINS THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH,

ACCORDING TO

THE TRANSLATION

OF

MASTER GEOFFREY GAIMAR.

To return,[1] in a former book, if you remember it, you have heard how completely Costentin held possession after Arthur; and how Iwain was made king of Murray and Lothian. But through this he saw much sorrow; all his noble relations were killed, and the Saxons who had come with Cerdic extended themselves from the Humber to Caithness: Modred the king had yielded to them. They had seized and taken the land once held by Hengist. This they claimed as their heritage; for Hengist was of their lineage. It was for this cause that with great labour they entered Britain. So did the Scots and Picts, the Welsh and the Cumbrians; these strange people made war, and with great damage entered into Britain. The Angles increased every day; for they continually came from beyond the sea. The people of Saxony and of Germany added themselves to their number; for lord Hengist, their ancestor, the others made their chief. Every day they conquered and recovered much from the English, and the land that they subdued they called England. This is the reason why Britain lost her name. Arthur's nephews reigned, who fought against the English.

But the Danes hated them much, because of their relations who were killed in the battles that Arthur fought against Modred, whom he afterwards slew. If that is true which Gildas[2] writes in his history, it is found written, that there were formerly two kings in Britain, when Costentin was chieftain, Costentin the nephew of Arthur, who had the sword Caliburc. One of the kings was named Adelbrit; he was a rich man and a Dane: the other was called Edelsie; Lincoln and Lindsey were his, he had the countries from the Humber to Rutland in his command: the other was king of the country which now is called Norfolk. So much were these two kings united that they were sworn friends; and there was such love between them, that Edelsi gave his sister to Adelbrit, that powerful king who was of the lineage of the Danes. The other king was a

[1] It will be remembered that the present work of Gaimar is a continuation of one which he had formerly written, but which does not come within the scope of our present undertaking.

[2] An allusion to Nennius, under the name of Gildas.

Briton, whose name was Edelsi; his sister was called Orwain; she was very noble and liberal.

By her lord she had a daughter, who was named Argentille. The maiden grew and throve, for she was carefully tendered. And it happened for all to see, that her father had no other heir. He had four rich counties in the kingdom of Denmark, and in Britain he had conquered the town of Cair-Coel [Colchester], with all the country: his kingdom extended in one holding from Colchester to Holland. While he was so powerful, Edelsi was really his friend. But it happened that Adelbrit died in the city of Thetford. He was carried to Colchester, there the king was buried; and Orewain and Argentille, the queen and her daughter, went into Lindsey, to the queen's brother, king Edelsi. The kingdoms which Adelbrit held, were delivered to him to be kept in safety: for the queen was ill, and lived only twenty days after Adelbrit. When she was dead they buried the queen; and Argentille was brought up at Lincoln and in Lindsey. So say the ancient people. She had no noble relation, through her father, amongst the Danes. Hear what that wicked king [Edelsi] did. To obtain the inheritance he coveted, he mis-married his niece. He gave her to a low fellow, whose name was Cuheran; as he wished to abase her, he thought he would oppress her.

This Cuheran was a cook, but he was a very handsome young man. He had a beautiful face, and beautiful hands, he was well-grown, pleasant to look on, and plump; his figure was at all times erect; he had handsome legs and feet. But as he was very bold and ready for a fight, there was not one servant in the house would venture to take liberties with him, or begin to inflict blows upon him, whom he did not throw down with lifted legs; when he was in a passion, he tied him with his sash, and if then he had not fair promises, he beat him well with a rod. And nevertheless he was so frank, that if the servant promised him, that for this he would not love him less, in the same hour he untied him. When they had embraced each other, then Cuheran was joyous; and the king and the knights gave him some of their food. Some gave him cakes, some quarters of simnel cakes, others gave him roast meat and fowl, which came from their kitchens; so that he had so much bread and food, that he kept two servants himself: and he often gave very large presents to the servants of the houses, of simnel cakes, of buns, of roast meat, and of cakes. Through this he was so much loved, so prized, and so approved, that if Cuheran wished for a gift, there was not a free man in the house who would not willingly give it him. But he had no care for wages; to give as much as he had was his way while it lasted; and when he had nothing to give, he willingly borrowed, then he gave and spent; what he borrowed he liberally returned. When he had anything he gave all; but he asked nothing of any one.

Thus he was in the house scullery boy to a cook. He had two servants whom he kept: hear, my lords, why he did this. He suspected that they were his brothers; but his father was not theirs, neither was his mother nor his lineage of their parentage; perhaps,

though he was in such disrepute, he had come of gentle bed, which if the king had known, I presume that he would not have had his niece in marriage. He did not know of whom he was born; he made him his juggler.

To usurp the lands of Adelbrit, he made his niece sleep with Cuheran, the daughter of the king in a humble bed: for Edelsi was guilty of great cruelty through coveting this kingdom; when, to have it to himself alone, he, as he thought, dishonoured his niece, and gave her to his cook, whose name was Cuheran. He never knew who the woman was, nor how he ought to treat her, till he came to bed. He lay down at her side and went to sleep.

Argentille was in great perplexity, to know why he lay beside her; and very much she wondered, that he never turned himself towards her, and did not wish to come near her, as a man ought to do to his wife. The niece complained to the king; often she cursed her uncle, who had so disinherited her, and given her to such a man: till it happened that one night they took their pleasure together; afterwards they went to sleep together. Much they loved each other, and were happy.

The daughter of the king dreamed in her sleep that she was with Cuheran between the sea and a wood where a savage bear lived. Towards the sea she saw swine and wild boars come ready to attack this great bear, which was so fierce that it wished to devour Cuheran. With the bear there were many foxes which had been in great peril all day: for the wild boars attacked them, and destroyed and killed many. When the foxes were destroyed, a single wild boar, fierce and bold, attacked, singly and alone, the bear, which made much noise; and with one bite divided its heart in two halves.

When the bear found itself wounded to death, it gave one cry, then fell, and the foxes came running from all parts towards Cuheran; with their tails between their legs, and their heads bending, they kneeled before him; they appeared to be asking mercy from Cuheran, with whom they had made war. When he had raised them all up, he wished to go to the sea. The great trees that were in the wood bent themselves down on all sides. The sea arose and the waves came, so that he could not keep in the wood. The trees fell and the sea rose; Cuheran was in great distress: afterwards two lions came: they fell upon their knees. But many of the beasts who were in their way went into the wood. Cuheran, from the fear that he had, mounted into one of the large trees; and the lions came forward towards this tree, kneeling. Through all the wood there was so great a cry that the lady awoke; and as she had dreamed, had closely embraced her lord. She found him turned towards her; she had fastened him within her arms. From fear she opened her eyes, and she saw a flame which issued from the mouth of her husband, who still was fast asleep. She marvelled at the vision, and at the mouth of her husband, also at the flame which she saw: hear now what she said. "Sire," said she, "you burn; wake up, if you please. A flame issues from your mouth, I know not who put it there." So much she embraced him, and drew

him to her, that he awoke and said, "Why, why have you waked me, dear friend? why are you frightened? He entreated and caressed her so much, that she related all to him, and told of the flame, and the vision that she had seen of her husband. Cuheran replied to her, about the vision that he heard; he interpreted the dream according to his view of it, though he said all might be an illusion. "Wife," said he, "with us it will be good, both for your advantage and for mine. Now I can understand what this may be; the king will hold his feast to-morrow, and will have many of his barons. There will be so many stags, kid, deer, and other meats, that there will remain much in the kitchen, which we will save from being wasted; the esquires will carry many good larded joints and brawns from the kitchen to the barns. The esquires are obedient to me both at evening and in the morning: these signify the foxes of which you dreamed, they are here. And the bear is dead; he was killed yesterday; the wild animal was taken in a wood. There are two bulls for the lions; let us take the kettles for the sea, in which the water rises like the sea, so that the cold makes it subside; the flesh of the bulls will be cooked: Lady, the vision is explained."

Argentille, when she heard this, inquired, "Before you tell me more, my lord, can you explain that which I saw burning in your mouth?" "Wife," said he, "I know not what it is; I was deceived by sleep. My mouth emitted it while I slept; I felt nothing of the flame. I am really much ashamed that in sleeping this happened to me."

[1]Argentille said, "In my opinion, we are both here in a dishonourable position. It would be better that we should be exiled among strangers, and injured, than that we should live here in such shame. Friend, where are thy relations?" "Wife," said he, "at Grimsby: I left that place when I came here. If I do not find my kindred there, under heaven, where I was born, I know not." "Friend," said she, "let us go there, to see if we can find them: no man who loved thee ever gave us better counsel." Cuheran answered, "My beloved, be it wisdom or be it folly, I will do what you wish: I will take you there if you recommend me." They repose in the night till the arrival of clear day; on the morrow they go to their lord, they come to the king, they ask leave. When he heard, he was much amused. Laughing, he gave it to them; he joked about it to his people, and said, "If, on the third day or on the morrow, they should feel a little hungry, they will hasten to return when they cannot do better." Now they come to Grimsby; there they find a good friend. He was a fisherman who lived there; the daughter of Grim was his wife. When he recognised the three young men, Cuheran and the two sons of Grim, and knew the daughter of the king, ...[2] he said to his wife, who was very sensible, "Dame," said he, "what shall we do? If you approve, we will reveal our knowledge and our secret to Haveloc, the son of the

[1] Here Gaimar has omitted a portion of the history of Havelock, and thereby thrown some obscurity over this portion of the narrative.

[2] Here occurs another omission in the narrative.

king. Let us tell him quite openly of whom he was born, and of what people." The wife said, "If he knew it, I suspect that by his folly he would discover it in such a place that great damage would quickly ensue. He is not so wise as to know how to conceal his inclination. If he should know that he was born of kings, it would be hidden only for a few hours. Nevertheless, now let us call him, and let us ask of whom he was born: if his wife come with him, we can well tell him with whom, of whom, and in what land he was born, and how he was exiled by war."

Then they called Haveloc, and Argentille came with him. The good man and his wife thought it good to sound him. "Friend," said she, "where wert thou born, and in what place is thy kindred?" "Dame," said he, "I left my kindred here when I went from this place. Both by father and by mother thou art my sister, I am thy brother. Grim, a fisherman, was my father, the name of his wife, my mother, was Sebruc. When they were dead I went from this place, and I took with me my two brothers. Now we are grown up, we are come back again, we did not know our kindred; and now thou and thy lord are silent upon the subject: thou knowest well thou art our sister." Kelloc replies: "All is quite different from what thou thinkest: thy father never sold salt, nor was thy mother a salt merchant: Grim sold salt, and was a fisherman. Thou knowest the good-will of my brothers, thou wilt thank them by whom thou wert nourished. Yesterday a great ship, strong and good, arrived smoothly in port. It brought meat and bread, wine and corn, of which it has great abundance. It will go beyond the sea. If you will go in it, I think it will go to the country where your relatives and friends are. If you will voyage in it, we will provide you well. We will give you a change of clothes, you shall have some of our money, with bread and meat, and good clear wine, to take at evening and at morning. You shall have as much food as you wish; you will take your two servants with you: but keep well your secret; you were the son of a good king. He had Denmark by inheritance, as his father and his forefathers had. Your father's name was Gunter; he married the daughter of king Gaifer, whose name was Alvive; she cherished me and did me much good as long as she lived. She brought me up, so said my mother; the daughter of Grim was her companion. But it happened that king Arthur came to conquer in your kingdom, because of his tribute which was kept back; he came into the land with a numerous people. He seemed hostile to king Gunter, and made war with him near the sea. King Gunter, with many knights on both sides, was killed. Arthur gave the land to whom he pleased. But, because of the war, the queen could not remain in the country; so she fled from it with the right heir. You are he, if, as I believe, you are lord Haveloc, the son of the king. My father had a very good ship; he brought the queen quietly away. He was bringing her towards this country, when, as God pleased, it came to pass that we were encountered by pirates: we were all plunged into the sea, our knights, our people, and the queen with them. No man was saved except my father, no woman except my mother.

My father was known to them [the pirates], for whose sake they saved the children, me and you, and my two brothers, by the prayer of my father. When we arrived in this country, we cut our great ship into two; for all was broken and destroyed when the queen was killed. We made a house of our ship, and we supported ourselves comfortably by means of the boat, wherein our father went to fish. We had fish to eat, turbot, salmon, mullets, whale,[1] porpoises, and mackerel in great plenty; we had bread and good fish in profusion. For fish we exchanged bread, of which people brought us great abundance. When we had money my father became a salt merchant. As long as he lived, he and my mother supported you well, better than my brothers. I remember that this noble lord held me in great honour. He was a merchant; he knew how to voyage upon the sea, and well understood how to sell and buy. He was in Denmark in days gone by, and he heard several persons say that if he could find you they would come, and would claim the country. We strongly recommend that you return and take your two servants with you, that they may be with you to serve you. If good befal you, let us know; if God should give you your inheritance, we will follow if you wish."

Haveloc and his wife said, "We return you many kind commendations; if God restore our heritage, we will do more than you ask, and we will take the young men with us. Through God we will consider the matter well." The dame replied: "Truly you shall remain here till the wind shall be fair, and if I can manage, before you go, you shall be attired in better clothes." These they put on during their stay; they were clothed handsomely. They stayed so long till the time arrived, and then they went on board the ship. Lord Algers, the merchant, had made an agreement for them. He and Kelloc gave their garments for the retainers of Haveloc, and they put a sufficient quantity of food for them, so that it would not have failed in three months. They put bread, wine, meat, and good fish in the ship for them in great abundance, and as soon as the ship floated, the steersman trimmed it well. In truth they had two ships, their sails were spread to the wind; so well they sailed and steered that they soon arrived in Denmark. They went into a town in the country in which they had landed; there they asked for horses and carts, and made them bring their food. The merchants are all gone away with their merchandise and two ships, and Haveloc and his wife go to the town to lodge.

A rich man lived there, Sigar Estalre[2] was his name; he was seneschal to king Gunter, and a judge in his kingdom. But he possessed so much gold in the land that the king greatly hated this rich man;—the king who then was powerful over the other people of that country, instead of his lord, whom he had killed by the

[1] In the original "graspeis," *i.e.* crassi pisces. In confirmation of the rendering which I have ventured to give in the text, see Roquefort's edition of Le Grand D'Aussy's Hist. de la Vie privée des François, ii. 83, ed. 1815.

[2] The Saxon term Stallere, of which this is a Normanized form, was equivalent to the later Seneschal, or Steward of the Household.

power of Arthur the strong, who had sent him by treason, and given him this kingdom. As he was so traitorous and cruel, many of them agreed that they would neither obey him nor take land of him until they knew of the right heir; they would see whether he were dead or alive. The king who then was in the country was brother to king Aschis, who suffered death for Arthur in the place where Modred had done him so much injury; his name was king Odulf, he was much hated by his Danes.

As God pleased, and fate, God placed Haveloc in his [Sigar's] care on account of his wife, who was very beautiful, the daughter of the king, lady Argentele.[1] Six youths then assailed him, took the lady, wounded him, much endangered his servants, and in several places hurt their chief. As they were going away with his wife lord Haveloc was very angry; he seized a very sharp axe, which he found hanging in a house; with it he attacked in the street those who were taking away lady Argentele; three he killed, two he slew, and cut off the fist of the sixth; he took his wife and went to a hostelry. "You are very much to blame," he cried. He took his servants and his wife and went into a church: from fear he shut the doors; then they mounted above on the tower. There he made such a defence that it was not taken without much trouble, for they fought well; those who assailed them were wounded. When lord Sigar came fighting he saw how the stones were falling down. Lord Haveloc, who was very strong, had killed the five brigands. Sigar saw him and considered; he then remembered king Gunter; how formerly he had chosen him, and had once had him for one of his retainers; he resembled his lord so much that when Sigar saw him he felt so much pity that he had great trouble to speak. He caused the whole assault to cease, and assured him peace and truce; he brought him into his hall, himself, his wife, and his companions, the two servants beforementioned. When they were in a place of security the nobleman inquired who he was, what his name might be, and who his companions were: of the lady he asked whence she came, and who gave her to him. "Sir," said he, "I know not who I am; I know that I was born in this country: a mariner, whose name was Grim, took me away when an infant; he wished to go to Lindsey. When we came upon the high sea we were attacked by pirates, by whom we were very badly treated; my mother was there and was killed; I was saved, I know not in what manner, and the good man escaped, who cherished me and loved me much; he and his wife nourished me, much they regarded and tended me. When they were dead I went away; where I went I served a king, and while I was with him two young men were with me; I was much with him in my youth, and this lady is his relation. He, as he pleased, gave her to me, and married us together. I am come into this country and know none of my friends. I knew not with certainty if I had a single relation, except through the report of a merchant now

[1] Here in the MS. A. the scribe has left a blank space, equivalent to six lines. The narrative, as supplied by the romance, tells us of a plot to carry off the lady; the result of which is recounted in the text.

living at Grimsby, a very worthy man, whose name is Algier; he and his wife recommended me to come here, to seek in this land my friends and my relations. But I know not how to name one, and I know not how I can find them." The good man said, "What is thy name?" "Sir," he replied, "I know not; but when I was in the great court they called me Cuherant, and when I was a boy I know well that I had the name of Haveloc. At Grimsby the other day, Alger called me Haveloc; now I am here you will call me which you please of these two names."

Sigar stood and listened; he well remembered the son of the king, and the son of Gunter had the very same name which he said. He remembered him by another circumstance, which he formerly saw by the means of his nurse, of a flame that issued from his mouth while he slept. He had him well guarded in the night, in the place where he was reposing with his wife. Because he was much wearied by the battle, and by the thoughts that he had had the day before, he went to sleep thinking nothing about it. Immediately when he [Haveloc] slept, the flame went out of his mouth. The servants who had watched him quickly announced this to their lord, and the good man rose from his bed; when he came he saw the flame. Then he knew well that that which he had thought of him was true. But so precious was this thought to him that he wished to tell his wife as soon as he rose on the morrow. Then he sent for his people, he sent for his knights, for townsmen, and for foot soldiers. Many came from all parts. When he had assembled a large number, he went to speak to Haveloc; he caused him to wash and eat; he had him dressed in new clothes, and brought him into the hall. When he had entered the hall, he saw so many men congregated there that he much feared that these people would pass a severe judgment upon him. He suspected that they were assembled because of the five men he had killed. He wished to go for an axe which a youth there was holding; he desired to seize it that he might defend himself. Sigar saw him, and caused him to be brought to him. As he held him quite close, Sigar said to him, "Do not fear; have no apprehension, my friend; I swear to you, if you trust me, that I love you more now than I did yesterday when you were seated at my table." Then he placed him near himself, and had the king's horn brought. This was the horn of king Gunter; under heaven there had never yet been a knight who could sound this horn, nor a huntsman, nor a youth, so that no one could ever hear it sound, till the king, or the right heir sounded it. In truth the right heir of Denmark could sound it well; but no other man ever sounded it; other people had laboured for nothing. Sigar had kept this horn; king Gunter had given it to him. When he held it he could not sound it; he gave it to a knight. "Whoever shall blow it, so that it shall give a sound which can be heard distinctly, I will give him a good ring, which, at need, is worth a castle. He who shall have it on his finger will not be drowned if he shall fall into the sea; nor can fire injure him in any way, nor any weapon hurt him: this is what is said of the ring." Now the household go to sound the horn, the

knights and the sergeants; they can neither sound it much nor little; it will not sound for one of them. Then they delivered it to the young man, whom they called the prisoner, whose name was Haveloc.

When he held it, he looked at it, and said that he had never blown one. He said to the lord, "I will let it be; as no man can sound it, all declare your ring free, when so many youths have tried the horn." Sigar replied, "No, you will do it; put it to your mouth." "Sir," said he, "I cannot refuse you; it shall be well, I will make the attempt." Then he took the horn, as he was shown, and tried it at his mouth. Directly his lips touched it, the horn sounded well as once formerly his father was heard to sound it; no man knew so well how to blow it.

Sigar heard it; he started to his feet, and folded him in his arms. Then he cried, "God be praised! Now I have found my rightful lord; now I have him I desired, for whom I will fight; this is the lawful heir, and the person who ought to wear the crown of gold." He then sent for all his people; then they did fealty. He himself kneeled, and swore to keep faith with him. After this he sent for the barons, with whom the king was at strife; all became his subjects, and received him as their lord.

When this was done, the people assembled; in four days there were many hundreds, and on the fifth day there were full thirty thousand knights. They then defied king Edulf; they met in a plain. Many severe blows were struck, and king Edulf was vanquished; for Haveloc so demeaned himself that he alone killed more than twenty. There were two princes of the country, who before were his enemies and were allied with king Edulf; now they came for his mercy; the poorer people of the country came to sue for mercy at the same time, and Haveloc, by the advice of his barons, granted them pardons. All swore fealty to him; the knights of the kingdom, the chief men and townsmen, made him their lord and king. He held a great festival and entertainment; so we are told by the authentic history.

He afterwards summoned all his ships, with all the power of his kingdom. With his great host he passed the sea, and defied king Edelsi. He sent him word that he challenged him if he would not restore the right of his wife. King Edelsi sent back as answer that he would fight with him. They fought in a plain from morning till evening. Many men were severely wounded on both sides, and many fell down dead, when black night severed them and postponed the issue till the morrow. But, through the counsel of the queen, who devised a stratagem, by which she remedied the evil of the battle, she regained her kingdom without greater contentions. [1]All night she caused poles to be fixed in the earth, thicker and larger than stakes. They fixed the dead men to them, and arranged them through all the night They made of these two great troops, so that they really appeared as if they were living combatants, although the day before they had been killed. Men who saw them

[1] Petrie here notes that a similar stratagem is described by Saxo Grammaticus, p. 67, ed. 1644.

from afar felt as if their flesh were creeping. Both from far and near these unconfessed dead seemed hideous.

On the morrow they prepared again, and drew themselves up in fighting order. The scouts came before to spy the people of lord Cuherant. When they saw that there were so many, they felt as if their flesh was creeping; for against one man that they had there appeared to be seven on the other side. They go back to tell the king, "To fight is of no use; restore to the lady her right, and make peace before things be worse." The king could go no further, so he thought proper to grant this request; for so the barons had advised him. All the kingdom was restored to them, from Holland to [1]Leicester. King Haveloc held his festival there: he received from all his dominions the homage of his barons. King Edelsi only lived five days after this. He had no heirs so legitimate as Haveloc and his wife; he had children, but they were dead. His nobles willingly agreed that Haveloc and his wife should have the land of king Edelsi. So he had it: he was king twenty years: he conquered much by the Danes.

[2]Then from the Nativity nearly five hundred years had passed, there were but five to tell, when Cerdic with his ships arrived at Certesore, a mount which still appears: he arrived there with his son, whom the English called Chenriz. Horsa and Hengist were their ancestors, as the true Chronicle[3] relates. This Cerdic was the son of king Elessinc,[4] he [Cerdic] was an Englishman; Elessinc was son of Elese, . . .[5] and Elese was son of Esling, Esling son of Eslage, son of Wising, son of Gewis, son of Wigening, son of Wilte, brother of Winsing, son of Fretewine, son of Freodagaring, son of Freodegar, son of Brending, son of Brand, son of Beldeging, son of Beldeg, born of Winhing: Beldeg was of the lineage of Woden, of whose lineage Hors and Henges were born. Of their lineage came those who were called the West Saxons, the South Saxons, the East Saxons, and the Middle Saxons. Now, because of this, that Henges and Hors, and Cerdic, who after their death came into the land, and often made war in it, were of this royal lineage, they and their race who were born in the country named Ange, were always called English.

The war lasted twenty-four years, before Cerdic could conquer scarcely anything from the Britons: Cirencester[6] was blockaded; but, by the carelessness of the Britons, it was set on fire by sparrows, which carried fire and sulphur within, and burned many houses; the besiegers without made the assault with great violence. Then this city was conquered, and Gloucester was taken. They vanquished all as far as the Severn; they killed all the principal Britons,

[1] Colcestre, B.

[2] At this point Gaimar begins to use the Saxon Chronicle, and here MS. B. commences.

[3] The Saxon Chronicle is the authority here alluded to, in some copies of which the genealogy of the West Saxon kings was here inserted.

[4] This pedigree of the Saxon kings is very incorrect, Gaimar not knowing how to deal with the patronymics. Here twenty-three lines are omitted in B. C. and D.

[5] In A. there is a blank space equivalent to one line.

[6] The narratives of the Saxon Chronicle and Geoffrey of Monmouth are here blended together.

and from the sea, where they arrived, to the Severn, they converted to themselves all the country and the kingdoms; and expelled the Britons.

King Cerdic reigned fifteen years: Kenric reigned after his death. He was the son of Cerdic; he warred much, and many countries became his: the Britons hated him much, and often showed him their spite. The other English spread themselves, and, in several places, seized kingdoms. Each one caused himself to be called a king, as was the custom formerly among the Britons. Saxons came from beyond the sea, and when they arrived, took all; and the Britons, through their wars, thought it better to forsake their good land. Fleeing their own country, they went to Wales in the west, where their other kindred were. They defended this country well, and very often assembled an army; this they led beyond the Severn, and warred with the English, with Kenric and the other kings; they frequently fought, and sold their country dearly.

[1]The Danes were in Norfolk, from the time when Haveloc was king; they defended this country, and that which was king Edelsi's. But Wasing,[2] who was of their lineage, very often committed outrages against them. He would yield for no man; every day he committed ravages without redressing them; he never atoned for any injury. He fought much against two kings: the name of one was king Burgard; the other was called Geine le Choard,[3] who from fear forsook his land. The war had lasted but a short time between them, when the English Kenric came; he and his son, whose name was Chehuling, made war with king Waslin;[4] there was a long contention between them, till Wasling was killed; Kenric, his enemy, slew him. King Burgard assisted; he and Lowine of Gloucester brought two kings from the Saxons. Waslin was dead, and could not be there. The two kings of Saxony were great; they reigned thirty years, and then they died.

Kenric[5] the king and Ceawlin fought twice at Salisbury with the Britons; for every day there were contentions between them. In their time, and when they reigned, two clear days[6] were darkened like night. After these benighted days, Ida received Northumberland. Know that he was the first king of the line of the English who held it. This Ida reigned twelve years, and well restored Bamborough. It had become decayed, and had been destroyed since Ebrauc[7] had formerly built it. Ida was the son of Cobba,[8] a tyrant, who never was a servant of God. Again, in the time of Ida, Northumberland received its name: it was called Deira, on the east of the ditch, and the other part was named Hernicia.[9] This king then fought against the Britons, whom he much hated; he warred

[1] No trace of these early Danish kings occurs in any history anterior to the time of Gaimar.
[2] Walsig, D. (always).
[3] Gemetuard, B. D.
[4] Wasing, B. (always).
[5] Gaimar now returns to the Saxon Chronicle.
[6] These eclipses of the sun occurred (according to the Saxon Chronicle) in 538 and 540.
[7] The foundation of Bamborough by Ebrauc is peculiar to Gaimar, and appears to be derived from some legend now unknown.
[8] Read, Eoppa.
[9] Read, Bernicia.

so violently against them, that he conquered the country from them. He was greatly feared through all Britain, for his followers increased every day. Ella and Ida were reigning, the one and the other, thirty years.

Since the birth of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ our Lord, five hundred and sixty-five years had passed, so the Chronicles warrant, when Edelbrit was made king of Kent, and at the same time of Surrey. He held the kingdom fifty-three years. The pope sent him Christianity and true baptism; he requested these of Saint Gregory. Saint Columbanus[1] baptized him; he was a priest who loved God: then he went north, and lived there; he dwelt with the Picts. The island of Nun[2] was given to him; he was afterwards abbot there. Ninian had formerly baptized other Picts of the kingdom; these were the Westmaringians,[3] who then were Picts. Saint Dinan [Ninian] lies at Whiterne; he came a long time before Columba.

Five hundred and sixty-eight years had passed on that night when the kings Ceawlin and Cutha put the Kentish men to flight. King Edelbrit was discomfited; his two nobles were killed; dead were his two nobles, Oslaf and Cnebba were their names. This Cutha was brother to Ceawlin; he conquered the Britons one morning at Bedford, there he conquered them. He then took three good prizes from them, Aylesbury, Bensington, and then the city of Luitune. By Ceawlin and Cutha his brother, mischief was caused to the Britons. At Scorham[4] they killed three kings, so the ancient book tells, Coimagil, Candidant, and Farinmagil, a powerful king. Then they conquered Gloucester, they took Bath and Cirencester. Ceawlin and Cutha went before, and sought the Britons until they could find them; they came to them in the country which was called Fethanleag. Cuda was killed by the Britons there; many went to great destruction: they were destroyed and discomfited; king Ceawlin had seized all, their armour, their possessions, their treasures, and their estates. Then the king of York [Ella] died; they made Edelfrig king; Edelfrig was king, and was brave; Edelrig was only king five years. Edelfrid was of the lineage of Ida. Now lords Ceawlin, Cwichelm, and Crida, were departed this life. A king of Scotland, whose name was Egtan, made an unexpected attack against Edelfrit, and fought against him with all his army. They assembled at Dexestane; but the Scots broke their ranks: the brother of king Edelfrig, whose name was Theodbald, was killed. The man who led them was called Hering: the people of Scotland fell.

When the centuries, as we read, had lasted from the birth of Christ Jesus six hundred[5] and five years, Gregory sent Augustine to the land: he promoted peace, and banished war. Paulinus, his companion, came, with Saint Justus and Mellitus. They greatly exalted Christianity, and baptized people in several places. Ceolwulf was then king of Winchester, of Wessex, and of Gloucester.

[1] Here Gaimar is confused and erroneous.
[2] Iona.
[3] The southern Picts of the Saxon Chronicle.
[4] Deorham.
[5] Another error in chronology.

This king loved contention and strife; he tried to war continually, either with the English, or the Saxons, or the Scotch, or the Britons. Edwin was then king;[1] he embraced the Christian faith; he was from York; we know of him, that he restored religion, built a minster, and gave it to St. Peter. This king, who was of the lineage of Ella, made a chapel to St. Peter. A bishop baptized him, whose name was Paulinus; God loved him much: he brought the pallium from Rome to the noble Augustine. This Paulinus was sent to the archbishop Augustine: many companions came with him to preach. Christianity was soon carried into several parts of the kingdom: but it was a long time before it was commonly received; and some of those who submitted to it, often embraced and then renounced it.

The good man, St. Augustine, had given consecration; he had ordained two bishops, and these two were very holy. One was named Mellitus, the other Justin, his companion. He gave Mellitus his see; his bishopric was in London: he [St. Augustine] made Justin head of Christianity at Rochester. Mellitus at first went to preach in Essex; he preached so much to king Seibert, that he asked baptism from him. He was the nephew of king Ethelbert, the son of his sister: he loved God openly, and served Him well: she who reared him was named Ricole, and was sister of the king who held Kent; by the blessing of God, and through this king, who then held Kent, St. Augustine came to the country.

Edelfrit was noble and powerful; he was king of Northumberland. He took a large army to Leicester,[2] where he found many Britons. Then he fought with them, killed many, and conquered all. Two hundred priests came to pray for them, and wished to inter the dead; these were killed in the field, not one of them left it living. Brocmail was the name of this king; his fifty companions fled like wild men: whoever remained was killed. Saint Augustine, as is recorded in his life,[3] had, in a prophecy, said and faithfully promised this: "All the Britons of this country, who shall infringe the truce, shall perish by the hands of the Saxons." Thus his prophecy was completely fulfilled and accomplished. Then died [Ethelbyrht] the king of Kent, which was a loss to many people. His son Edelbald reigned, who quite forsook Christianity. Edelbrit, that valued king, had reigned fifty-three years. He had a wife; his son took her: and the archbishop forbade it; his name was Laurentius, and he wished to give up the archbishopric: for he did not like to allow the king to sin so greatly, and continue in such adultery as this.

St. Peter came and spoke to him: he commanded him to go to the king, that he may forsake this heresy, support what is good, and amend his life. The archbishop returned happy and joyful: he said so much in discourse, that the king embraced Christianity, and loved goodness and honesty. When the king had reformed, the

[1] This arises from a hasty reading of the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 601.

[2] Chester. See Chronicle, A. D. 607.

[3] If the account given by Beda, Eccl. Hist. ii. 2, be not that referred to, Gaimar possibly here alludes to the legend written by Gotscelin.

archbishop rejoiced. A short time after, the good Laurentius was removed. They placed him near the tomb of St. Augustine, so he had commanded; because as he had before loved him in life, now he would again bear him company.

[A.D. 619.] Then Mellitus was brought, and consecrated to the archbishopric. When the people of London lost him, they forsook Christianity. After archbishop Mellitus, Justin was chosen, the bishop of Rochester was made primate at Canterbury; and to Romanus was given the see and the bishopric of Rochester. At this time,[1] as I believe, king Edelfrid was killed: Readwald, king of East Anglia, killed him; he had at once Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; this was the kingdom which he [Readwald] held, and of which he had taken possession. When king Edelfrid was dead, Edwin, son of Ella, took all, and then conquered all Britain; as a man bent upon conquest, some he drove away, and some he killed of the nobles of the land. But the people of Kent held their right, and made war with great exploits. Edelfrid was of the lineage of Ida, so his children were well assisted. However great the right which any one had in the land, those lost it who made war against him. Now I will tell you how the sons of the noble Edelfrid were named. The eldest of all was named Eanfrid, the second Oswald, a man much loved; the third they called Oswi, the fourth Oswudu, thus I tell you; the fifth people called Oslaf, the sixth Offa, this was his name; he united himself with the others, and warred against king Edwin.

Quicelm[2] the king warred against him, and tried much to betray him. He sent a traitor, as he thought, to kill him. Emor was the name of that traitor; hear how he did this great dishonour. Thus did this man of villany: he went by night into the chamber of Edwin. With one knife this wicked felon killed two noblemen, and much hurt king Edwin, who afterwards entirely recovered. Fordhere and Liban were killed: they were honourably buried. The daughter of Edwin was born that night. According to the covenant that he had made with God, the king promised that she should be brought to baptism, if he should have vengeance upon his enemies who had sent that wicked traitor to him; his friends entreated God for him.

Afterwards, when he had promised this, he led a host against his enemies, and encountered them in Wessex: a fierce battle delivered them to him. Five kings there received death, of those who had done him harm. He afterwards gave his daughter to God; her parents named her Eanfled. Eleven other children were brought with her to be baptized: so the king had commanded. This was done in Pentecost: Paulinus was minister at this assembly. After this, at Easter, the fonts were consecrated. Then the king was baptized, confirmed, and instructed,[3] and with him all the people of

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 617. [2] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 626.

[3] In the original—

Li reis idonc fu baptizé,
E confermé, e primsené.—L. 1203.

The word "primsener" (which occurs also at l. 3218 and 3226) has been intro-

the country. This was done at York; there where he had formerly given the place to the power of St. Peter. This bishopric belonged to St. Paulinus; he held the see as archbishop.

King Penda then received as his kingdom all the realm of Mercia. He warred against two kings for one and ten and several months; these were Quichelm and Cynegils: they banished many men. It happened that a battle was intended to take place between them at Cirencester. But all happened pleasantly, for an agreement was made between them. After which they stayed no longer than while they assembled in the country as many as they could of all their men, their people, and their friends; then they went against Edwin; they encountered him at Hedfelde. On both sides many men were killed there, and maimed, and enslaved: it would be pain to me to tell how the one party desired to kill the other; but the blows between them did not end till king Edwin was dead. He who killed him was called Cadwalla: king Penda took his head. Osfrid his [Edwin's] son was killed; the people of the north fled. They [the kings] went after them with their numerous people, and devastated Northumberland.

Paulinus, who was archbishop, heard that wrong conquered right: much it pained him that the Pagans had destroyed the Christians. Then it happened that he went quite away, he went upon the sea for safety. He took with him the queen, who was the wife of king Edwin, Edelburg was her name, truly. They went by sea into Kent. Eadbald the king received them well; he honoured Paulinus much, and rejoiced. When he could not be archbishop, he became bishop of Rochester: he lived there all his life; and the queen loved God. After this the people of Bernicia, who had too much property, made a nobleman their king, Eanfrid, the son of Edelfrid. And at the same time the people of York made Osric their king. The nobles of Northumberland chose the good Oswald for their king. At this time, to relate the truth, Cynegils, the king who held Wessex, received baptism: there was then another king there. He was baptized at Dorchester, a bishop confirmed him: he who baptized him was named Berin; king Oswald received him [as his sponsor]; and before the year had passed, Quicelm was brought to baptism.

[A.D. 640.] Eadbald, the king of Kent, died; twenty-four years he held the land. One of his sons was named Ercenberht: he was then chosen king. He first fasted during Lent: no English king before would observe them all. He first kept Easter; no Englishman would begin before. He took a wife, her name was Sexburh, the daughter of king Anna, an illustrious man. Ercenberht had a daughter, who was wondrously beautiful. She was called Ercongota; she well supported religion. In the time in which these lived, and well maintained the holy faith, a valiant king, Oswald,

duced into his Norman by Gaimar from the Icelandic, but with a modification of meaning: for it here means to instruct previous to baptism. The word is also found in the Ormulum, an English poem written probably in East Anglia, a district in which we might naturally expect to discover traces of Scandinavian influence. See White's notes to the Ormulum, ii. 430.

who held Northumberland, was killed. Penda killed him at Meserfeld in the ninth year of his reign. He was carried to Bardney, where his body was honourably interred. His head was placed at Durham, upon St. Cuthbert: so says the writing: his hand is whole at Peterborough;[1] those who guard it hold it very dear. In this time of which I tell you, Cenwalh was chosen king; the men of Wessex made him king thirty-one years over the English. He begn to be a man of worth, and caused a minster to be built at Winchester. Cynegilsing was his surname; he was of the lineage of that hero.

[A.D. 642.] After Oswald, Oswy was king; he reigned over the Northumbrians; he reigned fully twenty-eight years: he decreed laws, and loved peace. He was the brother of king Oswald; he well defended the Northumbrians. Through him king Oswine was killed, the son of king Edwin's uncle, who was brother [son] of king Osric; their father's name was Ethelfrith the king. Oswin was only king seven years, then he died; and Aidan, a very active bishop, was taken away after him: there were only twelve days between them. Through his holy body the deaf hear: may St. Aidan assist us, and St. Oswald, of whom I have written.

[A.D. 655.] King Oswy, after a year, killed Penda at Winwidfield: with him he slew thirty-three noblemen, all sons of kings, and kings some of whom he had killed; there was one of great renown; he was of East Anglia, brother of the border lord who then held the country.

In this time were numbered of centuries which had gone, five thousand eight hundred and fifty years; then Peada received great honour. The men of Mercia made him king, for he was one of the sons of Wencing.[2] Fifty and six years, as we say, and six hundred years with measure from the incarnation of Jesus to the day when Peada was killed. Wulfhere Penting was made king, and reigned over the Mercians. Then, with strong contention, the great battle at Peonum took place: Wulfhere[3] then pursued the Britons: he rode against them as far as Pedrida. This was after he came from East Anglia; he kept himself there by exile for three years; king Penda had driven him away, disinherited him, and taken his fief, because he had deceived his sister: he lost his heritage three years. Then he fought another battle near Chester[4] with king Cenwalh; this was at Bosentebiri, where he took much from Wulfhere. He laid all Esendune waste, and took this country from Wulfhere. King Gudret [Cuthred] was of the lineage of Quinzeline [Quicelm]; he was a prudent man. Between him and king Kenbrit [Coenbryht], the isle of Wight was violently seized. After the island had been thus devastated, king Wulfhere gave it to Ethelwald, who was his

[1] "a Burg" is the expression of the original, by which the Bebban-burh (Bamborough) of the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 642, might seem at first sight to be indicated. But Capgrave (Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. cclv. b.) gives an account of the process by which the remains of Oswald were conveyed to Peterborough, thereby authorizing the version given above.

[2] Peada Pending, *i.e.* the son of Penda; a further error occasioned by a confusion between the Saxon *w* and *p*.

[3] Read, Cenwalh. See Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 658.

[4] A mistake for "during Easter." See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 661.

godson, and who was king of the South Saxons; through him the inhabitants of the island were baptized, he caused the work to be begun. Then a day returned to night;[1] there was so great pestilence as never had been so great before, and there never has been since this time. In my opinion, it killed bishop Tuda; he then died, this I know to be true; he was buried at Paggle.[2] And Ercenberht, the king of Kent, died at the same time: Hecburch [Ecgbriht], his son, took possession of the kingdom. Then the archbishop held his synod;[3] and Coleman and his companions went to their possessions; Ceadda then was made a bishop, and Wilfrid an archbishop. This year an archbishop died; his name was Deusdedit. Vitalianus, the pope, made Theodore archbishop. King Ecgbryht gave the charge[4] to Bass the priest, but he refused it.

[A.D. 670.] Then died the good king Oswy: this caused the Northumbrians great grief. They gave the honour to Ecferth his son; they made him their king and rightful lord. Theodore then made the clerk Lothere bishop over all Wessex. Six hundred and sixty-one years[5] then had passed since the incarnation: the little birds fought on valleys and on mounts; so many of them died and were killed, that it was said that none were living. King Cenwalh died a year after; his time was not more. Then afterwards, in another year, Sexburh[6] died, the daughter of Anna. In the third year Ecgbryht died: and his aunt St. Etheldrytha, who was a nun, and loved God, had her place in Ely. At this time the West Saxons chose Escwine, whose name was Cenfusing;[7] he was heir, so they made him king. Wulfhere, with all his Mercians, fought against him; he and his people fought at Beadanhead. There were many men killed: Wulfhere fared the worse; he lost more than he conquered; he had bad advice when he undertook the enterprise. He did not live above a year afterwards, and no one followed out his edict. Then, with great honour, they made Ethelred lord of the Mercians. He was a brave man, so they had him; he was great in difficulties. But in that year in which he was made king, he went into Kent with his great army; he killed many people throughout the country, he burned and wasted, and took great booty. In this year Oswine[8] died; Centwine took possession of all Wessex. Then a comet[9] appeared, a star which, when it showed itself, the prognosticators and learned astronomers knew well God caused to be seen as a sign, in order that the people might know that some performed none of all his commandments; that amongst his faithful people there was not peace; that kings warred against right; that they oppressed

[1] This eclipse leads us to A.D. 664.

[2] Of uncertain locality; the Saxon Chronicle reads, Wagele, A.D. 664.

[3] If by this Gaimar alludes to the synod of Whitby, he is in error, since the archbishop of Canterbury was not there present.

[4] MS. D. here reads "Raculve" (Reculver), instead of "la cure," which would seem a better reading. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 669. But the conclusion of the line throws the matter into obscurity.

[5] Read, A.D. 671, and compare the Saxon Chronicle under that date.

[6] Sexburh, the daughter of Anna, king of East Anglia, married Earconberht, king of Kent, and not Cenwalh, as Gaimar imagined.

[7] Escwin, the son of Kenfus.

[8] Read, Escwin. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 676.

[9] A.D. 678.

their serfs by angry threats, and that all failed in well-doing. For these reasons this sign was exhibited. Three months it was seen clear and bright: it was observed throughout Britain; it was extended like rays of the sun. When it spread the greatest number of its rays, it came directly over St. Wilfrid:[1] which ever way the archbishop went, the comet turned with him. Ecgferth the king had banished him; he put two bishops in his see. Bosa presided over Deira, and Eata over Bernicia; and St. Wilfrid went to Rome, there he remained as a holy man. A third bishop was ordained, to whom Lindsey was given; his name was Hecca;[2] never before had the English a bishop in that place.

[A.D. 679.] Then, in the battle of two kings, near the Trent, a nobleman was killed whose name was Elfwine; one was Ecgferth, the Northumbrian, the name of the other was Edelred, the land of Mercia was his kingdom. Then died St. Etheldryth. At that time Colodesburg [Coldingham] was burned, celestial fire kindled it; as it pleased God it went there. Two years after, St. Hilda[3] died, she was abbess of Strieneshalle [Whitby]. In this year took place the battle between the men of Cornwall and the Britons; whom Centwine compelled to fly to the sea. Two years[4] after, Ecgferth the king sent an army against the Scots; these they destroyed cruelly; before them no minster was safe, they burned minsters and chapels, they dishonoured wives and virgins. Five years after,[5] king Ecgferth made St. Cuthbert a bishop; archbishop Theodore consecrated this illustrious personage at York; there he consecrated him to Hectilham [Hexham], where he sent him; for in that place was then the principal seat of the whole archbishopric; and Wilfrid was deposed, who had been archbishop. King Ecgferth in this year slew the people of the Orkney islands; many people were killed there, beyond the sea[6] towards the north. Ecgferth reigned fifteen good years; his brother Ealdfrid was king afterwards.

[A.D. 685.] At this time Heota [Eata] died at Hecfildesham [Hexham], then John was chosen: he held the archbishopric till Wilfrid returned: he was received as primate, and St. John went to Chester,[7] because Bosa the bishop was dead; St. John was sought and chosen. There was great peace after he came to it; he left his priest Wilfrith in the place: he was consecrated to the bishopric, and St. John went to his minster at Beverley; he served God much, for he was very dear to him. In his time Ceadwalla raised sad war for his kingdom. And in the year that he warred, king Lothere died; he was a great man and a noble king; he always ruled over the Kentish men.

[A.D. 686.] After his death Mol and Ceadwalla made cruel war in Kent; they burned, seized, and robbed; they completely pillaged the isle of Wight. Afterwards, in this year,[8] the Kentish men took revenge on Mol. They burned his twelve companions

[1] The banishment of Wilfred occurred in the year during which this comet appeared. [2] The Saxon Chronicle names him Eadhed, A.D. 678.
[3] A.D. 680. [4] A.D. 684. [5] A.D. 685.
[6] Probably the Scottish Sea, or the Northern Sea of the Saxon Chronicle.
[7] Read, York. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 685. [8] A.D. 687.

as felons. Ceadwalla was very angry at it; the same year he despoiled Kent. After that he went to Rome, and the pope made him a good man: he baptized him in the font, and named him Peter; he only lived eight days after, and was buried in the minster; this was eleven days before May [20th April]. I will speak of another king, Ine was his name, as I have heard say; the West Saxons made him their lord. This king reigned thirty-seven years, and then went to Rome. There he always remained till the day of his death. Archbishop Theodore was removed this year[1] by death; and the abbot of Reculver, Bruthpat [Beorhtuald], was put in his place. There were then two kings in Kent, one was named Wihtred, the other Sunheart [Suæbheard]. Then bishop Gefmun[2] died, and Tobias received his see. Dryhthelm died, God gave him grace. The Kentish men gave thirty thousand ounces of weighed[3] gold, because they had burned Mol; they paid all this to king Hinna [Ina]. The people of Kent, according to law, made Wihtred their king. Thirty[4] years he reigned and held the land; he conducted his wars well.

[A.D. 704.] Then, so we read, seven hundred and four years had passed from the incarnation; Ethelred, king of Mercia, took the monkish habit; Coenred reigned after him, and held the kingdom. Then king Aldfrith[5] was unfortunate; he was king of the Northumbrians; this king died at Driffield. Osred, his son, reigned afterwards, as his father had appointed. A year after, the men of Wessex made the good Aldhelm a bishop; they made two bishoprics of one through regard for the common people. Daniel held one bishopric, Ealdelf [Aldhelm] had the other, who was a very good man. After Ealdelf [Aldhelm] came Forthhere, he held the bishopric with great honour; Forthhere presided in the west, and Daniel in the east; there were woods and large forests in them [their bishoprics], but both were rich. One was bishop of Winchester, the other was to be bishop of Salisbury.[6] Before[7] this happened, came towards the south, from beyond the Humber, those who slew queen Ostrythe; and her cousin, king Ethelred, was her husband; Ecgferth was her brother, she his sister. Bearth [Beorht][8] was killed by the Picts. Cenred reigned over the South-humbrians;[9] that is, over Lindsey, and Holmedene, Kesteven, and Holland, and Hestedene; this kingdom extended from the Humber to Rutland and beyond. By several deeds it had fallen to him; he had these places straight to the Thames. The chief place of this kingdom used to be at the city of Dorchester, and Huntingdon and the county were part of it; also half of Granchester was in it formerly, and ought still to be. One king could well take care of it, if he could hold it in peace.

[1] A.D. 690.
[2] Gebmund, bishop of Rochester. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 693.
[3] See Id. A.D. 694.
[4] The dates vary in the Chronicle; fluctuating as to the year from which they calculate the commencement of his reign.
[5] A.D. 705.
[6] That is, of Sherburn, which was afterwards translated to Salisbury.
[7] A.D. 697.
[8] A.D. 699.
[9] Here two lines are omitted in B. and D.

[A.D. 709.] In this year the Mercians made Ceolred lord and king. King Cenred went to Rome, and with him Offa, a nobleman. Cenred remained there until his end; there he died as God destined. In this year, know well and see, St. Wlfrei [Wilfrid] died at Oundle. His body was carried to Ripon; there men well regarded religion. It is written that forty-five years had passed, since he had formerly been chosen bishop. Ecgferth the king had driven away this good man Wlfrei [Wilfrid]; after him Acce[1] his priest was made bishop in his place. In this year lord Berefrid [Beorhtfrith], in a great and fierce battle, fought, between the two rivers[2] Hese and Ciere, against the Picts. And Ine, and Nun, his cousin, fought against Gerentin; this was a powerful king of Wales, with all his will he did them wrong: and Sibald was killed this year; he was a nobleman of the country. At this time Guthlac lived, a man who served the Lord God; the person who shall see his life, will find there many miracles. It is right to touch upon it, I cannot say all. Ine[3] and Ceolred made havoc at Wodnesberghe, in a battle; a year[4] afterwards, on the border near the south, king Osred, who reigned over the Northumbrians, was without doubt killed; he was, as far as I know, king seven years. Then they made Cenred king; he held the kingdom two years and half a month. Then Osric held it eleven years. Ceolred, of Mercia, that valiant king, died this year; this is related; he was buried at Lichfield. The Mercians carried away Ethelred, the son of king Penda; they buried him at Bardney. They gave Mercia to Ethelbald; he reigned forty-one years, and suffered much from havoc and war. At this time, a powerful man, whose name was Ecbert, with fervent speech prayed to God and St. Peter; until his end he always remained in orisons and prayers; he was buried at Mirmartin.[5] Another noble,[6] brother of the king, whose name was Ingild, died, as I believe. He was brother to the good king Ine. Cuthburh, their sister, was queen; during her life she restored Winbourne, and built there a beautiful abbey. King Alfred married her; in his life she separated from him; she went away in her lifetime from the king who held Northumberland; so much did she cherish her chastity, that she left all her riches. Cenburh was the name of the other sister; she tried so much to please, that no one at this time in the country in which she was, was so loved.

[A.D. 721.] It was then, as the ancients count, seven hundred and twenty-one years from the birth of Jesus, so many centuries then had passed, when Daniel, the bishop who loved God, went to Rome. Cynewulf, the son of a king of great worth, was killed this year. The good John, he who lies at Beverley, then died. Edelburc [Ethelburga] threw down the works which king Ine had built; he had built them at Taunton; she had the works razed. In the year[7] that came after, there were several furious wars. King

[1] A.D. 710.

[2] These two rivers (which are also mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle) have not been identified.

[3] A.D. 715.

[4] A.D. 716.

[5] Ecgbert was buried at Iona. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 716 and 729. Mirmartin, or Cair Segeint, is the modern Silchester. See Usher, Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 34, ed. 1687.

[6] A.D. 718.

[7] A.D. 724.

Wihtred,[1] who held Kent, died, as it pleased God; this king reigned thirty-four years; he governed well, and loved his people. Ine, king of Wessex, warred in Surrey and Sussex; he killed Albrit, a king's son, whom he had before driven away; he had formerly quite disinherited him, now he killed him. He took much from the South Saxons, some he wounded, some he killed. Then after he had waited a little, king Ine went to Rome, and Edelbert, his kinsman, received the West Saxon kingdom. He governed it wisely fourteen years; he was much loved by his people. Then after two[2] years had passed, two comets appeared; the stars foretold the fall of kings; some said they were signs of peace, some said they were signs of war, and that they signified banishment; but whether they said wrong or right, or why this was, no one knew. King Osric then died;[3] he reigned eleven years, and was powerful. Saint Ecbriht died, who had led a good life. Ceolwulf reigned eight years after. Then Oswald,[4] the etheling, died. Then[5] a day was darkened like night. Ethelbald devastated Wessex; he seized and took possession of Sumerton; he conquered much during his life.

[A.D. 734.] Acca the bishop was then driven from Hextildesham [Hexham], his see. At that time the moon appeared red;[6] it was blood, so it seemed to all those who saw it; all said it was blood. Tatwine the archbishop then died; he served God well: Ecbruth [Ecgberht] was chosen to his see; he held the archbishopric well. Then Bede the priest died at Wearmouth; there he was buried. King Ceolwulf[7] became a monk; his relative, whose name was Eadbrith, held the kingdom; he reigned, with great trouble, twenty-one years; for Ethelbald made war upon him, this year he laid waste Northumberland. Ecbrith was the son of Eata, Eata of Leadwald; this was the name of the noble king who reigned over the Northumbrians. Ecgberht, son of Eata, was the name of his brother; he was an archbishop of noble extraction. They lie together, side by side, in the porch at York.

[A.D. 741.] After[8] a little time Edelhard, a king of the West Saxons, died; his relation Gudret [Cuthred] reigned after his death. It is said that he held the land sixteen years; king Edelbald made great war against him. Edelbald was king of Mercia; Gudret [Cuthred] upheld his West Saxons. St. Cuthbert[9] held the archbishopric; for the archbishop was banished. Gudret[10] [Cuthred] and king Ethelbald fought against the Welsh; because of the battle they took a truce; they quite discomfited the army which the Welsh had collected; he who could escape went away as soon as he could. A year[11] after, when Daniel could no longer be their bishop, the people of Winchester elected Hunfert. [12]He made a good master for the clergy, there could not be a wiser one. The stars of heaven

[1] A.D. 725. [2] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 729.
[3] A.D. 731. [4] A.D. 730. [5] A.D. 733.
[6] A.D. 734. [7] A.D. 737. [8] A.D. 741.
[9] If by "Saint" Cuthbert Gaimar means the bishop of Lindisfarne, then he confuses him with the archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury here mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 741. [10] A.D. 743. [11] A.D. 744.
[12] This sentence occurs only in B. D., which omit the account of the falling stars

lifted themselves up, and appeared to be moving; the people said they would fall. Then Wilfrid the Second died, the third [1] day within the month of April; he was bishop thirty years, so the ancients [2] tells us. At that time king Celred [3] was killed. Eadbert [4] the king then died; and lord Chenric, of Wessex, the son of the king, was slain. In that [5] time and in that season, Gudret and Edelhun held battle and made war. The one was a king, the other a baron. Well this Edelhun maintained his dignity.

[A.D. 752.] When Gudret had reigned twelve years he fought against Ethelbald; he put that king of Mercia to flight and killed many of his men; the battle was at Berford; the Mercians suffered a defeat. Two years after,[6] king Gudret fought against the Welsh; he was discomfited, but recovered a little, and lost only a few of his people. Two years after[7] he came to his end; then they made his relation king, whose name was Siebrand [Sigebert]; he only held this kingdom a year. There had been on that day and at that time seven hundred and sixty, less five years, from the nativity of Jesus, so it was counted, to the day on which Kenewolf disinherited Sicbrant [Sigebert]; he drove out by treason his cousin, and the barons of the country who had brought him in. He held the county of Hampshire and all Wessex and Wiltshire.

[A.D. 755.] Cynewolf [8] held the kingdom a long time, till a baron took it from him by war. He warred much and possessed much, till a great evil happened to him; he [Cyneheard] fought a battle against Cynewolf; all his low followers were killed, and he escaped wounded; he hid himself in Andredeswalt till a swineherd struck him down dead in a thicket where he was found. Cynewolf then held the kingdom till he had reigned more than twenty years. Siebrant [Sigebert], whom he had expelled, was his kinsman, but through and by the advice of his barons, who were foolish and very sinful, the king was embittered towards him. This Sigebert had a brother, whose name was Cyneheard; he took a very foolish revenge. By spies he found out that the king had entered a room to which he had come privately to visit a lady without his people. At this room he attacked the king as soon as he came out. With an axe which he held, he [the king] ran upon him directly he saw him. With the axe he gave him such a blow upon the head, where he struck him, that he cleft him to the shoulders; he killed him who assailed him; but the others ran upon him, he was killed in less than an hour. When Siebrant [9] heard it, he and his people

[1] Read, the third of the kalends of May [29th April].

[2] Apparently a reference to the Saxon Chronicle.

[3] Read, Selred, A.D. 746. [4] A.D. 748. [5] A.D. 750.

[6] The Saxon Chronicle, which ascribes this battle to the year 753, contains no allusion to the success of the Welsh. [7] A.D. 754.

[8] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 755, and Florence of Worcester, A.D. 784. This passage would seem to have been interpolated in the Saxon Chronicle; and from the form and language in which it there appears, may be conjectured to be founded upon an early Saxon poem.

[9] In its version of this story the Saxon Chronicle here mentions simply "the etheling." Whether Gaimar had any authority for the additional information which he here furnishes, or whether it arises from a misapprehension of the previous narrative, is uncertain.

came at the cry. They slew all that they found, and took, robbed, and despoiled. As soon as he had gone from the place, the household who had been with the king, and whom he had cherished and loved, came at the cry. When they saw their lord dead, they had much grief in their hearts. They would leave nothing undone that their master might be avenged. They ran upon him and wounded him; he affectionately waited for them. He promised much, spoke fairly, and reasoned with the barons. "My lords," said he, "do not assail me, for with justice I avenged myself. You know well, as I believe, that I am the son of king Siebrant [Sigebert]; so I ought, by right, to hold the kingdom, and govern the people. When this uncle of mine made war upon me I could not remain in the land. If I have avenged myself on him, you are wrong to wonder. For, barons, you should make a great rejoicing, and so render me honour. By such an agreement, when I shall have it, I will return to each of you his honours, and will give you great bounties; I will make the poorest rich." They replied, "We will not do so, we defy you as a traitor. You have killed our lord, let us strike, nothing shall delay." At the instant they struck with fidelity; these, at the same time, returned the blows. What shall I say about it? the struggle was great; that day Sienbrith [Sigebert] was killed, and all his companions, except only one young person. This was the king's godson, for which reason, as I believe, he was saved. Here this war ended. Now none of them had wars in the land; the uncle and the nephews had not, nor the barons who were dead; nor Combran,[1] who fought and fled to Andredeswald, whom the swineherd killed in the wood; he was a very bad man who betrayed him.

The lineage of these two kings, and of the nephews of whom I spoke before, and the parentage of their fathers, were reckoned upwards to Cerdic. Ceowolf reigned twenty-one[2] years, he suffered much trouble and sorrow. He was carried to Winchester, where he was buried with great pomp; and of his nephews who were killed, one was interred at Axminster,[3] the other at Defurel;[4] Kenehard was the name of this youth. In this year king Ethelbald, the Mercian, was slain; they buried him at Rependon [Repton], for the place had cherished him many years. He was king forty-one years. After him the Mercians made Brithred[5] king, by such tenure that in this year he was driven out of the honour. King Offa turned him out; he held the kingdom and reigned thirty-nine years. After him the Mercians made Echferd [Egferth] king of the land. He was the son of Offa, who formerly had it, and who reigned long before him. One hundred days, forty, and one more, he held it as a very virtuous man. Edbert[6] was lord of Northumberland; one day he often said that he desired

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 755.

[2] This same authority states that Cynewulf reigned thirty-one years. See A.D. 755 and 784.

[3] This passage does not occur in any copy of the Saxon Chronicle, as it has come down to us, and should be taken into consideration in forming our estimate of what has been stated at p. 750, note [9].

[4] Another reading gives Defiuel. [5] Beornraed. [6] A.D. 757.

to go to serve God, and to become a monk or canon; then he went away and forsook all. Osulf his son then took possession of Northumberland, Mercia, and Deira; Bernicia was yielded to him. He lived one year, then was killed; this crime his wicked retainers committed, who afterwards were all destroyed, hanged, and cruelly slain.

[A.D. 758.] On that day, so says the history, our ancestors had made seven hundred and fifty-nine memorials from the advent of God to this day; it was the same year in which the good Cuthbert[1] died, who loved God. Mol Ethelwald was made king; the Northumbrians did this. He was king two[2] years, and reigned powerfully; but he loved peace much less than war. In the second[3] year of his reign, the winter was severe; it rained, and snowed, and froze, and was so cold that nothing could guard either man, people, property, or beast, from the fierce tempest of this winter. It was said that this signified the death of king Mol, who then reigned, and who [4]was killed on a mountain which was named Edwine's-Cliff; there Anche and Oswine slew him. The country submitted to [5]Alchred; he lived nine years, and held this kingdom [Northumberland]; but all the barons[6] conjointly forsook him for the right heir, whom they caused to have his kingdom. They received him at York; king Alchred was driven away. Ethelred was the son of king Mol; to him the Northumbrians pledged their faith. He reigned but four years. Then a sign[7] appeared; it extended from heaven to earth, and appeared like a cross. After sunset this sign showed itself. Then king[8] Eadbert died; the English called him Eatinc. In this year[9] two kings, the kings of Mercia and of Kent, fought a great battle at Otteford, and many brave men were killed. At that time serpents[10] were seen; never before had any been observed like them; they showed themselves in Sussex; those who looked at them said that they were white and black, that they became red and green, and changed many colours seven or eight times in the day; when night approached, they sang in so sweet a manner that there was no instrument under heaven which men would so willingly hear. When any one ran after them, the fool who wished to catch them was quickly tied by the legs, so that he could not move his feet. Then[11] were strife and great contention between two kings because of Bensington; king Offa besieged it, and Cynewulf was much troubled.

[A.D. 778.] A year after, three sheriffs of this country were killed; Eadbrith and Edelbald did this; the assault was begun by them upon Eadwulf, Cynewulf, and Ecga, at Chinninges-Clive and Eleburn;[12] Alfwold then seized the kingdom; he had driven Ethelred from it: this king then reigned ten years. At this time such

[1] Archbishop of Canterbury.
[2] The Saxon Chronicle says that he reigned six years. [3] A.D. 761.
[4] Gaimar here varies from the text of the existing copies of the Saxon Chronicle, which state that Mol slew Oswin at Eadwin's-cliff, and make no mention of Anche, or (as D. reads) Ake. [5] A.D. 765. [6] A.D. 774.
[7] A.D. 773. [8] A.D. 768. [9] A.D. 773.
[10] Gaimar here adds many particulars to the brief mention of these serpents in the Saxon Chronicle. [11] A.D. 777.
[12] Liburnan, B. D. Hclathirn in the Saxon Chronicle.

was the law, that whoever had power made war, and took away his neighbour's land. [1]Then there was a battle between the [Anglo-] Saxons and a company which had come from Saxony; it was in the harbour of [2]Portsmouth: when they heard of their arrival, the [Anglo-] Saxons, who defended their land, encountered them: they were outlaws, because of this they did it. In this year, at Seletun, lord Beorn, a rich baron, was burned: the Northumbrians hated him so much that they burned him in a large fire.

[A.D. 782.] In that time, so people know, from the coming of Jesus there had been seven hundred and eighty years and two besides; I have an authority for it: for Werburg[3] then died, a queen who devoted herself to religion; king Celred had her for his wife; she lies at Chester in a precious place; and every year it is seen that God does great works there through her. Two years[4] after her death, two kings went to war; one was named Cyneheard; he openly killed Cynewulf; eighty-four men Cyneheard caused to fall in that place. At this time king Brichtric held Wessex sixteen years, so it is written. He was buried at Werlame [Wareham]; his ancestors extend back to king Cerdic. Then[5] Ecfred [Ecgferth] was made king, and a crosier was given to Hibald.[6] Through Adrian, a holy man, messengers came from Rome to renew the holy law: as formerly, so I believe, St. Augustine and St. Gregory made it; thus this pope did it. Then[7] king Offa gave his daughter, whom he well endowed, to king Bertriz [Brichtric]: he gave his daughter Eadburga, who was beautiful and amiable. At this time the Danes came to fight against the English. They killed the king's seneschal, and seized and took the land; they did much evil in the country, though they had only three ships. [8]Then they went back into their own land; they assembled their friends, and wished to come into Britain; they desired to take it from the English; for they had deliberated amongst themselves, and said that it was their heritage, and that many men of their lineage had inherited the kingdom. They had entered it before the English, and a Danish king, who was born in Denmark, held the kingdom before any Saxon inhabited it; so did Ailbrith and Haveloc, and more might be named with them. Because of this, they said in truth that Britain was their lawful inheritance. Kindled by this, many remained, and on this account did not go away. Their enemies[9] came upon them from the country of Guenelinge.[10] By reason of this war, it happened that they [the Anglo-Saxons] kept the land.

[A.D. 789.] At this time, and in that of which I am speaking, king Oswald[11] was killed. He held Northumberland; he was a

[1] A comparison with the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 780, renders this statement of suspicious authority.

[2] No notice of the battle of Portsmouth occurs in the Saxon Chronicle.

[3] A confusion between the wife of Ceolred and the patron saint of Chester.

[4] A.D. 784. [5] A.D. 785.

[6] Higebryht, archbishop of Lichfield. [7] A.D. 787.

[8] The remainder of this section is supplemental to our copies of the Saxon Chronicle. [9] That is, the enemies of the Saxons.

[10] MS. D. gives Wellinge as a various reading; the Saxon Chronicle has Haeretha-land.

[11] A singular mistake, confounding this Alfwold with Oswald, killed in A.D. 642.

very holy and valiant man. King Penda made war upon him; Sigge beheaded his king. He was killed at Mescesfeld.[1] The place will always be dear, for light and a great celestial fire have often been seen there by clerk and priest. But his holy body was taken from thence, and carried far into the country. It was taken to Bardney with piety and care: there they wished to bury him, that the place might be loved, and the body taken care of. It is written in the Chronicles[2] that he was interred there: some say that his friends carried him to Nostle:[3] and several say that they have the relics of this lord at Hecthevesham[4] [Hexham], and at Colesdeburch[5] [Bamborough], in the south, is his arm, because of which God works miracles; it is entire, God be praised: his head is placed upon the breast of Saint Cuthbert; may he reward the man who keeps it.

[A.D. 789.] After him the Northumbrians made his nephew their king. His name was Osred; he was the son of Alchered; his possession of it lasted but a short time. He was driven from his kingdom,[6] which was then given to Edelreth [Ethelred]. He was the son of Edelwold, and was a firm and bold warrior. He had governed the land before, but had lost it through his followers. King Offa[7] hated him much for the sake of his nephew, whom he had dethroned.

[8]Afterwards Osred returned from exile, he who before had been king, and a very mild one; but he was cruelly killed, by those who had disinherited him. They laid the body at Tynemouth. Edelret [Ethelred] then took a wife, whose name was Elfled; this queen was much attached to her lord: and laboured much to serve him well, and he for this had great love for her.

[A.D. 793.] In this time of which I am speaking, there appeared [9]signs in the country. First they were red, such as no man living had seen before; then spreading they became as scarlet, and seemed near the earth. Then came great whirlwinds; then fiery flying dragons. And no one knew how to explain the storms and lightning which men saw; some said that in their opinion they signified dear times; they did not speak a great untruth. These signs did not appear like a dream. It was over Northumberland that they appeared. After these signs truly the pagan people came. They arrived in the harbour of the Humber, and devastated [10]Lindsey. No one attempted to prevent them from assembling in a place which might have been reached. Then king Sigge died: he had

[1] Read, Maserfeld, and see the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 642.

[2] Apparently a reference to the authority last quoted.

[3] Nostell, in Yorkshire, founded by Robert de Lacy, the church of which was dedicated to St. Oswald. See Dugd. Monast. ii. 33.

[4] This relates to Alfwold. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 789.

[5] Coldingham, in Berwickshire; or Bamborough, in Northumberland? but it is not easy to discover what Gaimar meant by describing either of these places as "in the south." See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 642. This applies to Oswald.

[6] A.D. 790.

[7] This sentence does not occur in any existing copy of the Saxon Chronicle.

[8] A.D. 792.

[9] A.D. 793, where the account is much less in detail.

[10] A mistake for Lindisfarne. The Saxon Chronicle says nothing of the Humber.

formerly killed Oswald. And king Offa[1] then sent a message to the Pagans, that he would fight against them. These fought with him; and being very numerous they conquered. And the traitorous Northumbrians killed king Ethelred.[2] After Offa, Ecferd reigned: he held and guarded the land of the Mercians; when he was thinking to defend it better, he died, he could not retain it. The same year he took possession of it, it came to pass that he died. Ecbrith [Eadbyrht] was then made king in Kent; he had privately taken another name.[3] When the Pagans had laid waste Lindsey, they lost no time; they sailed up the Humber as far as the Ouse, and then entered the mouth of the Don;[4] it was said, and was written in the chronicles, that here there were great numbers assembled, who wished to defend their country. They killed more than thirty men; there was a great storm upon the river. One of their dukes was killed there; it was unlucky for him when he entered this country. Some of their ships were wrecked, and many of their men were drowned; nevertheless they did not go, but laid waste great part of the country. Then archbishop Heanbald and Saint Hubald [Higbald], a bishop, placed Cearwulf [Eardwulf] upon his throne, in the bishopric of York; Northumberland belonged to his kingdom, these two consecrated him king. [5]Then king Offa died, having, I think, reigned forty years. Ceolwulf [Cynewulf], a warlike and tyrannical king, received Mercia. He went into Kent,[6] laid it waste, and took and brought Edelbrith [Eadbert], lord of the kingdom of Kent, into Mercia. Brichtric, king of Wessex, departed from this world in this month, and Ecgbryht reigned after him, and held all Wessex, as far as I know. Then in that time came the Welsh[7] to injure the land of this king, even as far as Kenemeresford [Kempsford]. Then the Welsh were slain, for Edelmund from Wiltshire did them great damage.

[A.D. 805.] Then king Cuthred died; he reigned in Kent and in the isle of Thanet. The Northumbrians[8] deprived their king, Eardwulf, of the throne of Northumberland. Eight years after, Carl[9] died, who had had Cumberland. He lived[10] forty-five years; Northumberland was obedient to him. He held this country throughout his reign: no other man ever had expectations so great.

[A.D. 813.] In this year, so say the ancient authorities, the correct Winchester history, king Ecgbryht overran Wales, and laid waste all the country on the west; then in the east, on returning, he took all that he could find. Six years after,[11] Cenwulf of Mercia died, at Basewerce.[12] Ceawolf [Ceolwulf] reigned after him; he

[1] This battle is not mentioned in any of our copies of the Saxon Chronicle.
[2] A.D. 794.
[3] Namely, Pren.
[4] A mistake for Weremouth, which also occurs in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 794.
[5] A.D. 794.
[6] A.D. 796.
[7] The Wiccians, that is, the inhabitants of Worcestershire and the neighbouring districts. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 800.
[8] A.D. 806.
[9] The death of Carl (or Charles the Great) is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 814, and is here confusedly connected with Cumberland.
[10] Gaimar here ought to have said, with the Saxon Chronicle, that he "reigned" forty-five years.
[11] A.D. 819. There is no notice of Basewerc in the Saxon Chronicle.
[12] Basewere, B.; Hasewerthe, D.; probably Basingwerk, near Offa's dyke, a royal residence of the Mercian sovereigns. See Camd. Brit. col 698.

reigned feebly two years, at the end of that time[1] he lost his kingdom: he was not loved; this was the reason: he had behaved in such a manner that all hated him, and many desired to kill him. We shall read of him and speak of him as of a king who was vassal to another kingdom, that, namely, of Wessex; Ecgbryht was the name of its king. Burnulf [Beornwulf], the king of Mercia, caused great contention. Many superior persons appeared at Elendune; on both sides there were many killed who had been taken in the battle; but in the end (so the history tells us), king Ecgbryht had the victory. King Ecgbryht had a son who was called Ethelwulf. By proclamation he commanded him and bishop Alstan and Wulfheard to take many of his people, and go into Kent to conquer. These went there with a great host, and quickly drove Baldred away. They conquered all the country; the king fled beyond the Thames. The men of Kent submitted, and Ecgbryht had all the kingdom. And in Sussex and in Surrey, his dominion extended throughout. The men of Essex sent hostages for their fiefs. So these people received him, who, from his ancestors, had formerly had the land, and had lost it by war; and through fear of the Mercians, king Ecgberht received them, and those of East Anglia at the same time, through fear of these people.

[A.D. 825.] In that time there were two kings in the kingdom of the Mercians; one was Burnulf [Beornwulf], who ruled with pride, the other was called Luteca; between them they had seven[2] minor kings, and these two were chief over all. And at the same time in other kingdoms there were everywhere such lords. As soon as any one could rise a little, he caused himself to be called a king. This Luteca, of whom I spoke before, was killed by the men of Wales.[3] Wiglaf[4] received the kingdom in which Luteca had been. In this time[5] king Ecgbryht conquered the kingdom [of Mercia], and took it for himself. And all that was south of the Humber was held under him by counties and by number. Eight kings had held the kingdom, from whom the others held their fiefs. He was one of them, in my opinion; but before him, at an earlier time, there was a brave king of Sussex, who afterwards conquered Northumberland; Ella[6] was his name as long as he lived. The third was called Edelbrith; he was king of Kent, and a bold king he was. The fourth was called Redwold; he reigned in East Anglia; he was a magnanimous man, and ended well. The fifth king was named Edwin; he held the kingdom beyond the Tyne; the other kingdom of York and all Wessex[7] was his fief. The sixth was Oswald, the seventh Oswi; but their kingdom did not extend here; nor in consequence of the wars did any man know how far his lands extended, and at this time men did not even know who each king was; but monks and canons of abbeys, who wrote the lives of kings, each addressed himself to his patron saint,[8] to show him the true account

[1] A.D. 821. [2] The Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 825, reads "five."
[3] He was killed by the men of East Anglia. See Florence of Worcester, A.D. 825.
[4] This sentence occurs only in B. D. [5] A.D. 827.
[6] Ella, king of Sussex, is here confounded with Ella, king of Northumbria.
[7] This statement respecting Wessex is unfounded, if intended to apply to Edwin.
[8] Or, perhaps, "to his bishop."

of the kings; in what manner each reigned, his name, how he died; which was slain, and which died, whose remains were preserved, and whose had perished. And of the bishops, at the same time, the clergy gave an account. It was called a Chronicle, a large book, in it the English were collected. Now, it is there authenticated, that in the bishopric of Winchester[1] there is the true history of the kings, their lives, and their memoirs. King Elfred had it in possession, and caused it to be fastened with a chain, that whoever wished to read might look at it well, but might not remove it from its place. The eighth king was named Ceawlin;[2] he had the West Saxons with him: he was king of a part of Wessex; in this kingdom was his dominion.

Ecgberht was king of the other part, who afterwards reigned over the Southumbrians: and when he had conquered them, he led his host beyond the Humber. He was received at Everwch,[3] and then was king north and south. Wilaf[4] regained the kingdom, and was again king over the Mercians. In this year king Ecgberht drew over to him the North Welsh: of their own will they were obedient to Ecgberht. Two years[5] after, quite truly, there came the heathen people and ravaged all Escepaie [Sheppey]; they had no mercy for any man. Again, after another year,[6] Ecgberht led his host against the Pagans. He fought a great battle with them; and without doubt many men were killed. The battle was fought at Karrun [Charmouth]: many great barons were killed there; but the Pagans were the stronger, and they pursued Ecgberht with loss.

[A.D. 835.] Then another fleet arrived; in West Wales they held a council. So much was said to the West Welsh, that they united themselves with the Danes. They went together, waging war, and doing much damage to the country. They were then encountered by king Ecgberht, into whose lands they had entered: Henges-dune[7] was the name of the mount where they fought the battle with him. Here he made havoc among them; and the wicked heathens were vanquished. Then from the birth of Jesus the time had been eight hundred and thirty-six years, so the learned clerks tell us. At this point of time exactly Ecgberht died, who possessed so extended a dominion; it was he whom Offa drove out of his kingdom. Ecgbryht reigned thirty-seven years and one month.[8] Edelwlf [Ethelwolf] his son succeeded him, with Athelstan, a peaceable king; the former had Wessex, the latter Kent, Surrey, and Sussex together. They desired to claim as their right, all that their father possessed.

[A.D. 837.] Then there came a strong fleet, which arrived at the port of Southampton. They [the Danes] had thirty-three ships;

[1] This Winchester copy of the Saxon Chronicle has not descended to our times.
[2] The narrative of Gaimar is here out of order, and the chronology becomes faulty in consequence.
[3] Dorewith, B.; Dorewick, D. Another misconception of the text of the Saxon Chronicle, the original of which (A.D. 827) states that Ecgbert led his army to Dore against the Northumbrians, (in the Saxon, "to Dore with Northanhymbre,") from which words the present reading has arisen.
[4] A.D. 828. [5] A.D. 832. [6] A.D. 833. [7] Hengestesdune, B. D.
[8] All our copies of the Saxon Chronicle read here seven months.

but I think God hated them much, because, by Wulfhard, a noble baron, a great destruction was wrought amongst them. He fought with them. He conquered them and killed many. The same year the good man died. If he could have lived longer, the ancient writers say that he would have brought the Pagans into a very bad condition. But these heathen joined themselves together; they fought and did much harm. Their people came, these Danish felons, and killed many barons. Then Aelesme [Athelhelm] was slain; he had gained the battle against them. He was so bold and valiant, so powerful in the battle, that when the English[1] had lost it his good shield restored it. The Danes immediately set out to London to give battle; here they did their pleasure; they wounded many men to death. From this place they went to Rochester; there they fought a pitched battle. They slew many of the country people, but the greater part of them fled. Whoever could get into the city was preserved and well taken care of; he who could not, could not save himself, if he did not flee into some other part of the country.

Then the Danes went to Sandwich,[2] though they were not all together. The Kentish men had assembled, and encountered them in a pitched battle; they fought well, but nevertheless the Danes conquered. Had not it been for the town, which was fortified, there had been much destruction among the men of Kent; but several were saved in the town, the remainder all perished. King Ethelwulf then reigned; he went against the enemy about the country, and the Danes arrived everywhere in their large ships. King Ethelwolf fought them at Carrum[3] [Charmouth], but the Danes had the victory, so the King of glory permitted.

[A.D. 845.] Then had passed eight hundred and forty-five years from the time at which Christ came into the world. In this year the chieftain Ernuls [Eanwulf] fought against the Danes and conquered them; another chief, whose name was Osrit [Osric], was with him as a baron; the former led the men of Dorsetshire, the latter those of Somersetshire. The Danes were conquered this year at the mouth of Pedredan [the river Parret]. Cheor [Ceorl] the alderman drove them till he stopped at the isle of Thanet; the barons of Devonshire aided him in their discomfiture; they began at Wienberghe [Wembury], till they drove them into the isle of Thanet. There they were throughout the winter; other ships repairing there were come against the summer. They went to Canterbury, and stormed and despoiled the city. They defeated king Brichwlf [Beorhtwulf], and put this king of Mercia to flight as far as the city of Luie[4] [Lewes]; then these heathens went into Surrey, where were slaughter and treachery; for Ethelwulf, the sovereign king, and Edelbald his son, as I believe, fought at Aclie

[1] Some additional particulars are here added to the statements of the Saxon Chronicle.

[2] The readings of the Saxon Chronicle here fluctuate between Canterbury and Cwantavic; none mention Sandwich.

[3] A.D. 840.

[4] Here Gaimar furnishes us with details unrecorded in any existing copy of the Saxon Chronicle.

[Ockley]; the West Saxons did so well that they discomfited all the Danes; many a man there lost his life.

This same year at Sandwich the Danes were again defeated by Adelstan and by Alchere; Adelstan was brother to the king. He was brother to king Edelwolf, and he alone was sovereign king of East Anglia; Alchere was a chieftain holding under him. He killed more than twenty of the Danes, and from their ships, which they had brought into the Thames, he captured men and their possessions wherever they found them; they spared none of them at all. What mischief soever a man can do to his enemy he ought to do, and to kill him.

[A.D. 853.] In these times of the Danes Buhert [Burhred] was king of Mercia. By the aid of the valiant Edelwolf he made the North Welsh obedient to him. In the year in which this happened Adelhere,[1] the king who then held Kent, with the men of Kent, and with duke Hude, who had aided the men of Surrey, descended upon the Danes in the isle of Thanet. They fought with the heathen, then gained the battle, but lost [their] lives; Hude and Adelhere were slain; neither of them could escape better. Then Burhret of Mercia took the daughter of Edelwulf for his wife. A year after[2] the Danes came to Eschepeie [Sheppey] with their smaller ships. With these and with larger vessels they remained all the winter till March. In this year of which I have spoken, king Ethelwulf divided his land; he well apportioned it all, and gave it for the glory of God. Then after he had caused his successor to be nominated, he proceeded straight to Rome. He went thither in great state, and remained there a year. Upon his return he married the daughter of Charles, who gave her to him; she was the daughter of the king of France; every day he was loaded with honours.

[A.D. 858.] Two years after this he died. Ten and nine years this king reigned, as the old history tells us; he was buried at Winchester. He was the son of Ecgberht the king, who made the kingdom obedient to him. His two sons, whom he had by his first wife, received his kingdom. Edelbald had all Wessex, Edelbryht had Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Surrey; they were powerful kings all their lives. King Edelbald reigned five years, then died,[3] life failed him. His body lies at Sherburn. He kept the Danes in subjection in his time. King Edelbryht was his brother; he took Wessex, which was his right; he reigned six[4] years in these kingdoms, then he died; they carried him to Sherburn after his brother. So he died very dear to the English; for the two kings whom they had lost had often conquered the Danes.

In the time in which these reigned a pagan deed laid waste the country of Winchester. But two principal barons protected for the king the country which is called Hampshire: Osric and Edwolf[5] were their names; both were powerful barons. Osric had the county of Hampshire, and Edwolf that of Berkshire. They fought against them immediately; they obtained victory over the

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 853. [2] A.D. 855. [3] A.D. 860.
[4] The Chronicle says five. [5] Aethelwolf.

Danes. Afterwards[1] the Danes came to Thanet, which the Kentish men held in vassalage. They took a truce from this people, then ravaged all their country eastward. But the king who then reigned, with right good will went to war with them; Edelred, the brother of the two kings who had reigned before. In the time[2] of this king there came the great fleet; such as no man ever saw who did not see this. They landed in East Anglia, and remained there all the winter. In March, in derision, they granted a truce to this people. Then they mounted themselves upon the best horses which had belonged to their vassals, and several of them went in ships as far as the Humber;[3] they raised their sails; more than twenty thousand went there on foot; you will afterwards hear of great wonders. These Danes then turned and passed the Humber at Grimsby[4] with those on foot at the same time; they had great plenty of people. Those who were with the ships all went to York; both by water and land they waged great war at York.

Those who had gone by water then sailed as far as the Ouse. But directly the sun was hidden, the ebb tide returned; they then lodged themselves, some on the water, some in quarters. But the knights and barons went to the houses in the town. A nobleman whose name was Buern Buccecarle lived there. He lodged all the lords very handsomely, and with great honour. He had assembled them thus and brought them from Denmark, because of the shame of his wife, which he anxiously wished to avenge. She had suffered a great injury.

Osbrith held Northumberland; he was staying at York. One day he went into the forest. He followed the chase in the vale of the Ouse. He went privately to dine in the house of this baron, whose name was Buern the Buzecarle. The baron was then at the sea, for because of outlaws he was accustomed to guard it; and the lady, who was very beautiful, and of whose beauty the king had heard report, was at home, as was right: she had no inclination to evil. When the king had arrived, be assured that he was received with great honour. When he had eaten as much as he pleased, then he spoke the folly he meditated. "Lady, I wish to speak to you: let the room be emptied." All went out of the room except two, who kept the doors; these were the king's companions, and knew well his secrets. The lady did not perceive why the king had done this; when he seized her according to his desire, and had his will with her. Afterwards he went away, leaving her crying; he went spurring to York; and when he was with his private friends he boasted about this many times.

The lady mourned much over the shame he had brought to her; she became quite colourless from the grief he had caused her. This was seen by her husband Buern, who was very noble and gentle. Amidst all who here frequented the sea, the land held not a better vassal; nor in the kingdom in which he was born was

[1] A.D. 865. [2] A.D. 866. [3] A.D. 867.

[4] The Saxon Chronicle takes no notice of Grimsby.

[5] Gaimar here gives many additional particulars to the account which we have in the Saxon Chronicle, which does not notice this Northumbrian episode.

there a man better descended. When he saw his wife pale, and feeble, and thin, and found her quite changed from what she was when he left her, he asked what had occurred, what it meant, and what had happened to her. She replied to him, "I will tell you, and will even accuse myself; then give me the same justice which would be given to a robber when he is captured." He said to her, "What has happened?" She said, "The other day the king has lain with me; by force he committed his crime. Now it is right that I should lose my life. Though this was done secretly, yet I am ready to die openly; I would rather die than live longer." She fainted and threw herself down at his feet. He replied, "Rise, my beloved! you shall not be hated for this. Feebleness could do nothing against force; there is a very goodly disposition in you. As you have first revealed this to me, I shall have much pity for you; but if you had concealed it from me, so that another had discovered it to me, never would my heart have loved you, nor my lips have kissed you. Since this felon committed his felony, I will demand that he shall lose his life." In the night he lay down, but in the morning he set out for York. He found the king amongst his people; Buern had many powerful relations there. The king sees him and calls him. Then Buern defies him: "I defy thee, and restore thee all; I will hold nothing of thee. Never will I hold anything of thee; here I will return thee thy homage." With this he went out of the house, and many noble barons accompanied him.

Then he held a council with his relations, and complained to them of the shame; he told and related all how the king had brought it upon him; then he told them that if he could he would go and bring the Danes. His heart was never at peace until he had avenged himself upon the king; and his friends promised him that they would expel him from the country. They did so; for this crime they forsook the king;[1] and at the same time they made king of the land a knight whose name was Elle.

Now it happened, as you shall hear, that this man [Buern] brought the Danes. Those persons were lodging at Cawood[2] who were in charge of the ships, but many of the Danes came by the way of Holderness: they had spoiled the country till they came near the city [York]; the ships also came against it. The king who then held the country was, upon the day in which they came upon the city, gone into the wood. But the other king was negligent, he who was deprived of the keys. When the Danes assailed them, they defended themselves a little; but their defence was short, for the Danes gained the battle. Then the city was quickly taken, and there were a great many people slain. Osbreth the king was killed there. Buern his enemy was avenged.

Elle the king was in a forest; he had then taken four bisons. He was seated at his dinner; he heard a man sound a bell; he held a little bell in his hand;[3] it sounded as clear as a clock. The

[1] This fact (but not the cause which occasioned it) is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 867.

[2] Cawood, near York.

[3] This person is afterwards described simply as the blind man. Lepers, and possibly beggars, carried a bell or clapper during the middle ages.

king begged before he came that he might have something to eat, for he asked for it. As the king was sitting at his repast, he said to a knight, "We have done well to-day; we have taken all we have hunted; four bisons and six kids: many times we have hunted worse." The blind man, who sat at a distance, heard him; then he said a word which was true: "If you have taken so much in the wood, you have lost all this country; the Danes have performed better exploits, who have taken York, and who have killed many barons; Osbreth's enemies have slain him." The king replied, "How do you know it?" "My sense has shown it to me. As a sign, if you do not believe me, the son of thy sister, Orrum, whom you see there, is to be the first killed in the battle at York; there will be a great battle; if you believe me, you will not go forward. And nevertheless it cannot be otherwise; a king must lose his head."

The king replied: "Thou hast lied; thou shalt be put in confinement and severely treated. If this should be untrue, thou shalt lose thy life; sorcery has been thy companion." The blind man replied, "I submit to this; if this is not the truth, kill me." The king had him brought with him, and commanded him to be well guarded. He put his nephew in a very high tower, that he might be there, and after he had summoned a guard he promised that he would send for him. The people of the country assembled, and went with the king towards York; they met many of the wounded and of the flying, who related all that the diviner had said; not in one word had he lied; and king Elle, with many great people, rode onwards furiously.

But his nephew committed a great folly whom he had left up in the tower. He took two shields, which he had found, and went to the window; then putting his arms into the shields, he thought to fly, but he came to the earth with a great shock, then fell. Nevertheless he escaped unhurt, not the least was he the worse for it. He saw a horse, which he quickly took. A knight was near, holding the horse by the bridle, three javelins he had in his hand. Orrum was no coward; he, on the instant, seized the javelins, while he also took the horse, and having mounted him, rode away quickly. The army was then near York, and he spurred the horse so that he arrived before the troops had mustered. Within himself he determined, like a foolish man, that he would strike the first blow. Into the rank that advanced first he threw the javelin he held. It struck a knight, whose mouth it entered, and came out behind the neck; he could not stand on his feet; his body fell lifeless, it could not be otherwise. He was a Pagan: he cared nothing for a priest.

Orrum held another dart, which he lanced on the other side. He wounded a vile Dane; so well he threw he did not miss; entering his breast it went to his heart; he struck him dead. But as he [Orrum] wished to turn back, an archer let fly a dart; it wounded him so under the breast, that mortal tidings reached the heart. The spirit fled, the body fell, exactly as the blind man had foretold. King Elle, when he knew this, felt in his heart a grief

which he had never felt before. He cried out with boldness, and pierced through two of the ranks; but he did this like one out of his wits; he was quite beside himself. The Danes were on all sides; Elle the king was slain. He was killed in the field; few of his companions escaped. The place at which he was mortally wounded is now called Elle-croft;[1] there was a cross towards the west; it stood in the midst of England; the English call it Elle-cross. No Dane had any rest till all this country north of the Humber was conquered.

Then they besieged the city; everywhere they followed their inclination. When they had stationed their garrison there, they went into Mercia, and in this kingdom the Danes took Nottingham. Iware and Ubbe were their kings. They stayed here all the winter. The Mercians assembled a host; king Bureth[2] assembled a host; he had sent to king Edelred,[3] who reigned over Wessex. He had a brother Alfred, who well knew how to give good counsel, and to dispose the order of battle, and well he understood war; he was a learned man, and a good astronomer. These two came with their summoned host, and besieged Nottingham. But the Danes within easily retired from them. All were rejoiced when they took a truce, after which they commenced their retreat; and the Danes, according to their custom, kept festival, each by himself.

[A.D. 869.] Then they went back again to York; the people of this country assembled, the Mercians sent for them; they go in the army with the Danes. They,[4] with the people of the north, went with the Danes as far as Thetford. They had before given truce, and they therefore thought themselves in safety. This peace and truce they [the Danes] broke, and expelled them all from the country.

[5]They found a king in the country, his name was Edmund; he was a good Christian, a friend of God, and a holy man; he held all East Anglia. This king fought with as many people as he had; but he could not conquer because of the many people the Danes had. They fought bravely, but the victory of the field was theirs [the Danes]. Heavens! what injury to the lord, namely, to king Edmund! he was driven to a castle where his seat was. The Pagans pursued him. Edmund came out to meet them. The first whom they met took him, and then they asked, "Where is Edmund? tell us." "I will do so willingly and immediately; before I was engaged in this flight, Edmund was here and I with him; when I turned away, he did the same; I know not if he will escape you. Now the end of the king is in the hands of God, and of Jesus, to whom he is obedient." Those who had taken him kept him in strong hold, till Iwar and Ubbe came. Many of their people came with them, who recognised Saint Eadmund. When they knew him, these misbelievers most cruelly commanded that he should renounce the divine religion, and Christ who was born of the Virgin. The king said he would not do so, but that he

[1] Ellecros, B. [2] Burred, D. [3] A.D. 868. [4] A.D. 870.
[5] This history of Edmund of East Anglia is founded chiefly upon the narrative of Abbo Floriacensis.

would firmly believe in Him. What then did these enemies? They caused him to be tied to a tree. Then they told him, and swore to him that he should be tormented with a strange death. Then they sent for their archers; they shot at the king with hand bows. They shot so frequently and pierced him so much, that his body was stuck as full of the darts which these villains shot, as the skin of the hedgehog is thick with sharp prickles when he carries apples from the garden.[1] To this hour. I believe, they might have shot before the king would have done anything which these felons wished, who so maltreated his holy body. Then they sent a wicked man, whose name was Coran Colbe,[2] to cut off the head of the saint; so thus was Edmund killed as a martyr. Only if Gaimar had leisure, he would speak more of this holy martyr: but as his life[3] is to be found in other places, as well its lessons as history, he has left this deed, to continue the history which he had begun.

These wicked kings, Ubbe and Iwar, did thus with the holy flesh; when they had committed this crime, they turned from the place, and went straight towards Reading.[4] But they went slowly, and devastated towns and cities; they killed the Christians and destroyed their churches. When they came to Reading, the West Saxons came out; they went against their king where his host was assembled. The Danes stayed two days; they always did evil wherever they went. On the third day they were prepared. Two earls who had gone on horseback went to Englafield.[5] They found Edelwolf there: he was a powerful baron of the country; and he had assembled his friends, his retainers, and his forces, who had killed many of the Danes; one of the counts was killed, Sidrac, who was wicked and warlike.[6]

Four days after, king Edelred and his brother Alfred came to Reading with a very great host, and the Danes soon sallied out. In an open field they held a struggle, which lasted throughout an entire day. Their Edelwolf was killed, the powerful man of whom I told you before. And Edelred and Alfred were driven to Wiscelet.[7] There is a ford towards Windesoueres [Windsor], by the side of a river in a moor. Here the one host [the Danes] came in their pursuit, and did not know of the ford over the river; Twyford was always the name of the ford to which the Danes resorted; and the English escaped, but many were killed and wounded. Here the Danes were victorious. But after that, just at the fourth day, these nations who were hostile to each other met at Escnesdone[8] [Ash-

[1] The hedgehog was supposed to be in the habit of plundering orchards by rolling himself among the fruit, and carrying it off on his spines.

[2] Curan Cocba, D. MS. B. says, "I know not who he was."

[3] Reference is probably made to Abbo Floriacensis, and Hermannas de Miraculis S. Edmundi.

[4] Here again Gaimar adds many particulars to the corresponding portion of the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 871.

[5] A village between Reading and Windsor. See Camd. Brit. col. 167.

[6] MS. D. (probably by a misconception of the scribe) states that he was "fiz Ewerris."

[7] "Wistley, or Wichelet Green, is near Twyford. The name of the place where the battle was fought, and various other circumstances here noticed, are not mentioned by any preceding writer."—*P.*

[8] See p. 451, note [1].

down]; they were the Danes and English who had before fought together. Here they made their people separate in two divisions to fight: the Danes did this through their pride. In one were their two kings; Baseng and Halfdene were their names; with them were many good champions. In the other battalion were the earls Sydroc the elder, who knew how to fight, and with him the younger Sydroc, who was related to king Heveloc,[1] also the earl Osbern, and earl Frane, count Harald, and his nephew Dane.[2] With them were many barons and good and tried knights. And the English [3]divided themselves on the other side, nor did they do it tardily. King Edelred, with his English, fought against the kings, and Alfred against the earls. That day the Danes received disgrace; for the English pursued them, vanquished them in the field, and put them to the sword. Many thousands of them were killed; they were unlucky when they came into their country. The king Baseng was slain there, and earl Sydroc the great and strong, and of the earls of whom I have spoken, eleven[4] were killed in the field.

And fifteen days after this the wicked people reassembled; they fought again at Basinge;[5] those who had conquered were chased from the field. At Meredune,[6] a month after, the people of Saxony were vanquished. Hamund the bishop was killed then, who was powerful at Winchester.[7] Then there came a Danish tyrant, whose name was Sumerlede[8] the great; he came to Reading with his host, and quickly destroyed whatever he found. He wished to fight king Ethelred, but he died; he lies in a closed place. The king is laid at Wineburne; he only reigned five years.

[A.D. 871.] Then king Alfred, called Edelwolfing,[9] reigned. And the Danes then assembled and went to seek for him in Wessex. At Wiltone he was found with the few people he had assembled; he fought, though he did so in vain; they chased him from the plain to the wood. In this year that he was king he fought nine battles with the Danes, besides encounters and struggles which there were between them for several days. And in this year nine powerful earls were killed; these were from Denmark; and with them seven thousand men, and king Baseng their lord: Alfred gained the victory over them. And this year all the Danes took a truce from king Alfred.

[A.D. 872.] Then they departed from Reading; they stayed the winter in London. And in the summer the Mercians made a truce with the Danes. The following winter[10] the hated people sojourned at Torksey; the third winter[11] at Rependon [Repton].

[1] This earl is not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle.

[2] Haldane, B.; Aldane, D., which is the correct reading.

[3] See the account given by Asser, p. 451.

[4] The Saxon Chronicle says five.

[5] Basing, in Hampshire.

[6] The locality is somewhat uncertain, since places of that name occur both in Oxfordshire and in Surrey. This battle is not mentioned by Asser.

[7] He was bishop of Sherburn, not Winchester. See Godwin de Præsul. p. 331.

[8] So B. D.; Sumersede, A. A curious mistake; the Saxon Chronicle states that after this battle there came a great "sumor-litha" (*i.e.* "summer-fleet") to Reading; from which expression Gaimar has created his "Sumerled the great."

[9] *i.e.* the son of Ethelwolf.

[10] A.D. 873.

[11] A.D. 874.

Burhert [Burgred] was the king, and the rightful possessor; his kingdom was Mercia. By force they drove him from it. He had reigned twenty-two years when he was driven from the kingdom. This king went to Rome, where the same year he died. He gave up his life in the English school, in the minster of Saint Mary. Here this lord was buried with great honour. Then the Danes caused Mercia to be delivered to the young Ceowolf [Ceolwulf]. He gave hostages to them as a pledge that he would serve them faithfully.

[A.D. 875.] Then they went about in different parts; Iwars stayed in London;[1] and Halfdene, the other king, went to war against the Picts, and against Streclued,[2] king of Galloway; he often put them in a bad condition. The kings Godrum, Oschetel, and Ancinent,[3] held a council that they should go to Grantebrige [Cambridge] and besiege the city. They did so; with their great host they came quickly from Rapendone [Repton]. The siege lasted nearly a year: like fools, they left it at the end; they lost much, but gained little. They then rode away secretly straight to Wareham,[4] which they besieged, and in one single day took the town.

King Alfred then went there, and took the army of Wessex. He brought so many people of his own realm and of others whom he had sent for, that the Danes were frightened and held a conference at his wish. Here the three kings swore, and the principal men among the Danes; they delivered good hostages, such as the English demanded, that they would go away without delay, and would not forfeit their word in any manner. With this truce they departed. Hear now what the Danes did. In the night and in secret they went to Exeter.[5] Those on horseback went privately to the town; the other people went in ships. They desired to go to the city, and they were to assemble there: but then a hindrance occurred to them; they happened to be in great peril at sea; one hundred and forty[6] ships went to the devils. When king Alfred heard of it, he brought his men and his people. Then it happened, for it could not be otherwise, that he besieged Exeter. The Pagans who were besieged had suffered through their friends whom they had lost in their ships, and their bold companions. Through this, when they could hold out no longer, they held a conference in order to save themselves. They delivered such hostages as the English required of them. Then they swore that they would keep at peace, and that they would always serve the king. When they had done this they went into Mercia, and divided this kingdom amongst them. They gave Ceolwulf a part, who had been king of all.

[A.D. 878.] Afterwards, at Christmas, the wicked Danes, who had formerly sworn peace, broke it and forswore it; they went

[1] This circumstance is not noticed in the Saxon Chronicle.
[2] Gaimar here again mistakes the Saxon Chronicle.
[3] Anwynd is the form in which this name occurs in the Saxon Chronicle; the MSS. of Gaimar here vary and are at fault. [4] A.D. 876. [5] A.D. 877.
[6] The Saxon Chronicle says, one hundred and twenty.

again into Wessex. They stole away to Sippenham [Chippenham]; most willingly they committed evil. They destroyed minsters and houses, chapels and religious establishments. They drove the people out of the country, and put many of them into prison. King Alfred, who was their lord, knew neither what to do nor what to say; he sent for people from all parts, but could only assemble a very small number. When he saw that he was so overtaken and so badly treated by his enemies, he kept himself in the forests and waste places, to escape sanguinary hands. And nevertheless, when he could, he assembled with as many people as he had against twice as many: he often killed some of them. He killed a brother of Iware and Haldene, whose name was Ubbe, and who was an evil-doer, in the forest of Pene.[1] When the Danes had found him, they made a great mound over him, which they called Ubbelawe.[2] The mound is in Devonshire. There were many people killed; eight hundred and forty of them were slain—violent fellows, felons, perjured men they were. The war-flag of Ubbe was taken, the name of which was Raven.

After Easter [23d March] in this year, with few people, and with great trouble, the good king Alfred built a small fortress at Edelinge [Athelney]; he caused a defence to be made, by which he put the Danes in trouble. Four weeks[3] after Easter he rode to Ecbrichstane [Brixton],[4] which is to the east of Selwood. Ceolmer[5] met him and Chude, with the barons of Somersetshire, of Wiltshire and of Dorsetshire. Chilman came from Hampshire, and brought the barons by proclamation; and those came who had remained on this side of the sea, and who had not fled away. When they saw their lord, they greatly adored the Creator, because they had found him here alive; for he had been long desired, and they had thought in their opinion that the Danes had killed him. They had great comfort from their king, in that he was still alive and not dead. King Alfred was so trustworthy that they rode all the night, and on the morrow as much as they could. They journeyed this night till they arrived at Aclee;[6] and on the morrow, at the hour of noon, they had reached Edenesdone.[7] There they found the Danes, whom Alfred the king fought. But I know not how to say with exactness which had the greater number killed, the Danes or the English; but I know well that the good king Alfred and his barons had the honour of the victory. Then he often rode against them, and made many attacks upon them. In fifteen days he so daunted them, these Danes of whom I have spoken to you, that they called an assembly, they came to terms, and they gave good hostages; they

[1] The Chronicle merely states that he was slain in Devonshire; but see Asser, p. 456, note [3].

[2] Wright here tells us that near Kinnith, or Kenny Castle, not far from Appledore, in Barnstaple Bay, there was formerly a mound on the "Barrows," or sand beach at Appledore, which was called Hubbaston, Ubbaston, and Whibblestan; but that it has long since been swept away by the tides.—P. 108, note.

[3] The Saxon Chronicle says that this was in the seventh week.

[4] See Asser, p. 457. note [3].

[5] No existing copies of the Saxon Chronicle contain the names of Ceolmer, Chude [Huda?], and Chilman.

[6] See Asser, p. 457, note [5]. [7] See Id. note [6].

swore that, whatever might happen, they would never forsake him. They promised him still more, and requested the Christian religion of him; and the king said, when he heard this, that he would grant their wishes very willingly. He appointed them a day to reappear, after twenty and eight days,[1] an entire month. They came on that day, and brought their lord; they brought their king, Gudrum, and the most intimate of his relations came with him to the baptism; there were thirty of them at the first signing.[2] The king himself received them at the font, and gave them names and good godfathers. King Guthrum was then called Adelstan, and his thirty companions each for himself had godfathers and names. They were baptized at Alre, made Christians, and first signed; it was very near Edelingee [Athelney] that this assemblage was made. At Wethmore was the chrism-loosing,[3] and they stayed twelve days with the courteous king Alfred, who entertained them with honour; and he and his good companions gave them many rich gifts. Then time had lasted eight hundred years from the Nativity, with ten and nine[4] years more, as it is represented in the books in which learned men have recorded who are acquainted with correct history.

[5]At this time, as my authority says, king Gurmunt [Guthrum] came to Cirencester, after he had sent for the host from Sippenham [Chippenham], which soon came. And they came and stayed there; all the winter they sojourned there; then in the summer, in the month of April, they sent many cowardly people into exile. Then they departed from Cirencester and went into East Anglia. King Gurmund, according to his will, put his governors in this country. After that he sent by proclamation for the host that was at Fulham; they met him at the sea; everywhere throughout his empire it was proclaimed, [6]that whoever would not come should die a violent death. He assembled more than a hundred kings, with their armies and their goods. At Gernemue [Yarmouth] they put to sea, and arrived at Chaihy [Chezy-sur-Marne]. They caused their ships to be drawn to land, for they did not expect to want them again. Then they laid waste all this country to the land of St. Galeris [St. Valeri-sur-mer]. They continued their course, and entered into Pontif [Ponthieu]. The people of the country lamented much. Then they desecrated St. Richer [St. Riquier], and caused the crucifixes to be broken up. They spread themselves throughout the country, and they killed many barons and other people. Because this country was fruitful, Gurmund stayed there a long time. But his great host went on before, not stopping until they reached Gant [Ghent]. There they remained all the winter; much mischief they did in every way. And the French slowly assembled; and they

[1] The Saxon Chronicle says three weeks. [2] See p. 742, note [3].

[3] See the Saxon Chronicle, p. 47, note [2], and Asser, p. 458, note [1].

[4] Read, 879, and see the Saxon Chronicle under that date

[5] Gaimar appears to have intended to introduce at this point an outline of the ravages committed in France by the Danes, but he falls into the error of identifying Guthrum-Athelstan (who did not leave England) with Gurmund, who pillaged the monasteries of Normandy, and concerning whose exploits in that country Petrie refers to the Chron. Centulense, ap. D'Achery, Spicileg. iv. 518, 519; Bouquet, viii. 273, 274; and the Annales Vedast. ibid. 80, 81.

[6] The conclusion of this sentence is from B.

sought Gurmund until they found him. They fought with him there; the French conquered, and he was killed. And the host which had gone on before, and had stayed at Ghent, returned from thence into France. I thought the French would fight, they did so; but their force was too small, and too much discouraged, for they fought without their king; they lost much of their armour. King Louis was wounded; through this they were discomfited: from the wound he had received Louis languished long, then died.[1] The Pagans went forward, and found France without protection. But several of the French had made Charles their king; some wished to oppose this. Through opposite counsel, bad consequences followed; for if they had held themselves together, they would quickly have destroyed the heathen people. Because they made war against the king, and the Danes laid the country waste, France was badly governed, so that Pagans made their entrance in a country towards Bretagne, Scantlaud [St. Lo] was its name; it is now Le Maigne. This people [the Danes] and the people of Bretagne fought[2] like evil men. There, thanks to the God of glory, they had the victory over the Danes. These heathen were there destroyed, all their pride and their fame fell together in one single day. They returned into France no more.

[A.D. 882.] Meanwhile, while the war was such in that land, king Alfred, in his kingdom, had slain many of his enemies. He often fought the Danes on the sea, and killed many of them. And[3] he had accomplished and procured so much by his kindness, that Marinus transmitted to him a part of the cross upon which Christ was put to death. Marinus was pope of Rome: he gloried so much in these holy gifts, that he sent him [Alfred] relics, through which no arms could kill him. And Edilsueht [Ethelswithe], who was his sister, went to Rome with great honour; Alfred sent her; but she died before she arrived there. Her body lies at Pavia, where she was buried. Then[4] it happened (and so much the worse), that Charles was killed by a wild boar. The king died, and his brother also died before their father. Both were sons of Louis, of him who was killed by Gurmond; and Louis was son of Charles, who gave his daughter in marriage to king Ethelwolf, who had her for his queen: no lady ever possessed a better knowledge of religion.

Now I have told you this parentage. Then a great loss happened at Rome, in the death of Marinus, the good pope who first enfranchised the English school: at the instance of king Alfred this was enfranchised; God be praised! In this time happened here the adventures of which I speak. King Alfred warred much, and often went against the Pagans. Those Danes who took a truce often murmured against the sovereign; and especially those of East Anglia always began the quarrel. They repaired to London, where heathen were residing; the Danes held the city. [5]What then did king Alfred? Everywhere he sent for knights, and for officers, and for archers; he sent for his friends and for the English out of the

[1] Louis II., king of France, died 4th August, 882, (see Limiers, Hist. Geneal. i. 26,) and was succeeded by his brother Carloman. [2] A.D. 890.
[3] A.D. 883. [4] A.D. 885. [5] A.D. 886.

country; far and near he sent for all, and assembled great forces. He came to London, which he besieged; so well he strove that he took it. He afterwards repaired the city, as the barons had recommended, and he committed the keeping of it to Edelret [Ethered], one of his barons, who guarded it faithfully, and defended it from foreign people.

[1]In this year died the king whom Alfred formerly brought to be baptized; the heathens called him Gudrum; now his name was Athelstan. His body lies at Thuetfort[2] [Thetford]; there the dead man was buried.

[A.D. 894.] Now was Alfred much elated when he had conquered this city; and the Danes who lived at a distance had fear of his prowess. All the countries which he held at this time remained in peace. But the Danes of Northumberland went about threatening great hostility, and those of East Anglia and of Mercia had pleasure in giving him trouble. For if they had conquered this king, they would have held all his kingdoms in peace. Then[3] it came to pass in this time that the army of the heathen which went into France reappeared; they had quite devastated that country. The other host, which had been disunited from this, was received at the Magne[4] [Mayne]: but this host had separated from the time that Gurmund had arrived. It left him and went on before, passing through all France. Then it turned to the west, there robbing and destroying the people. Now they had gathered sufficient spoils of gold, silver, and horses of great price. They put to sea at Cheresburg[5] [Cherbourg], and arrived at the Limne-mouth. This is a river on the head of Kent; from the east (which men call orient), of Andredeswold extends itself continuously; this river Limne is very deep. The wood in length is reckoned forty-two[6] measured leagues; and it is thirty leagues in breadth. The Limne flows smoothly through it. Into this river the Danes entered; this was in the time of king Alfred; they towed their ships up the river; they went four leagues from the mouth of the Limne. All the country near the sea these adversaries then destroyed; their return was very unfortunate. They had two hundred and fifty[7] ships; their stay did much harm. From the other side Estein [Haesten] returned, and entered the Thames with a large fleet: he did much in Kent after his own will, and at Middleton he built a castle. He sent for the host which came from France; their sojourn was at Ewldre [Appledore].

When these two hosts were assembled, they went about destroying Christendom. [8]Then it came to pass, as it pleased God, Alfred, who had fought, died. Then from the Nativity, from the day in

[1] A.D. 890. Gaimar here accurately distinguishes Guthrum-Athelstan from Gurmund.

[2] This fact is not mentioned in any of our copies of the Saxon Chronicle; the Annals of Asser state that he was buried at Hadleigh. [3] A.D. 893.

[4] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 887.

[5] The Saxon Chronicle says Boulogne, A.D. 893.

[6] One hundred and twenty miles in length by thirty in breadth, is the measurement of the Saxon Chronicle. [7] 160, A.; 260, Saxon Chronicle.

[8] A.D. 901. In passing thus abruptly from A.D. 893 to 901, the copy of the Saxon Chronicle used by Gaimar resembles MS. E. of that document.

which God was born, nine hundred and one years had passed to the time that king Alfred died. He reigned well for twenty and eight years; there are few such men living: for he was wise and a good warrior; he knew well how to curb his enemies; there was not a better scholar than he, for he had learned in his infancy. He caused an English book to be written of deeds, and laws, of battles in the land, and of the kings who made war; and he caused many books to be written, which the learned men often went to read. May God and the kind lady Saint Mary have mercy on his soul!

Then reigned his son Edward, the brave, the wise, and good. But still there was great war in several parts of England. For there were many kings there; the Danes warred, and their forces continually increased, for they often came from beyond the sea. So in the sixth year[1] that Edward reigned, when it appeared that he could not do without, he thought proper to establish a truce, and he gave peace to the Danes. Nevertheless it lasted but a short time; the Danes were very violent. They warred so much upon the English, that king Edward fought against them with the English he had assembled; he routed them[2] at Thuetenhale [Tettenhall].

At this time died a king, Ethered,[3] who reigned over the Mercians. This Ethered held London; king Alfred had placed him there: but he did not have it as an inheritance. When about to die, he did what was wise; he rendered up his right to king Edward, with all appertaining to it. He gave up London before he died, and the city of Oxford; and the country and the counties belonging to the cities.

In this year[4] came a fleet which did great damage to the country. This host had come from Lidwiche [Britanny], it spread itself along the Severn. King Edward went against it; he killed many people and then returned. When he had reigned ten and eight[5] years, he received Mercia in fief. Elflet [Ethelfled] his sister had inherited it, as king Alfred had commanded, She, not leaving children, when she died, made him her heir. Three years after,[6] king Sihtric, who reigned in the other part of Mercia, unjustly slew Neel his brother. King Edward avenged his death, and with a sword slew Sihtric; afterwards he was king of the country. A year after,[7] by the record, king Renald conquered York. This was a half Danish king; on his mother's side he was English. King Edward wished to go against him, so he assembled a host; but he then died,[8] it could not be otherwise, and he was buried at Winchester.

[A.D. 925.] His son Adelstan succeeded him. When he had reigned nearly four years,[9] he fought a battle with the Danes, and discomfited king Gudfrid. Then[10] he assembled great forces, brought large ships upon the sea, and went straight into Scotland; this

[1] A.D. 906. [2] A.D. 910. [3] A.D. 912.
[4] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 910; MSS. D. E. [5] A.D. 918.
[6] A.D. 921. Additional details are here given by Gaimar. [7] A.D. 923.
[8] A.D. 925. [9] A.D. 927. [10] A.D. 933.

country he much ravaged. After a year, neither more nor less, at Bruneswerce,[1] he had the superiority over the Scotch, the men of Cumberland, the Welsh, and the Picts. There were many killed in this place; I believe it will be always spoken of. He only lived three years[2] afterwards; he had neither sons nor other children. His brother was then made king; his name was Eadmund; I believe he was a brave man. The third year in which he reigned he led his host beyond the Humber.[3] Two kings were there, wicked Danes; one was called king Unlaf, the name of the other was Renald. He expelled them from this kingdom. When he had done this he went forward,[4] and took much booty in Cumberland. He afterwards held his kingdom three years,[5] then God laid his commands upon him [to die]. Afterwards Edred his brother reigned, and well avenged his brother Edward;[6] he avenged him of his enemies, who had slain him by murder. Then he seized all Northumberland, and the Scots were obedient to him.

[A.D. 949.] In the second year of his reign came Anlaf Quiran; he seized and took Northumberland, finding that there was no one to defend it. Three years this Dane kept it; then the Northumbrians expelled him.[7] They received Iric the son of Harold, and assured him that they would hold their fiefs of him. Two years he reigned in that kingdom; in the third year they chased him away. Edred then[8] received Northumberland, but from that time he only lived a year. Then it happened that in this kingdom the English made Edwi[9] their king. After Edred, Edwi was king; he was the son of Eadmund; he was English. His dominion extended everywhere. He lived only three years. Afterwards his brother Edgar reigned,[10] and held the land as an emperor. In his time the country improved; peace was everywhere; there was no war. He reigned alone over all the kings, and over the Scots and Welsh. Since Arthur died there never had been so powerful a king. This king much loved holy church; he knew how to distinguish between right and wrong, he laboured to do good, for he was frank and amiable. He raised the tone of manners; all his neighbours submitted to him; by love and by civility they were all drawn towards him. No one was found who warred against him, or who entered his land for evil, except Torel[11] who rose against him; he took Westmoreland from him. For this crime Torel received his death; the unlucky man began the war wrongfully. This king was wise and valiant; by his queen he had beautiful children. He had one son, of whom I can say that he was Edward of Shaftesbury;[12] his daughter was called Saint Edith, a lady whom God blessed. He had yet three other sons, born of three mothers; three mothers had these three; the king was devoted to women. When his queen was dead, his life was injured through women. A nobleman lived in his kingdom whose wife I well know was dead; God had

[1] Brunewest, B.; Brunewerche, D. In the Saxon Chronicle it is called Brunanburh. The locality is uncertain.
[2] A.D. 940.
[3] A.D. 944.
[4] A.D. 945.
[5] A.D. 946.
[6] Read, Eadmund.
[7] A.D. 952.
[8] A.D. 954.
[9] A.D. 955.
[10] A.D. 958.
[11] Tored, B. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 866.
[12] So called, because buried there.

given him one daughter by her, no other child remained to him. The name of this rich man was Orgar;[1] from Exeter to Frome there was neither town nor city in which Orgar had not possessions. But he was a wonderfully old man; what his daughter advised him to do he did, no man was found who dared restrain him from what she did or commanded to be done. Alftrued was the name of this damsel, and I suspect that under heaven there was not one so beautiful. Throughout the country great was the renown of her beauty. And as, in the neighbourhood, so many talked of it, some from the court came there, and those courtiers who saw her spoke much of her loveliness.

King Edgar had listened how men spoke of her beauty; he had often heard it praised; so frequently he had heard it spoken of that he considered and thought within himself, "Everywhere here I am king, and she is the daughter of a baron; I see no distinction. Her father was the son of an earl, of noble kings her mother was born. She is of sufficiently high extraction; I may well take her as my wife without disgrace." Then he called a knight and consulted with him. He was very dear to him, for he had brought him up; so he revealed his thoughts to him. "Edilwolt, brother," said the king, "I will tell thee of my secret. I love Estrueth the daughter of Orgar; by every body I have heard her praised so much, and her beauty so highly prized, that I desire to make her my wife, if she should be such [as I have heard], and I could know it, and be certified of her beauty. For this cause, I pray thee, go to see her; what thou shalt say about her, I will receive as truth. I will believe thee fully. Do this my affair; do not stay, but come back quickly." Edilwolt went away to prepare; he did not once stop, nor would he delay, till he arrived in Devonshire, at the house of Orgar the lord; he saluted him on the part of the king; by every one he was welcomed.

Orgar played at chess, a game which he learned from the Danes: the beautiful Elsturet played with him; there was not then such a damsel under heaven. Edelwolt stayed there a day, and eagerly looked upon her. He looked so much at her face and complexion, her figure and hands, the beautiful flower, that he thought she was a fairy, and that she was not born of woman. When he saw such beauty, such a flame was raised within him, that this traitor determined in his boldness that, whether to his advantage or to his injury, he would not say a word of the truth to his lord, and that he would also say that she was not so handsome. He portrayed the noble damsel unfairly; this came upon him three years afterwards, for he was killed unconfessed. He went away from the place and came to the king at a council which he was holding. Earls, barons, freeholders, archbishops, bishops, and abbots were there.

Hear what this deceiver did. He went to the king after dinner; he was received well and welcomed; but he had before spoken to those who were in favour with the king, and who knew this secret. He entreated that they would assist him, and that they would ask

[1] Compare Malmesbury's account of Edgar's marriage with Elfthrythe, to which Gaimar adds some particulars not elsewhere found.

for him the daughter of Orgar. And he had quite made them all believe that she was ill-made, ugly, and swarthy. Before the king he kneeled, and privately said to him, "King, of the lady to whom I went I will relate to you the truth. Whoever else has lied, I will speak truth; you ought not to have such a wife. She has a countenance and an expression which make her very unpleasing; other defects I saw in her, but I saw no beauty. To a man of my rank, it would not be any great harm if I should take her, preserve her honour, and show great respect to her father." On all sides it was said to the king, "That which he says has been repeated also to me. It is not well that you should have her; a knight should take her." The king was flexible and very vain; he was easily deceived. He took Edelwolt to speak to him, quite trusting that he had told the truth. "Friend," said he, "I fully believe you; since she is such I ought not to have her, I give her to thee with all the honour; make her father thy lord, and take care of him as thy father-in-law: espouse her, then come to me." The king held a rod, he presented it to him, and gave his consent. Then he swore his fealty, and in this place perjured himself. A man who deceives has no law, nor should any one put trust in his faith. This traitor went forth from the king; as a felon he had deceived him. He went to Orgar, negotiated with him, and took his daughter, seizing the honour. He stayed so long in this country that the lady became pregnant with a son. But the beautiful woman, if she could [have helped it], would never have been pregnant by Edelwolt. She did not love him; and she had been told how the king had been deceived; he himself in secret had made this known to Elstruet. At the right time the child was born. Would you hear what this disloyal man did? Because he still feared the king, who was very amorous, he went to him and so much entreated him that he caused him to be godfather to his child. When this was done she became his [the king's] sister; he [Edelwolt] had no fear from the king.[1]

The king, who was candid and kind, perceived nothing of this. He did not protect himself against this deceitful man; he had brought him up, consequently he loved him, until it happened that at a supper the king heard the lady spoken of; she was much praised on all sides; the knights who spoke of her said in their conversation, that in all the world there was not one so beautiful, and that were she still a virgin she would be well worthy of being queen. Afterwards they spoke of her intelligence, and that they could assert that she was both beautiful and wise, and open and frank in conversation; that no man could discover in her any bad intentions, either as to raillery or evil habits; she was wise enough to take care of herself. The king wondered much; thus he often heard them talk. He said to himself in thought, "I believe that Edelwolt has deceived me." He was much occupied in thought about Elstrued; from this hour he resolved to err from bad to worse.

[1] Edelwold's presumed security arose from the spiritual affinity which the king had contracted with Elfthrythe by standing godfather to her child.—*P.* In illustration of which see Sylvestrinæ Summa, tit. Matrimonium, cap. viii. § 7.

King Edgar resolved within himself that he would set out for Devonshire. To hunt stags he said he would go, but in his heart he had another plan. He was not far distant from the country; many a man goes a greater distance in a day. Elstruet was at a mansion where the king arrived on the evening of the second day. It was near the wood where he wished to hunt; that night he remained there to lodge. And when the time came that he should sup the sun still shone brightly. He then demanded of his companion, "Where she was, and where her father was?" Edelwolt replied, "In this apartment: king, you have fasted too long, go and eat." The king heard him, and perceived that if Edelwolt could prevent it, he should not see her. Then a knight took his hand, and he went up to the apartment. He found many ladies and young maidens there; he spoke to none; Elstruet he knew from her beauty, and she gave welcome to the king. She wore a wimple; the king had known her from her appearance. Then she smiled at him and looked towards him, and afterwards kissed her companion; in that kiss love was kindled; Elstruet was the flower of the others. The king in play and jestingly raised the drapery of her mantle; then he saw her figure so beautifully formed, that for a few moments he was quite lost in contemplating the loveliness he had discovered. He led her down into the hall; they sat down together at the repast. They had to change drinking cups; and the custom was such that he was much prized who drank freely. In cups of gold and mazers, in horns of oxen, filled with wine, were the wassaile and the drinkhaille, till Edgar went to sleep. When the lady drank with him, he kissed her, as was usual. She kissed him innocently, but the king was inflamed by her beauty, and if he could not have her love in another manner, he determined upon an extreme measure. That man resolves upon an extreme measure who takes a woman from her husband. That night the king remained quiet; he had never seen such a woman before. He thought in his heart that if he could not have her he should die, and that nothing would save him. Now he seeks a plan, and an evil design which often has the power to speak within him. He is much absorbed with love, and seeks [to use] the means upon which he has determined. He hunted in the forest in that country, and sent her the stags he took; he made her many other presents; three times he went to see her. When he went from that country he left it with a flame within him. She had heard so much and understood that the king wished to take her. The court was at Salisbury, he only waited eight days, then he made a great gathering; many barons of high extraction came. The king had summoned them in order to guard the land. With the others came Edelwolt; the king did what he wished with him. He sent him to York; he entrusted him with the land in the north; all judicature, from the Humber northwards, he committed to his command. Hastily, and without delay, he set out to direct [the affairs of] the country; he received such writs as he desired. Now lord Edelwold departed; in going to this land he did not know what people he would meet there; they were outlaws and enemies;

there then this wicked man was killed. Some say that king Edgar sent this company; but no one knows so much about it as to dare to affirm that it was he who killed him.

The announcement of his death came to the king; he could not then take vengeance, for he did not find out who deserved it, who had done the deed, nor who killed him. Afterwards he sent to take possession of his fief, and he made Elstrued come to court. She came to court hastily; the king wished to tell her his desire. He only waited one single month. The king was at Gloucester, the king of Wales was with him, and there were many knights in his halls. Then came Elstrued and her household, who was exceedingly well attired. All the barons of Somersetshire, of Devonshire, and of Dorsetshire, with the earls of Cornwall, came with her to this assemblage. They did this because it was their duty; each one held a large fief under her. She was invested in the fief of her father; she brought many of her relations. What shall I say of her dress? She had a ring on her finger which alone was of greater value than all her clothing. She wore a dress of black silk which trained along the hall; over this she had a little mantle, which was grey fur within, blue without. Her blialt was of other[1] silk. She was too beautiful. Have done, Gaimar; hesitate to discourse of her beauty by dwelling on it. If I should tell all the truth, from the morning till the evening, I should neither have told nor related the third part of her beauty.

The king rose and came towards her; he took her by the hand; when he held it he was much pleased; he took her and lodged her in an apartment; he would not lodge far away from her; under heaven he had nothing which was so dear to him. On the morrow he caused his private clerks to robe themselves in a minster very early in the morning; now he wished to draw this business to a close. He caused the beautiful Elstruet to be brought, and he married[2] her in the chapel. Then he sent for his barons, and summoned them by a lawful proclamation. There was not one of them who dared linger without that day eating at his table. Because of the joy which the king wished to bring, he caused himself to be much adorned, and put on his royal robes. He loved Elstrued much and was full of joy: for he had her clothed in the same manner, and crowned and served with reverence. The king wore a crown of gold, had a feast, and gave large presents. Two bishoprics, three abbeys, religious houses and lordships he restored this day; to several disinherited people he returned their honours. He so conducted himself towards all the people that no one hated him, every one loved him. Thus he kept a festival in his halls, and much honoured the kings of Wales. They carried the three swords, as the clergy had anciently ordered, and writings had been found which exactly agreed with this custom. I cannot tell you all the doings nor the magnificence of the feast; but I relate to

[1] A few words are here left untranslated.

[2] This marriage took place in the year 964. See Florence of Worcester, ad an. It is probable that the death of Ethelwold occurred in this same year.

you that which the History[1] relates, that there were great splendour and great rejoicing.

After an interval of not longer than a month, king Edgar was in London; he and the queen were in bed; around them was a wrought curtain of scarlet silk. Here archbishop Dunstan came into the room very early in the morning. This archbishop rested himself upon a stool (?) of crimson embroidery. He spoke to the king in the English language, and demanded of him who that was who was lying with him in his bed. The king replied, "This is the queen Elstruet, to whom this kingdom is favourably inclined." The archbishop said, "This is wrong; it had been better for you that you were dead than lie here in adultery; your souls will go to punishment." When the queen heard this, she was very angry with the archbishop; she became his enemy so much, that she never loved him afterwards to the last day of his life; but he did not care, he could not allow that a man should do wrong, and leave that which was right. He often admonished them, and prayed them to separate. His admonitions had no effect; he loved her, and she loved him. He afterwards had a son by her; and he called him Eldret [Ethelred], after his ancestor, a noble king, who was named Edelret [Ethelred]. But it happened that when he was born Saint Esswitune [Swithun] died.[2] And when the child was six years old, the valiant Edgar[3] died.

[A. D. 975.] His son Edward reigned after him; he was a king who loved God. But in his time, in consequence of his youth, some foreign people occupied his attention whom his father had brought to his kingdom; he had done wrong. His step-mother, who was living, and who had the strength of the kingdom, that she might exalt her own lineage, caused many great wrongs to be committed on the king; and she wished to make her own son king, who was growing up. King Edward reigned twelve years;[4] now I will tell you how he died. [5]He was one day merry and gay; he had dined in Wiltshire. He had a dwarf, Wolstanet, who knew how to dance and bound, how to leap and tumble, and play several other games. The king saw him, and called him, commanding him to play. The dwarf told him he would not do so, for his command he would not play; and when the king entreated of him more mildly, then he railed against him. The king grew very much annoyed at this. Wolstanet then went away; he took his horse, which he found near, and went to the house of Elstruet. He had only one country house, which was very near Somerset; there was a great and thick wood; to this instantly the dwarf spurred. The king mounted to follow him on a horse he found near; he did not once stop galloping, for he wished to see the dwarf play. He

[1] Gaimar evidently refers here to an earlier document, in which the history of Edgar and Elfthryth was related, and from which he borrowed the details of the previous narrative.

[2] Gaimar here confounds St. Swithin's death, which happened A. D. 862, with the translation of his relics, which occurred A. D. 970. See Florence of Worcester under these years.

[3] A. D. 975.

[4] xii., B.; vii., D. He reigned from A. D. 975 to 978.

[5] Some particulars are here added which occur only in our historian.

went to the house of Elstruet, and demanded who had seen his dwarf; he found few people in the house; no one said either yes or no except the queen, who coming out of her chamber thus replied to him: "Sire, he has never been here; remain with us; good king, dismount; if it please thee, king, tarry here; I will cause thy people to come to me. I will have Wulstanet sought for; I know well I shall find him." The king replied, "Thank you, I cannot dismount here." "Sire," said she, "then drink while you are on horseback, if you love me." "I will do so, willingly," replied the king; "but first you will drink to me." The butlers filled a horn of good claret,[1] and handed it to her. She drank the half of the filled horn, and then put it into the hands of king Edward. At the delivery of the horn he ought to have kissed her.[2] Then came on the other side some one, I know not who, and with a large and sharp knife he wounded the king even to the heart; he fell down and uttered a cry; the horse was frightened. Bloody as it was, as God willed, with saddle and bridle, it went straight to St. Edward's, at Cirencester;[3] there is the saddle, and there it ought to be. And the holy body of this martyr the queen caused to be buried at a distance. It was carried to a moor, where no man had before been buried; there the king was covered with reeds; but he did not rest there long. The household of the king followed him, and went to seek him at the house of Elstruet. She fled from them, from which it is said that the queen murdered him. At night as he lay in the moor, a heavenly light spread itself there; the light was bright, (no wonder!) it very much resembled the sun. This ray came over the holy body, the top of it was in heaven. Many inquired what this could be. Then a wise priest saw it, who was curate of Doneheve [Donhead],[4] he told them the whole truth. "Now go and seek, and you shall find a holy martyr there." The Holy Spirit had revealed this to him by a voice which he had heard. Early in the morning the report of this was spread to several places in the country, so that all came to the place where king Edward was murdered. All those persons touched him who came there, and they and the deaf people became whole. He was carried to Shaftesbury, there he is cherished and honoured.

[A.D. 978.] Now through the power of her relations, Elstruet made Eldret [Ethelred] king; the youth was only sixteen[5] years of age; before the altar of St. Vincent, at Winchester, they made him king. St. Dunstan now died,[6] as I believe, the archbishop of Canterbury. He absolved Elstruet from [God's] great anger; before

[1] Wine mixed with honey and spices. See Hist. de la Vie privée des François, par Le Grand d'Aussy, iii. 67, 68, ed. Par. 1815.

[2] An allusion to a drinking usage which then prevailed in England, of which there is frequent mention in our historians and early romance writers. Malmesbury also mentions it on this occasion.

[3] According to Ricardus Divisiensis, the horse stopped at Shaftesbury, which was afterwards called St. Edward's-Stow, and there, he says, the saddle was still preserved.—*P.*

[4] Donhead, in Wiltshire, near Shaftesbury.—*P.* Capgrave (fol. cxvi.) says that the body, after having been removed from the moor, was buried at Wareham, and then translated to Shaftesbury.

[5] Fifteen, B. D.

[6] A.D. 988.

he died he forgave her, and exhorted her to penitence. At Warwelle she did penance; she served God well, then died. There her body rests, so says the History. In memory of her the nuns have masses, matins, services, and orisons in many ways. May God now do towards her that which is his pleasure! He had power to pardon her.

So in the time that Edelred reigned, it pleased God that Dunstan should die; after him Edelgar was archbishop; to serve God he gave pain to his body. Then Siryc[1] [Sigeric] was archbishop. When he died, Elfrid[2] [Elfric] succeeded him. They received, elected, and placed Elfrich in the see, with great honour. These archbishops were in this place in Edelred's time.

Edelred had an elder brother, who was called Edmund.[3] By this brother his kingdom was claimed; he desired to conquer it from him. The Welsh were his friends, for his wife came from their country; she was the daughter of a king in that land, who maintained the war along with him. On the other hand, the relations of whom king Edward was born on the side of his mother, hated him and made a great war against him; and the Scots, and the Picts, the Welsh and the Cumbrians, would not condescend to hold of him, and had no desire to serve him.

When the king saw that things were going on so badly, he held a meeting of his friends: he asked their advice; there was great need; the nobles assembled from all parts of his kingdom. Then these people advised that he should immediately pass the sea, and that he should ask Emma, the sister of Richard, and bring her from that country. If the Normans were his friends, he could well restrain his enemies; count Richard would support him; he could keep all his neighbours in order. He believed their advice good. He neither stayed nor rested till he had married Emma;[4] count Richard gave her to him. He brought her into England, and gave her as her dowry Winchester, Rockingham, and Rutland, which Elstruet had had before; he gave her all this, and held her dear.

[A.D. 1013.] In this period came king Swain, to claim and to conquer. Some of the country received him; earl Uhtred of Lindsey[5] surrendered himself and his ships, and they on the other side of the Humber[6] did likewise; all the people then in England did the same; he met with no resistance whatever. He seized all and took all, no man contradicting him. For Edelred had no aid; he had fled into Normandy, with his wife and his two sons; Richard had received them well.

When king Sweyn had conquered all, and saw that the country

[1] A.D. 990. [2] A.D. 995.

[3] Here again is some confusion, for Ethelred's elder brother, Edmund Etheling, died as far back as A.D. 971. See Florence, ad an. The individual here mentioned has not been identified, nor have the circumstances with which he is connected been described elsewhere, so as to afford a clue to the solution of the difficulty.

[4] Ethelred married Emma in 1002. His voyage to Normandy at this time is mentioned by no preceding writer.—*P.*

[5] Uhtred was earl of Northumbria, not Lindsey. See the authorities quoted in Dugdale's Baronage, i. 3, to which add the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1013.

[6] The Northumbrians.

was his, he went to Gaynesburc [Gainsborough], and stayed there for a time. He died at this place, and was buried at York;[1] ten years afterwards, or more, the Danes took his bones from that place and carried them to Norway, where they laid him in Saint Olaf's; he was laid in the minster of Saint Peter,[2] when the Danes took him away. Cnuht, who was the son of Sweyn, remained a full year in plenty and peace. Then came a great host and a great fleet with Edelret, from Normandy;[3] and the English and Danes received him and made him king. When Cnuht heard this, he departed, and immediately crossed the sea. He assembled a host from several countries; he did not care for peace, he loved war so much.

King Edelret went into Lindsey, demanding his lordship; he took spoils, ravaged the land, and made very cruel war. Cnut returned with his fleet; he wished to land in Lindsey. When he heard that Edelret was there, he sailed direct to the Thames, and he entered the mouth of the Front;[4] all this country he turned to himself. The English came from all sides, and joined themselves to king Cnut. King Edelret went to London; he stored it well; there he stayed. He had not wherewith to fight against Cnut, so he avoided him. He said that he would defend himself there. Then came Cnut and besieged it; he stayed and waited there so long, that king Edelret died. He lies in St. Paul's there; he made over his treasure to the bishopric.

[A.D. 1016.] King Edelret had a son; his other two children were very little; they were carried into Normandy, for their relations were there. Earl Richard was their uncle, who educated and supported them; and the queen was at Winchester; a more beautiful woman there could not be. And Cnut reigned; he had conquered the whole country in many parts. But Eadmund the etheling troubled him; he fought as much as he could; he and his uncle, the other Eadmund, waged great war against Cnut. But a misfortune happened to the elder Edmund; he was seized with an illness, which so affected him that it ended his days; thus he died. He was buried at Hereford.[5] But the other Edmund gathered people and warred with great fidelity. The Welsh allied themselves with him; he married the sister[6] of one of their kings; and all those beyond the Severn, from Lancaster[7] even to Malvern,[8] followed his proclamation and command. And he made great war upon Cnut before the Danes were assembled; he went with a host against them. Earl Turchil[9] brought this host; the king's son fought against him. They then came to Escorestan,[10] on the morning of Saint John [24th June]. Here they had a severe battle; many of the English

[1] Swein's temporary interment at York is not noticed by any earlier writer; but see the "Encomium Emmæ."—*P.* [2] Namely, at York.

[3] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1014.

[4] Del Fron, B. D.; "the mouth of the Frome," Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1015.

[5] We are again at a loss respecting this Eadmund.

[6] Algith, the wife of Sigeferth. See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1015.

[7] Danecastre, B. [8] Alverne, B.; Auverne, D.

[9] See the "Encomium Emmæ;" the Saxon Chronicle is silent respecting this personage upon the present occasion; but see A.D. 1013.

[10] Soreham, B.; Escorham, D.; "at Scorstane," Saxon Chronicle. See Florence, p. 205, note [1].

deserted from their lords who had brought them, and went over to the Danes, through treason and wickedness; many nobles there lost their lives. Edriz Estrene deserted, and many others whom king Edward, the son of Edelret, had cherished; the Danes made great rejoicing. Cnut the king, leading his host, repaired to Assendune; and king Eadmund fought with him, with but few people; but no man, this I know, fought better than he fought. Whether he would or not, he lost the field; the Welsh were driven from it by force, and the Danes had the victory. Here war and strife lasted between these two for several days, so that the land became desolated, through their pride and their war. The barons then deliberated and discoursed so much that they made an arrangement. They assembled at Duerherstede [Deerhurst];[1] here it was agreed between them that a duel should be fought: this was assented to by each personally. It was discussed and arranged how each should be accoutred. When he entered into the battle, he was to have a hauberk, a helmet, a shield, a battle-axe, a hand-axe, a sword, and a good mace; also that each should have armour on his thighs when he went into the battle. Afterwards they said where it was to take place, and it was agreed that it should be at Gloucester. In the middle of the Severn they were to be brought into a fair and good ship; the ship was to be well fastened, chained, and firmly tied on both sides, that it might be secured exactly in the middle of the river. Thus they arranged the order of battle, and their two armies were to be on both sides. They both swore by reason, gave hostages, and pledged themselves, that if they could not agree together, and if the duel should be fought, to whichever of the two should gain it the others should all ally themselves, and leave him to reign over them.

On the [appointed] day they all assembled; the two kings were brought in the ship; and on both sides on the shore were the two armies, to look on. All the ships of the city were brought upon the river; they placed them at six leagues (?) distance, so that the barons might observe them. They did not wish that any turbulent man should begin a brawl there, but that the fight should be between them two: let him have the kingdom whom God pleased. At one end of the ship was Cnut, who was of Danish extraction; at the other was Edmund, who belonged to the English. They were kneeling in prayer; they humbled themselves much; afterwards they stood and prepared themselves, each one girded with his arms.

When they were quite ready, the one looked at the other. Then Cnut spoke with great wisdom, and said, "Eadmund, attend a moment. I am a Dane, thou an Englishman; and our fathers were two kings. The one held the land, and so did the other; each did what he pleased with it. As long as they had it in their power, each had his own will in it. You know well that the Danes, our ancestors, had it long. Nearly a thousand years Dane[2] formerly held it, till Cerdic the king entered it. Cerdic was your ancestor and king Dane was mine; the Danes possessed it from God, *in capite*.[3]

[1] See Florence, p. 268. [2] See p. 753.

[3] Gaimar here uses the feudal technicalities respecting tenures which were current in his own age.

Modred gave Cerdic[1] his fief; he did not hold it *in capite;* from him came your ancestors. This I tell you, if you know it not; if you fight with me, one of us will have the greater wrong; we know not which may be slain. Because of this I desire to make you a proposal, and I will retract nothing from it. Let us divide the kingdom exactly in two parts; let one part be yours, let the other part be mine; and let neither you nor I complain. Then we will conquer that part which neither you nor I have had. As we subdue it, we will share it between us; and be as two brothers in reality: I will swear to you, you shall swear to me, to hold this same fraternity as if we were born of one mother, as if we were both brothers, and of one father and one mother. Let there be hostages between us; believe me, and I will believe you."

Edmund stood on the other side: in boldness he resembled the leopard. He heard the humility and the justice with which the good king Cnut spoke to him. He replied with great wisdom: "Will you carry out this speech?" "Yes," said Cnut, "in truth; let it be pledged between us. Hold, I pledge you my faith, I will hold this covenant." This covenant was sworn; here they acquiesced in it. Through this agreement they embraced each other: it was well kept. On both sides all the people who were wise praised God; and the two kings asked for ships. Two fishermen, who lived there, brought two small boats; they had been concealed in a ditch.

The two kings came to their people; on the morrow the arrangement was made. For the land was divided at the direction of the nobility; as the water of the Thames flows, they thought it right to make a division, from the place at which it rises to the Fossway; from thence it flows back, and goes straight to the road which king Belinus caused to be made, and which is called Watling Street: to the right of this place, quite to the west, it was divided. When the barons had done this, neither of the two kings retracted from it. They made equal lots and shares, that there never might be contentions; Eadmund had his part in the south; and there was his uncle, St. Edward. On the other side of the Thames, Cnut administered strict justice; he had London: the seat of his government was there: York also was in his kingdom. Eadmund had Canterbury, and therewith Winchester, Salisbury, Gloucester, and Dretecestre [Dorchester], Cirencester, and Exeter. What shall I say of these two kingdoms? Each one was richly invested. Now they reigned more unitedly than would brothers or relations; and, as I believe, these two loved each other more than brothers.

[2]A traitor was envious at this, and thereupon this wicked man committed a great crime. He invited Eadmund, and went to solicit that he would come to stay with him. This was this man; he so earnestly entreated king Edmund that he paid him a visit. He received abundant entertainment, but it was maliciously prepared; he who gave it ruined him [the king] entirely, for, like

[1] See p. 729, 735.

[2] The details of Edmund's murder, as here given, correspond with the narrative of Henry of Huntingdon more closely than with any other author.

a wicked man, he murdered the king. Edric had caused a machine to be made; the bow which he made he caused to shoot forth; if anything touched the string, then he should speedily hear bad news. Even if a bason were opposed to it, a man would be struck by the arrow. Where that bow was placed, they formed a new chamber: it was called a privy chamber; people went into it for this business. The king was brought there at night, as Edric had commanded. So soon as he sat upon the seat, the arrow pierced his body upwards, until it reached his lungs. The feather of it was hidden in his body, nor did any blood issue forth. The king uttered a cry of death, the soul fled, he was no more; nothing could be done to recover him. His people carried him from thence, and took him to a minster.[1] There they read and chanted much, and said matins and services, that God, if it pleased Him, should inflict punishment upon this wicked felon, this traitor, who had thus murdered his lord. The king was decently buried, and interred, and provided for. But the queen[2] did not know of it: she had two beautiful boys by him, and before she knew about this, or any man could tell her, the two children were taken from her, and carried direct to Cnut. The traitor Edric did this, by which he thought to increase his honours.

This wicked villain went to London; king Cnut was there and many barons. He kneeled before the king, and in his ear informed him how he had acted with Edmund, and how he had brought the children. When the king had thoroughly heard all this, he became very reproachful and angry. He caused all his barons to be brought, and he recounted to them the treason. When he had thus substantiated it in their hearing, he had him seized, and carried upon an ancient tower, so situated that when the tide rose the Thames washed it. The king himself went afterwards, and he sent for all the citizens. He caused an axe to be brought: I know not if there be another such under heaven. He caused a withe to be twisted round the forelock of the traitor: when it was firmly secured in the forelock, king Cnut went instantly to him; he gave him a slight blow, with which he severed his head from the trunk; he caused the body to be let down below; the tide flowed in; then he caused the head of the traitor to be thrown in, and they went together to the main sea: may the living devil have them! Thus ended Edric Estreine. And the king said to his confidants, so that many heard it, "This man killed my brother: in him I have avenged all my friends. He was indeed my brother in reality, nor will I ever put another in his place. Since this has happened so, may Beelzebub have the body of Edric!" The king then went down from thence and mounted on a horse; he went to converse with the queen, to ask advice and inquire for the two children, the sons of Eadmund. The queen said, "Where are they?" The king replied, "At Westminster; I delivered them yesterday to the abbot."

"Sire," said she, "rely upon me, it will be necessary to take

[1] That, namely, of Glastonbury.

[2] The following particulars are also supplemental to the information furnished by earlier writers.

other measures. These are the rightful heirs to the land; if they live, they will make war; while you can have peace if you attend to me. Cause it to be known that they are taken to another country; take heed that they may not be able to do harm. Confide them to such a man that they may be kept from doing harm." Then they called for a Dane, a nobleman, a distant border lord; he had a city, and a great county, and was called Walgar. They confided the two children to him, who were sons of a king, and noble; he received them to take care of them, to bring them up and make them happy. And indeed he intended if he lived to bring them up in great honour. What shall I say of it? He went from thence and proceeded to Denmark; he went away with the children; one was called Edgar,[1] the other had the name of Edelret; this was the younger boy. They were taken good care of, and were well brought up; thus when they had grown and had well passed twelve years they were very handsome and engaging.

A report reached England that the true heir was grown up. The English rejoiced much at this, for they did not love the Danes. They prepared some ships and wished to send them. This was told the queen, whose name was Emeline;[2] king Ethelred had possessed her formerly; now she was the wife of king Cnut. She had two sons by Edelret, one was Edward, the other Auveret,[3] [Alfred]. Earl Richard, of Normandy, had his nephews in charge; they were the second true heirs, and wished to have England. Queen Emma was their mother, whom king Canute possessed after their father. She loved his[4] two sons so much that she made herself very unhappy about these youths;[5] moreover for the sake also of her late lord, she had a great dislike towards them. When she heard that the English had a desire to make them [the sons of Edmund] their kings, she formed a bad design within her. With her head bent she went to her lord. "My lord," said she, "thou knowest not that the sons of Edmund will be sent for; the English say that they are the true heirs, so they desire to see them instead of thee." Cnut replied, "Can this be true?" "Yes, dear sire, at Porchester a ship is prepared which will bring them with a great retinue." The king quickly sent, and found that the ship was prepared. They took the arms and stores and put the people in prison. They came to the king to tell the news; when he heard all, he was filled with anger.

Then he caused his writs to be sealed and sent beyond the sea to his two sons who were there, and who held Denmark. He sent to them, and to the barons, requesting that they would take the young men, and secretly murder them, so that they could never escape. At this counsel there was one to hear, who, if he could, wished to assist them. Hastily he then told Walgar, who took care of the children,

[1] Here again Gaimar's statements cause us some difficulty: the children were named Edmund and Edward, not Edgar and Ethelred. The former married a daughter of Stephen king of Hungary, and became the father of Edgar Aetheling; the latter married Agatha, by whom he had Margaret, the wife of Malcolm king of Scotland, and Christina, who died a nun at Rumsey.

[2] Her name was Emma Elfgivu.

[3] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1036.

[4] Cnut's.

[5] Her own.

that if in any way they were dear to him, he should cause them to be sent elsewhere, for that if they were found there they would certainly be assassinated. The good man did not delay; he left his land to his three sons. With three ships only he put to sea; he so performed his journey that in five days only he passed through Susie[1] and came into the kingdom of Hungary. The sixth day he arrived at the city of Gardimbre.[2] The king and the queen to whom Hungary was obedient were there. Walgar was a friend of theirs; he had attended to their two children. He came to the king and saluted him. The king rose to meet him; he kissed Walgar, seated him near him, and received him with cheerfulness and joy. He had heard very good reports of the two youths whom he had in charge, and that they were the right heirs of England; but he did not know what they came to solicit. While the master was speaking, the king requested that he would tell him about the two young men, how they were, and why men wished to destroy them. Then he told him how they had fled, and how they were come for his mercy, and to see if he would give them advice, so that they could recover their own land. "Sire," said he, "they will hold it of thee; they will then become thy vassals."

The king replied, "They are welcome. All my power and my strength I will put forth to aid them; I will burden myself to enhance them. According to my power I will make war for them against those who have taken their land." Walgar replied, "I thank you; upon your faith, I here commend them to you; as you have trust in God, so, I conjure you, guard them well." Then he delivered the children to him; in three years from this time they were much grown. The younger was fifteen years old; but the elder, who was more than nineteen years of age, was the taller. Edgar[3] was his name; he was very sensible. He paid his addresses to the daughter of the king, and she loved him; this was known; before an entire year had passed it happened that the lady was pregnant. What shall I say, time had gone so far that the evil could not be concealed. The king heard it; it was told him; he was not very angry at it. He also said he would willingly pardon it; and that if he wished to take her he would give her to him. The youth agreed to this, and kissed the feet of the king. The king sent for his people. On the morrow the assemblage took place, the king gave his daughter to Edgar, and in the sight of his people he married her. And the king made known to all that at his death Edgar should be the heir. Since he had no son he made him his heir, because of his eldest daughter whom he had married. I have told you this because I wish that you may know it, and not wonder at anything. Of this Edgar and his wife came the precious gem[4] who was called Margaret; king Malcolm made her his queen. She had an elder brother, who was named Edgar the atheling. The English sent for the children, for their father was not living. The two children were the right heirs, to him who wished to acknowledge the true ones. When they were about to arrive in

[1] Russie, B. D. [2] Gardhumbre, B.; Gardumbre, D. [3] Read, Edmund.
[4] A play upon the word "margareta," a pearl.

the Humber[1] a tempest arose on the sea, which drove them to Scotland, and they were seized by king Malcolm. He made Margaret his queen; she was very devoted to God. Six sons, this I know, the king had by her. Now I will tell you of the first three, Donald, Duncan,[2] and Eadmund; the other three who were kings were Edgar, Alexander, and David. This lineage descended from Edmund, who was king in England, as also were all his ancestors before him.

Now I will return to the Danes. Cnut and Emma his wife had a very beautiful daughter; the damsel's name was Gonild.[3] The king had two sons of his own, wholly[4] of Danish extraction; their names were Harold and Hardicnut. These two held the kingdom; they reigned seven years after Cnut. The children were beyond the sea who ought in justice to have reigned, and much disturbance this caused to men. Cnut was a good king, rich and powerful, his inheritance was very great; he had Denmark and England; he conquered all Norway, and drove out king Olaf; then he returned to England. While Cnut was reigning well Olaf came back with a very large number of people; he thought to recover Norway; the Norwegians caused their army to be brought; they fought with much fierceness, and killed Olaf who was the rightful king. Then Cnut was lord of three kingdoms; he found few who dared to disobey him. And nevertheless he was disobeyed, and his command despised. He was in London on the Thames; the tide was flowing near the church which is called Westminster. The king stood afoot at the strand on the sand; the tide came struggling onward; it advanced much, and came near the king. Cnut held his sceptre in his hand, and he said to the tide, "Return back; flee from me, lest I strike thee." The sea did not retire for him, more and more the tide rose; the king remained, he waited, and struck the water with his sceptre. The river retired not for that, so it reached the king and wetted him.

When the king saw he had waited too long, and that the tide did not regard him, he withdrew himself back from the strand; then standing upon a stone, he stretched out his hands towards the east. Hear what he said while his people were listening: "Him who made the sea to rise men ought indeed to believe and adore. He is a good King; I am a poor creature; I am a mortal man, but He lives for ever; his command annihilates everything; I pray Him that He may be my protector. To Rome I will go to petition Him; of Him I will hold all my lands." Then he had made his preparations, he wished to go without delay.[5] He carried plenty

[1] There is here a confused blending together of the return of Margaret into England in A.D. 1057 with her flight from England in 1067.

[2] Here there appears to be some confusion; for Donald was Malcolm's brother, and Duncan was his natural son. See Anderson's Genealogical Tables, p. 757. As to the others, see Fordun's Scottichronicon, V. xviii. (i. 265, ed. Goodall), and Wyntown, VII. iii. (i. 269.)

[3] Gunhild, surnamed Aethelthryth, married to Henry III. king of Germany.

[4] This statement is not strictly true, for Harold Harefoot was the son of Aelfwyn, daughter of Aelfhelm, earl of Northampton, and Harthacnut was the son of Aelfgifu-Emma.

[5] The exact period of Cnut's journey to Rome is uncertain; Florence of Wor-

of gold and silver. All the bridges over the rivers that one finds on the journey, beyond the mountains and on this side, the king caused to be made and fabricated by his money, which he gave willingly. He bought off with the Peter's-pence from the house the legation which the English were in the habit of making to Rome; through which he obtained that no man from England should be held in fetters, and that none should go out of his kingdom for any sin he might commit, but that in his own country he might purify himself.

When the king had accomplished this, he repaired to England. But he remained there only a short time; he went with his army into Scotland.[1] So much did he speak and promise to the king,[2] that this king said he would hold his land of him. He had him in a good agreement; but he could gain no service from him. Before a month was fully completed, the days of both the kings were ended; and the sons of Cnut both reigned; all demanded Harold first; he reigned two years, and Hardecnuth five;[3] king Cnut, their father, twenty. These two gave their sister Gonnild[4] to the rich emperor, who then had Rome in tenure, also Germany and Lombardy. As I have formerly told you, they reigned seven years over the country. When the Danish heir was dead, the English rejoiced[5] greatly. For the Danes kept them in a very degraded position, and often did them dishonour. If a hundred met one only, evil arose if they did not bow themselves to him; and if they came upon a bridge, they were required to wait; it was a crime if they moved before the Dane passed. In passing every one inclined himself; whoever did not, if he were taken, was shamefully beaten. In such vileness were the English, so did the Danes vilify them. Now they consulted what they should do, for which heirs they should send. If they should send into Hungary it would be too far, they would have little aid. They spoke to the commander-in-chief that they might send into Normandy for Edward and for Alfred. Edward was the elder brother, he had gone[6] into Hungary in aid of his kinsmen in a war in which they were engaged; the people of Velcase[7] caused it.

When the English could not find him, they brought Alfred with them. They hasted much because of the Danes, whom they were unwilling to have for their king. Nevertheless there was one man who had a son by the sister of two kings; she was the daughter of Cnut and sister of Harold; now hear what he wished to do. He sought to make his own children heirs; of this he afterwards entertained a hope. Earl Godwin came to London, which sided with the Danes. There they were all assembled, and waited for Alfred. All the barons of this kingdom had sent for him. Earl Godwin deliberated within himself, he took horsemen, and sent

cester, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, and others, ascribing it to the year 1031, whereas Wippo, a contemporary writer, places it in 1027, and identifies it with circumstances which seem to establish the accuracy of that date. See Pagi ad Annal. Baronii, A.D. 1027, § 5.

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1031.

[2] That is, king Malcolm, who died A.D. 1034.

[3] Hardicnut reigned two years, Harold five.

[4] See p. 786, note [3].

[5] MS. B. here reads "had great grief."

[6] This is opposed by the Saxon Chronicle, which speaks of the arrival of Edward in England previous to the death of Hardicnut in 1042. See A.D. 1041.

[7] Welcase, D.

them with many other people well armed. They went towards the sea. That night he lodged at Geldesford.[1] He had a great inclination to do wrong. The next day Alfred came thither. Earl Godwin took him up to the hill at Geldesdene.[2] "Sire," said he, "all that thou seest belongs to thy crown, and a thousand times as much, and a hundred and a hundred."

Alfred replied, "God be thanked; if it be permitted that I come into possession of it, I will institute good customs, and much will I love peace and justice." Godwin had well prepared his men, so that whenever he should cry Warrai, the Normans should be all seized. They were killed as enemies; each nine were immediately beheaded, the tenth was spared. Here they were slain nine by nine. He saved one out of the ten. Then they took Alfred and brought him to Ely. There they put out his eyes; they made him go into a skin, where they drew from him the great entrails with needles they had made; there they made him enter that they might draw out his entrails, so that he could not stand upon his feet. His soul fled; they rejoiced that they had murdered him in this manner; they did this for love of Godwin.[3]

But when the barons, who had sent for Alfred, were made acquainted with this, they were much grieved, and very sorrowful; they said, "If Godwin be taken, no earthly thing shall save him; he shall die a worse death than Edric Estriene." Earl Godwin[4] did not wait; he and his people went on board ship; he fled to Denmark, where he was well received. And the English pass the sea; they go to give hostages to Edward. They assure him of the crown, and that they will make him king and ruler. Then he sent for a retinue, and had many people prepared. He came to the sea, quickly passed it, and was crowned in London.[5] Then he possessed the land, and settled its laws; there never had been such before. He much loved peace, right, and justice. Because of this he placed the laws on so safe a footing, that neither before or since his day could any king do better. When he was settled and was reigning here, Godwin prepared himself; with a great navy that he had, he sailed right up the Thames. Then he sent to his friends, for he had many in the country, and begged them to entreat the king for him; he implored of them that he might have justice: they did this; they debated so much that they brought him before the king. They brought him according to this understanding, that he would abide by the sentence of the king. He gave a pledge to do right, and many a rich man was security for him.

The pledges were indeed most noble, beautiful, and lordly. There were seven large beakers of fine silver, the circles of which were of rich gold. There were stones of many kinds, beautifully set in these circles of gold; jaspers, sapphires, and topazes, beryls,

[1] Guildford. [2] This also refers to Guildford.

[3] Compare the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1036.

[4] Gaimar is the only writer who mentions this departure of Godwin into Denmark; but it is not improbable that he has confused it with the flight which occurred A.D. 1052.

[5] He was crowned king at Winchester, A.D. 1043. See the Saxon Chronicle.

sardines, chrysoprases, ambers, gems, agates and alabasters. The beakers were handsomely made; each had a cover very fairly worked in gold and silver. Each was valued at a hundred marks; but for the stones and for the gold, they were worth more than any treasure; earl Godwin had obtained them from the king of the Suevi, whom he killed. This was the pledge he gave. Then he was cited, and answered.

[1]The king himself rose; in great anger he accused him, and said that through him his brother was killed; that he had betrayed him as a traitor and deceiver. "And if," said the king, "he defend himself in any way, he shall give proofs." The earl replied, "All which you have related here I deny; I shall deny it word by word, and disprove it in the trial. I have given you my pledge; let a trial be granted. Of your accusation and of my reply let the barons judge fairly." There was a great assembly of counts, barons, and many learned men. The earl Lewine[2] was here present: he was of Cheshire, and powerful: earl Syward[3] also attended; he was lord of York and of the county of Huntingdon, which belonged to him personally: earl Leveric held Norfolk;[4] he was seated with the others on the bench. Twelve very learned earls were there, besides barons and the clergy, who gave their attention to the pleadings. But they are silent, and they do not move from here until they have commandment from the king that they should proceed to the trial. Then they rose and stood; earl Syward went first. They went into a chamber to which men mounted by steps; and they were seated to give judgment. A knight then rose, whose name was Marleswain, he was a Dane, rich, and a baron. He inclined towards Godwin, and nevertheless he spoke to the point. "Lords," said he, "you have heard how this earl is accused; and the answer you have heard; he has denied it all, you know this well. If the king asserts his crime to be treason, there is no eye nor earwitness of it, nor has any man come forward who says, 'It was done in my sight.' Be cautious about this, for it is my opinion they may again be friends."

Earl Syward, on the other side, said, "For my opinion, he has made a firm denial to the king; we ought to yield to his words, if he did not deny wickedness, treason, and perfidy; but from these a man should defend himself; he should await the issue of a trial. This is a great affair, this accusation to the king; it will come to trial, I believe, by fire, by water, or by combat; one of these three will not fail."

[1] This is perhaps the earliest "report" of a state trial extant. Whether it be rightly assigned to the middle of the eleventh century may indeed be doubted; but we may fairly infer that it represented, at the latest, the practice of the author's time, about the middle of the twelfth. It exhibits many curious particulars; but it is more especially valuable from showing, on the latter supposition, how little change from the Anglo-Saxon practice had then taken place.—*P.*

[2] Although the high authority of Petrie has decided that "no earl Lewine has been discovered at this period," it might be conjectured that this individual is the earl Leofwine, who fell with his brother Harold at the battle of Hastings, as mentioned by the Saxon Chronicle and Florence, A.D. 1066.

[3] Siward, earl of Northumberland, who died in 1055. See Dugd. Baron i. 4.

[4] He was earl of Mercia, and died in 1057. Id. p. 10.

"Sire," said Freegis,[1] "in this country this is not justice; for the simple word of a secret accuser, we will not make a new judgment. By his speech he entirely acquits himself; it is not necessary to have any other sentence."

Leveriz[2] [Leofric] of Northamptonshire spoke; "King Edward wears the crown. Great weight is attached to his accusation; a man ought indeed to follow his counsel. He has taken from him a pledge of justice; Godwin did not know that this inquiry would be made according to the principles of honour; he asks mercy from his lord; according to the accusation that the king made, by a trial must he follow up his cause; nothing can be done by combat, an oath is of no avail, nor fire, nor water, nor judicature; we will not judge in this manner. A witness of hearing and seeing he ought, by right, to have, who wishes to bring another to the iron, or to float in water. But to a decision without a trial, we generally agree. Of great riches and honour, let him make an offer to his lord; let this offer be that which I will mention; I will burden earl Godwin with it. Let him be armed and his five sons, and his nephews of whom he has spoken; altogether they will make sixty-six armed men; with every weapon let them be armed. According to the rules of us English let their armour be specified; let the hauberks be embroidered with gold, and the helmets encircled with gold, and let the shields have buckles of gold. Earl Godwin has much treasure; in each suit of armour, let there be much gold, weighing at least twenty ounces. On their arms let them have bracelets of gold. In this way let them appear before the king, that he may have the homage of all of them, and hold all their hostages as a pledge of faith, and let their armour be delivered to him; afterwards let him follow his pleasure. Let the earl Godwin remain with the king and at his mercy until he has had satisfaction. This decision, if agreed to, is on both sides very honourable: nor is it for us a bad expedient. To abide by the accusation the king made, let us thus agree to this." All said, "We quite acquiesce."

When they had all agreed to this, they came before the king. When this opinion was recorded, it was agreed to on both sides. The king received homage from them all, and took hostages that they would keep faith with him; he took their arms, gold and silver, and kissed them for agreement. The earl had served him so well, and they were afterwards such good friends, that the king married his daughter,[3] and crowned her queen; he restored to him [Godwin] all his earldom, and established all his sons; he loved them so much that he made them earls. Edward reigned with great honour.

In this time[4] in which this king reigned, the Normans were expelled from the kingdom in anger; archbishop Robert was also

[1] It is remarked by Petrie that a person of this name appears by Doomsday Book to have had considerable property in Northamptonshire and other neighbouring counties in king Edward's time. See Ellis's Introduction, ii. 114.

[2] Leofric, earl of Mercia.

[3] Edward married Eadgith, the daughter of earl Godwin, in 1044.

[4] A.D. 1052.

banished from it, and experienced great loss. Then earl Godwin died,[1] and was buried at Winchester. Earl Syward then made an agreement with the king of Scotland,[2] where he went; but Macheden [Macbeth] destroyed the peace, and ceased not to carry on war. Earl Syward then sent for ships, forwarded a large army by sea, and led another by land. He mustered such force against Macheden, that he discomfited him in battle, and slew many of his men. Gold and silver, armour and swords, he gained in these countries. But one of his sons, whose name was Osbern, baron Syward his nephew, and one of the king's knights, whom Syward brought with him, and the sailors who accompanied him, he left dead in Scotland. After this[3] Syward died, then Tosti was made earl; he was the son of Godwin; he had no claim in York. Afterwards[4] earl Leofric died; Raulf was seized in the honour, but he held it a short time, and quickly came to an end; he was a very noble man, but soon passed away. This earl was buried at Burg [Peterborough], and the earl Leofric at Coventry. King Griffin[5] made peace, the earl Algar had permission to return, but the agreement lasted a short time only; he often did evil to king Edward. Then Tosti[6] went from the north, and Harold from the south of Oxford; the two brothers brought a great army, and made their way directly towards Wales. The south Welsh fought against Griffin, conquered his people, cut off the head of the king, and presented it to Harold and Tosti; they carried it to Edward. No one afterwards cared for the Welsh; but the Scotch warred against them [the English], and often devastated Northumberland. King Edward went near there. He sent two bishops there, bishops Ailwyne and Chenesi;[7] with them went the earl Tosti; they spoke so much to king Malcolm, that they brought him as far as the Tweed. King Edward went forward, and held a conference with Malcolm. He made him presents and honoured him much, which all ended badly; peace and truce were made between them, but they lasted only a few days. Earl Tosti went to Rome,[8] and with him his countess Judith. While he was there king Malcolm devastated all his country. Holy Island was then devasted, which had always been spared hitherto. Then, some time after this,[9] monks and great people assembled to meet bishop Egelwine, who translated the body of Saint Oswin from the earth. Four hundred years and fifteen besides, the body had reposed there, at Tynemouth, where it was and is still; this is true: and God performed many miracles through the holy body, as is well known.

In this year Tosti returned, and the countess Judith. He made peace with Malcolm, the barons went with him. Upon his return,

[1] A. D. 1053. [2] See the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1054. [3] A. D. 1055.

[4] Here, as Petrie has already noticed, the narrative is confused; for Leofric, earl of Mercia, was succeeded by his son Algar. It was Ralph, earl of Hereford, who died in the same year as Leofric, who was buried at Peterborough. See the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1057.

[5] See the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1058. [6] Id. A. D. 1063.

[7] Egelwine bishop of Durham, and Kinsi archbishop of York.

[8] See the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1061. [9] A. D. 1065.

the people of York[1] took such a hatred to him, that he could not enter into the city, and they were well nigh ready to have killed him. They slew many of his sailors, and ill-treated several of his servants. Then they made Morkar their earl; he was the son of earl Alfgar.

When they had made Morkar their lord, he went with an army into Northamptonshire. They laid waste all this county, and brought its possessions to York. Tosti went to Baldwin,[2] whose sister, lady Judith, he had married. Baldwin received him with great honour, and rejoiced at seeing his sister. Then one thousand sixty and six years had passed since the nativity. In that year Edward died; I know he reigned twenty-four years. He was the best king and the best man that the English ever had for their lord. Then queen Edith died;[3] so it pleased God, and was right. They were laid at Westminster in two tombs beautifully made.

After their death a comet, it was a star, showed itself in the heavens; some of those who predicted and the good astronomers explained it to mean good, others evil. Many people saw it. On the night of the great Litany,[4] it caused as much brightness as if it were day. Many people looked at it; in many places, there were divinations; every one gave his prophecy: but quickly followed great contention, and great tribulation afterwards came upon the kingdom. Then[5] came Tosti with many powerful people, the greater part were Flemings. They arrived at Wardstane;[6] all that country they laid waste, and killed many men. They went into the isle of Thanet; in that country Copsi[7] came to meet him, a baron of his who held it of him. He came from the isle of Orkney, seventeen[8] ships he had in his keeping. Then they went into Brunemue,[9] and confounded this country. Great injury and great grief they caused here and everywhere else. Then they came into the Humber with their ships, and took a great prey in Lindsey. They killed many men before they turned from this country.

Earl Edwin, with a great host, came quickly into Lindsey, and afterwards defended this country from them; but they had already done much mischief in it. Earl Morkar, on the other side, defended his land; they did not regard him. They were upon the Humber near the sea, upon which he had forbidden their arrival. But the Flemings, when they saw him, stole away, and failed Tosti; they went into their country laden with the plunder of the unfortunate Englishmen. He turned with those who went away, afterwards he left altogether; he went to Scotland to Malcolm, who had brought him. He honoured earl Tosti much, and presented him with beautiful gifts. The king of Norway came there with a great fleet,

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1065. [2] Baldwin was earl of Flanders.
[3] Here Gaimar is in error, Edith not having died until A.D. 1074.
[4] The 24th of April. See the Saxon Chronicle.
[5] Gaimar here furnishes us with some particulars which cannot be referred either to the Saxon Chronicle or to Florence.
[6] Waldestane. No notice of this descent occurs elsewhere.
[7] Concerning Copsi, see Simeon, Hist. Eccl. pp. 178, 179, ed. Bedford.
[8] Eighteen, D.
[9] This fact is also unnoticed by earlier writers.

and allied himself with Tosti. Harold Harfage[1] was the name of this king; the Danes combined with him. He and Tosti had spoken so much together, that each pledged his faith to the other, that whatever they conquered together, they would divide all equally. Now they wished first by their warfare to divide all England between them. The two had a great fleet, four hundred ships, and seventy[2] sailed forward. They steered and sailed a great way until they entered the river Humber; from the Humber they went to the Ouse, and disembarked at Saint Wilfrid's.[3] On the morrow they set sail for York, and arrived there in the evening. But the two earls met, and brought the people of six counties; and they fought at Fulford,[4] the Norwegians were masters of the field; but, on both sides, there were many killed. Afterwards the Norwegians took the land; they desolated all the country and seized many spoils. Whoever knows not this, let him remember that it was twelve days within September.[5]

Five days after[6] king Harold came; he fought a battle with the Norwegians. This was Harold the son of Godwin, who gave chastisement to the Norwegians. This was at Battle-bridge;[7] there he found the Norwegians carrying off the cattle. King Harold then pursued them; he fought fiercely; the other Harold he killed in the field, together with Tosti likewise. He had the victory over the Danes; the people of the south seemed to glory.

But one could not count half of those that were killed in the field. All their ships and their goods king Harold caused to be seized. The son of this [Norwegian] king was found there; he was brought to king Harold. He begged for mercy, and promised tribute; Harold received his homage, and from all the others he took good and valued hostages; he let them depart with twenty ships, then they voyaged till they arrived at the sea.

Five days after[8] the French arrived, with at least eleven thousand[9] ships, at Hastings upon the sea: there they built a castle. When king Harold heard it he invested the archbishop Aldret with part of the great treasure and the goods that he had conquered from the Norwegians. Marleswain he then left there,[10] and went to levy his host in the south. He employed five days in assembling them, but he could not collect many, because of the great number of people who were killed, when God did justice on the Norwegians. Harold went into Sussex, he brought what people he could with him. His two brothers assembled followers; they went with him to give battle to the people from beyond the sea; one was Gerd [Gurth], the other Lefwin.

When the squadrons were ranged and prepared in order of battle,

[1] Read, Harold Hardrada; an error into which several of the other chroniclers have fallen. Arson, D. [2] 460, B. D.

[3] Petrie conjectures that the place of their disembarkation was Brayton, near Selby, the church of which is dedicated to St. Wilfrid.

[4] Fulford, near Bishopsthorp, on the Ouse.

[5] That is, twelve days, reckoning backwards from the end of the month; in other words, 20th September. [6] 25th September.

[7] Battle Bridge, or Stanford Bridge, near York.

[8] 29th September. Compare the Saxon Chronicle and Florence.

[9] Nine thousand, D. [10] This fact also is new to history.

there were many men on both sides; in courage they seemed leopards. One of the French then hastened forward, riding before the others. Taillefer this man was called, he was a juggler, and bold enough; he had arms and a good horse; he was a bold and noble vassal. He put himself forward before the others; in sight of the English he did wonders. He took his lance by the handle, as if it were a cudgel; he threw it high above his head, and caught it by the blade. He threw his lance three times in this manner; the fourth time he advanced very near, and threw it among the English; it wounded one of them through the body. Then he drew his sword, retired backwards, threw the sword which he held above his head, then caught it. One said to the other of those who saw him, that this was enchantment which he wrought before the people.

When he had thrown the sword three times, the horse, with open mouth, went bounding towards the English; and there were some who believed that they would have been devoured by the horse which thus opened his mouth. The juggler had taught him this. He wounded an Englishman with his sword; he was skilled in the use of the point. He wounded another as he well could, but on that day he was badly rewarded, for the English, on all sides, lanced javelins and darts at him, and killed him and his war horse; this first blow called for slaughter. After this the French requited them, and the English fought against them. A great cry was raised so that till evening the wounding and shooting of arrows did not cease. Many knights died there. I know not how to tell, I dare not lie, which of them fought the best.

[1]Alan, carl of Brittany,[2] fought well with his company. He fought like a baron; this good Breton did much. He came into this country with the king to assist him in his war. He was a cousin of his lineage, a man of rank of noble ancestry; he served and loved the king much, and he rewarded[3] him very well; in the north he munificently gave him a handsome and strong castle; in several places in England, the king gave him some of his land. He held it long, then came to an end, and was buried at Saint Edmund's.[4] Now I have done with this baron I will return to my history. He and the others fought so well that they gained the battle.

But I know well that the English were beaten at the last; in the evening they were put to flight; many bodies remained there from which the souls had departed. Harold remained and his two brothers; with them were dead sons and fathers, uncles and nephews of all the baronies. The English experienced the outrages [of the French]. Leofwin and Gurth were killed; earl William had the kingdom. He was its lord twenty-one years within five weeks.[5]

[1] This paragraph, which occurs only in B. and D., is apparently a later interpolation, as it seems to contradict the previous statement made by Gaimar. It extends as far as the word "battle."

[2] Alan Rufus, lord of Richmond in Yorkshire. Dugd. Monast. i. 46.

[3] Dugdale, as above, has enumerated the possessions with which William rewarded the services of this Alan.

[4] See Dugd. Monast. i. 877.

[5] Here ends the portion contained in the Monumenta of Petrie and Hardy, the

But when he had reigned a short time and brought peace into the country, as God pleased, there had been one thousand and sixty-six years since the birth of our Lord. Then the king sent for knights, took for himself one thousand soldiers, passed over the sea immediately, and went into Normandy; there he did good to the country, then returned and held a festival in London. But in coming from Normandy, some of his people perished on the sea. In this year, truly, several people saw a sign; in appearance it was fire: it flamed and burned fiercely in the air; it came near to the earth, and for a little time quite illuminated it; afterwards it revolved and ascended up on high, then descended into the bottom of the sea; in several places it burned woods and plains. There was no man who knew with certainty what this divined, nor what this sign signified. In the country of Northumberland this fire showed itself; and in two seasons of one year were these demonstrations.

In this year, of a certainty, king William, with many noble people, with earls and with barons, went far into his kingdom. When he arrived at Nottingham[1] he sent to York by proclamation, entreating by prayers and by love that they should recognise him as their lord. He sent thither an archbishop whose name was Aldred; he was archbishop of the city. His power extended far around. All the barons of the city and its neighbourhood came to him [William], for to each of them who was willing to hold his inheritance of him, he fully returned that which his ancestors had before possessed, and which his father had held, to go out in peace, and come back in safety. He who wished to separate from him, went back without danger, nor was he in any way disturbed. All those whom the king had imprisoned came when he sent for them; then he went to York, and shut in a castle the barons taken in the country; he had given their lands to the French. Afterwards he went and devastated the south, leaving many towns burning.

In the year of which I speak returned Godwin,[2] Edmund, and Tosti. Godwin and Edmund, the sons of Harold, and Tosti the son of Sweyn returned. They came with a great fleet. Ernald[3] discovered this, a rich man of the country; he brought his people and his friends, gathered his forces, went against them, and then he fought a hard battle with them; but I know not how to say with certainty which side fought with the greater fierceness; but this I know, that the Danes conquered, the French and English perished that day; many died and many were killed. Then the Danes took York. But the good king when he heard of it was much troubled,

remainder is from Wright's edition. From this point to the end Gaimar's obligations to the Saxon Chronicle are less obvious, and in many respects he may be regarded as an independent authority.

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1067.

[2] Under this year the Saxon Chronicle mentions the descent of only one of Harold's sons, of whom the name is not specified. Concerning Godwin and Edmund see Florence of Worcester, p. 298. Tosti, the son of Sweyn, (the brother probably of Harold, the late king,) does not occur in any other historian.

[3] More correctly Eadnoth, which is the reading of D. See the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1067.

and was very angry. Then he caused the Flemings to be prepared, and sent them there to make war; upon a hill at Durham they wished to make a castle. But the English had been troubled at this; they had a skirmish with the Flemings and had killed all in one day, both the people and their lord.

In this year[1] king Sweyn,[2] who was filled with anger, sent his brother Osbern and his three sons, Harold, Cnut, and Buern[3] Leriz, with a great fleet, into England. To make war, Danes and Norwegians entered the mouth of the Humber. The peasants joined them; they advanced to York and threw down the castles which the Normans had erected. Many souls were separated from the bodies belonging to them, for the wardens were killed, and very few people escaped alive. They had plenty of gold and silver, and good measure of other property. English and Danes went away. Whoever took his departure rejoiced at it; for the king came, took the city, and killed all, both Danes and Norwegians. King William ended by destroying all as far as the Tyne. Bishop Walcher[4] was killed. The king destroyed his enemies, and at Gateshead he avenged the bishop whom he had sent afar.

[A.D. 1071.] A year after, bishop Ailwine[5] and Siwerd Barn, with new light ships, put out to sea from Scotland; they sailed as far as the mouth of the Humber. Earl Morcar went to meet them; he entered a ship, and united himself to them; at Welle they met the English who were outlaws to king William. When they had spoken about union, each wished to give aid to the other. There were many of the outlaws; a nobleman was their chief whose name was Hereward, one of the first of the land. The Normans had disinherited him. Now all are assembled with him, earl Morcar and his barons, and the bishop and his companions; they then laid waste much of the country which the Normans had seized. Thence they went to Ely, avoiding their enemy; they wished to sojourn there and allow the winter to pass over. But when William heard this he quite altered his movements. He summoned his host, sent for warriors, French, English, and knights; he sent sailors towards the sea, also shipmen, serjeants, privateers, and other men, of whom he had many, that not one of those who were besieged could escape. Afterwards all the passages through the woods were guarded, and the marshes round were protected with vigilance.

[1] Compare the accounts of Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham, A.D. 1069.

[2] This was Swein III. king of Denmark. Concerning him and his sons, see Anderson's Genealog. p. 418. No notice, however, is there taken of his brother Osbern, who doubtless is the jarl Asbiörn, surnamed Eydana, mentioned in Langebeck, Rer. Germ. Scriptt. iii. 282.

[3] Here Buern would appear to be not a proper name, but a title of honour prefixed to one. Concerning it see Hicks's Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 113, ed. fol. In this instance it would appear to be a representative of the epithet "ejegod," which was assigned to Eric, the son of Swein (the Leriz of the text), who is described as "vir eleganti statura et corpore, fortitudine insigni et clementia . . . cognomento bonus." Langeb. iii. 283. In accordance with this idea, the MS. D. reads, "Harald, et Cnut, et le bon Leweriz."

[4] Bishop Walcher of Durham. See the Saxon Chronicle, ad an. But this appears to be out of its proper order.

[5] See the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1071.

Then the king commanded a bridge to be made beyond the marshes; he said he would destroy them all, and that not one of them should escape him. When[1] they knew he was in Ely, they all threw themselves on his mercy; all went to beg for mercy except Hereward, who was very brave. He escaped with a few persons, and with him Geri,[2] one of his relations. There were five companions with him. A man who brought fish to those who kept guard along the marshes, acted like a knight and a nobleman; he received them into his boat, and covered them with reeds and grass; he sailed near the guards just as the evening was closing in, quite close to their stations with his vessel. The French were in a tent; their lord was sheriff Gui,[3] he well knew the fisherman, and knew that he was coming; none of them took any notice of him. They saw the fisherman row past; it was night, and they were seated at their food. Hereward went out of the boat, in boldness he resembled a leopard; his companions followed him, in a wood they singled out the tent. The fisherman went with them; Hereward was formerly his lord. What shall I relate of it? The knights were surprised at their repast. The enemy entered with axes in their hands; in striking well they were not cowards; they killed twenty and six Normans, and twelve English were slain there. The panic was great among the dwellings, their flight was general; they left horses ready saddled. The outlaws mounted them quite leisurely and unhurt; not one of them was in the least disquiet; they were accustomed to do evil. Each chose a very good horse. The wood was near, they entered it; they did not go reconnoitring, for they well knew all this country, and many of their friends were in it. At a town to which they proceeded they found ten of their intimate friends. These joined Hereward; they were before eight, now they were more than ten. Ten and eight the companions were; before they had passed Huntingdon, there were an hundred well-armed men; thence they became Hereward's private vassals. They were so brave and so faithful. Before the sun rose on the morrow, seven hundred had come to him; they followed him to Bruneswald.[4]

Now their company was very large, they assailed a city; they besieged Peterborough[5] which had offended him. Its walls were soon quite broken; they entered within, and took much gold and silver, and different kinds of costly furs. There were many other goods; they revenged themselves upon the monks for what they had done. From thence they went to Stamford, but with what they took here they did no harm; for the townsmen had armed, so that Hereward was driven away; they were seditious towards the king, and did him great havoc and lawlessness. Hereward avenged this (and was not wrong) upon the men of Peterborough and Stamford. What shall I say? for several years he held out against

[1] See the account given by Ingulf, p. 668.

[2] Further information respecting this Geri occurs in the thirty-second chapter of the Exploits of Hereward, which will be given in a later part of this collection.

[3] The narrative last quoted states that this was the earl of Warren; but the name of that nobleman was William. See Dugd. Baronage i. 73.

[4] See the Exploits of Hereward, ch. xxvii. [5] Id. ch. xxviii.

the Normans, with his companion Winter,[1] with lord Geri a nobleman, and with Alveriz, Grugan, Saiswold, and Azecier. He and the other warriors fought here against the French; if one of them met three, he did not go away without assaulting them. This people [the French] lost again at Bruneswald, where Geri fought, who was very strong, fierce, and daring. Hereward singly assailed seven men; he did not hesitate; he killed four, three fled; wounded and bleeding these went away from him. In several places it happened that he contended successfully against seven; he had the strength of seven men, and a braver warrior never was seen.

In this manner he made war several years, till a lady who had frequently heard of him, sent for him. She sent for him so many times that at last he went to her and pleased her much; her father gave her landed property into his hands; and so he who could so well war against the French, took her for his wife. It was Alftrued[2] who sent for Hereward, and who loved him so much; so frequently she sent for him, that Hereward hastened to go. He went to her with many noble people; the king had really granted him a truce; it was right he should agree with the king. Within this month he intended to pass the sea to fight the inhabitants of Mans, who had taken several castles from the king. He had been there formerly, had slain Gauter del Bois, and had kept lord Geoffry del Maine in prison a week. Now he sought to go in peace; he had a great quantity of gold and silver.

When the Normans heard this, they broke the peace and assailed him. They assailed him during a repast. Hereward was so provided that the boldest appeared a coward. His chaplain Ailward watched him badly: he was to guard him, but went to sleep on a rock. What shall I say? he was surprised, but he conducted himself well; he and Winter his companion conducted themselves like lions. When he could not lay hold upon his hauberk, nor arm himself with his arms, when he could not mount his war-horse, he took a shield which he saw lying near, and a lance and a sword. He girded himself with the sword, which was naked, before all his companions; he prepared himself like a lion, and said very boldly to the French, "The king gave me a truce, but you come in anger; you take my property, you kill my people, you surprise me at my meal; vile traitors, I will sell myself dear." An attendant held three javelins, one of which he delivered to his lord; before him were twenty-six men. A knight went about inquiring all over the field for Hereward and anxiously asking for him. He had killed and put to death as many as ten of his men. As he [the knight] continued seeking him, the brave [Hereward] came before him, and let fly a javelin; it wounded the knight through his shield, and pierced his hauberk; he could not stand, his heart was pierced, so it happened; he fell, it could not be otherwise; at his death he had no priest. Then the Normans assailed him [Hereward]; they shot arrows at him and

[1] See the Exploits of Hereward, ch. xix.

[2] In the legend so frequently quoted, the name of Hereward's wife, whom he is said to have married in Flanders, is Turfrida.

threw darts; on all sides they surrounded him, and wounded his body in many places. He struck at them like a wild boar as long as his lance would endure, and when the lance failed him he struck great blows with the sword of steel. He thought it very base that he should be attacked by seven. When they found him so hard upon them, they scarcely dared remain there any longer, for he struck vigorously and attacked them little and frequently. With the sword he killed four of them; the wood resounded with the blows he gave; then the sword of steel broke upon the helmet of a knight, so he took his shield in his hand, and so struck with it that he killed two Frenchmen. But four came at his back, who wounded him about his body; they pierced him with four lances; no wonder that he fell; he kneeled upon his knees. With so much violence did he throw the shield, that in its flying it struck one of those who had wounded him so severely that it broke his neck in two halves. His name was Ralph de Dol; he had come from Estutesbirie [Tewkesbury]. Now both would have fallen dead, Hereward and the Breton, whose name was Ralph de Dol, but Halselin approached, encouraged Hereward, and raised up his head; he swore by God and his strength, and the others who saw him many times strongly affirmed, that one so brave had never been seen, and that, if he had three like himself with him, it would fare ill with the French, and that if he were not killed here, he would drive them all out of the country.

The earl Morkar, his companion, died in his long imprisonment,[1] and so also did the bishop,[2] who foolishly surrendered himself; the others who surrendered suffered so much hardship in the prison, that it had been better for them had they been killed the day they were taken, when they were thrown into prison, and when Hereward escaped.

After this, in that time, as the true history[3] tells us, king William and his barons led a great army against Malcolumb. Malcolumb assembled his host and came to meet them quickly and speedily; they met at Alberni,[4] where the barons of these two kings reasoned so much with them, that they made arrangements. All the Scots thanked God. This was done three years after. Ralph,[5] earl of Waers, was banished; he had committed a crime. King William seized Wallief[6] [Waltheof]. He wished to exile earl Wallief [Waltheof] and earl Roger; afterwards Waltheof lost his head for this crime, and a long time after he was removed from Winchester, as it pleased God in his mercy. Those by whom he was carried away were monks; they presented him to St. Gulac [Guthlac], and

[1] See Dugd. Baron. i. 7. Brompton, ap. Decem. Script. col. 969, states that William the Conqueror caused him to be put to death.

[2] This was Egelwin, bishop of Durham. See Godwin de Præsul. p. 728.

[3] The Saxon Chronicle is probably the authority here alluded to. See p. 126, A. D. 1072.

[4] Bardeneie, D. Read. Abernethi, with Ingulf, p. 680, and Florence, p. 302, A. D. 1072.

[5] Allusion is here made to the formidable rebellion of Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk; concerning which see the authorities already quoted, A. D. 1074 and 1075.

[6] See the Saxon Chronicle and Florence, as above.

buried him at Croyland.[1] They cherished his body much, and it was often seen afterwards in this place, that God, through it, worked many miracles. Then a short time after this[2] the king died, as I think, and queen Matilda had been removed, who led a good life. Three sons remained from this king, and more than three beautiful daughters.[3] His eldest son was named Robert; there was not a better baron under heaven. He was duke of Normandy, he held sovereignty over the Normans. This duke of Normandy showed much goodness and valour, and acquired many foreign vassals, and did many noble acts of chivalry. It was he who did so much good; he took Jerusalem from the Pagans, he conquered the good city, and was praised by the Christians. Because of Curbarant[4] whom he killed, the duke was held in such high repute, that they wished to elect him king; the citizens of Antioch desired that he might be their lord; there he was regarded as its patron. He conquered it as a valiant baron; afterwards he gave it and the other good cities to the Normans; as the duke had arranged, the counties and provinces were given and allotted. Duke Godfrey, by his consent, was made king in Jerusalem, but, not wishing to remain there, he left it; he had his retinue prepared, and then returned through Corwersana. He took with him the duke's daughter Sebilie;[5] she came with him to Normandy; he had a son by her, and prized her much.

Now I will speak of the king his brother; his name was William, as his father's was; he was much praised, the English and Normans had crowned him; while the duke was making conquests, he was made king in England; and he held it and reigned well; well did he execute justice over Normans and English; he kept all the country in peace. He afterwards crossed the sea, and went to Seez with a great army which he had collected; at Alençon he passed the Sorte [Sarthe], and came into Maine; he besieged Mans, and remained till he took the city; then he left some of his own friends there and returned to England. The people of Anjou and Mans, by the command of Geoffry Martel, came to Mans and besieged it; they surrounded it on all sides, threatened much those who were within, and said evil would come further.

But, in the mean time, a messenger had gone quickly to announce this to the king. He found him at Brocheherst [Brockenhurst], at the entrance of the New Forest, where he was sitting at dinner. When he [the messenger] saw him get up from his repast, he came before him and saluted him. The king asked him, "How goes it? how do my knights go on whom I left in Mans the other day?" "Sire," said he, "they are besieged. The besiegers have reached as far as the bridge. In all parts of the city are the Angevins lodged; they have put up more than a thousand tents there. Such pride never was seen; every day gallows are erected,

[1] See Ingulf, pp. 669, 670, 671, 705.

[2] A.D. 1087. Matilda had died two years previously.

[3] MS. D. reads, "and one fair daughter, as I believe."

[4] Concerning this Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who was slain by Robert in a sortie from Antioch, see Hardy's note to William of Malmesbury, p. 557.

[5] Sibilla, the wife of duke Robert, was the daughter of William de Conversana.

upon which knights, soldiers, and burgesses are to be hanged. My lord king, receive this letter." The king took it, he quickly tore it open, he gave this letter to Ranulf Flambard. All that the messenger had told, the knights had sent in their letter; the king sent succour to the city, for every day his people increased.

When the king heard this he was very angry; he quickly mounted a horse, and went to Southampton, having sent for all his soldiers. He told them to come after him, and that they should not tarry until they reached him; he, with a private retinue, came to the sea, and passed it, though the wind was against him. The steersman asked him if he would go against the wind and encounter peril upon the sea. "Brother," said he, "be silent. You never saw a king drowned, nor shall I be the first. Make your ships sail." So they weighed anchor and sailed till they arrived at Barbeflet [Barfleur]. He had in his private retinue one thousand and seven hundred persons. They were all rich knights; know that they were dear to the king. The knights who belonged to him in a short time did him good; they were rich and well affected to him, there were no poor people among them; the king came sumptuously with nobles and courtiers. Of the soldiers for whom he had sent he had more than enough; his summons had brought three thousand. I know not why he kept them, for he was engaged in no war, and he feared no man; but because of his great rank he rightly had such people with him. What shall I say of his barons? What kind of man was earl Hugh?[1] The emperor of Lombardy[2] did not take with him such a company of his own people as he did. Of a truth his house was never empty of nobleman or freeman. It was quite as easy to draw water from a fish pond or pool as it was to obtain food and drink [in his household]. He always had great riches; for however much he gave to-day, he did not remember it on the morrow, but then he was ready to give away as much again. He was called earl of Chester, and he went to the king with many people. Robert, earl of Mellent,[3] went with a very large number. Count Robert of Belesme[4] had a thousand knights at his pleasure; he had three counties in England, he was called earl of Ponthieu,[5] he was earl of Leneimeis, of Esparlon, and of Sessuneis; Argenton and Seis were his; Roche-Mabilie was in his country. He had many streets in Rome [Rouen?]. He was earl of six counties. He was the best knight[6]

[1] Hugh de Abrincis, or d'Avranches, the sister's son of William the Conqueror, was by him created earl of Chester. See Dugd. Baronage, i. 32.

[2] Allusion is here made to the disputes which were so frequent between the inhabitants of Lombardy and the emperors of Germany, Conrad, Frederic, and the celebrated Frederic Barbarossa, all of which had attracted much attention shortly before the period when Gaimar wrote. See Baronii Annal. A. D. 1134, § 2, 1164, § 45, &c.

[3] Concerning this Robert earl of Meulant, see Malmesbury, p. 620.

[4] Gaimar's description of this Robert de Belesme may be compared with the corresponding passage in Malmesbury, p. 621, between which there are many points of resemblance. He was the eldest son of Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, and was divested of his earldom about A. D. 1102. See Dugd. Baronage, i. 28.

[5] Having married Agnes, the daughter of Guy earl of Ponthieu, he became the lord of that territory. See Ordericus Vitalis, p. 708.

[6] The character of this individual is held up to merited reprobation by Orde-

known as a warrior. He came to his lord the king, and with him brought a thousand knights. Hugh of Muncumeri[1] likewise came to the king. Earl Roger[2] was their brother, and was surnamed the Poictevin. Earl Ernulf[3] was the fourth brother, in courage he was worth an empire; these four were from Normandy. Walter Giffard[4] and the earl of Eu came to give aid to the king; their knights were not few. Earl William of Evreux,[5] and Eustace of Driwes [Dreux] came to the king with a great company, and waited for his army at Barbeflet [Barfleur]; and William of Mortein, with Rotro of Mortaigne, waited for the king, who was at a distance; these two earls had with them a great assemblage.

So many people came from beyond the sea, that whoever might wish to count them, unless he had a note of them, would never be able to number them. All these people who were seen here in this year, presented themselves and came to serve the king zealously, who waited for the army. But when the people of Anjou and Mans heard this, one day, in the morning, they went away, anxious to save themselves; it was not wise to remain. If the king had pursued them, he would undoubtedly have taken the Angevins. There never was a king so much loved and honoured by his people.

The king, when he heard that he was gone away, went to Rome to the high pontiff. The earl of Mans[6] was there in prison; the king wished him to give a great ransom; but he said, that if he could have known that there was a man who wished to take the city, he would have conducted matters very differently, and that the king should never have taken Mans. When this was told to the king, he had him brought before him; with all kindness he asked him if he had thus boasted. He replied, "Sire, I did say so; I am much loved in that country. There is not under heaven a king so strong, who, if he came with his forces against me, would not lose, if I knew it, and if I had assembled my people." The king, when he heard this, began to laugh, in good humour, not in anger; he commanded that he should go away, and take Mans, as he had fought for it. He went and was happy. All his castles had been willingly surrendered to him by the king, and even the strong city of Mans. He sent for his barons, and wished to move them to rebellion. But these barons advised that he should give up the city, and the castles in his country, to the king, and that he should always be his liege. Earl Elias did this; he became his vassal; he did not contradict it; if he had not done this, there would have been a bitter dispute between them;[7] the king seized him by force,

ricus Vitalis, p. 878, and Henry of Huntingdon (de contemptu mundi, ap. Dugd. Baron. i. 31).

[1] Hugh de Montgomery, the younger brother of Robert de Belesme, succeeded his father in the earldoms of Arundel and Shrewsbury. See Dugd. Baron. i. 28.

[2] See Ordericus Vitalis, p. 808. [3] See the authority last cited.

[4] Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, concerning whom see Dugd. Baron. i. 59.

[5] The son of William, count of Evreux, by the widow of Roger de Toney.

[6] The history of Elias, earl of Mans, is fully traced in Beaugendre's Life of the venerable Hildebert, prefixed to the works of that writer, pp. xx., xlix., ed. fol. Par. 1708.

[7] The origin and progress of the enmity between William and the earl are narrated by Beaugendre, pp. l. li.

and put him to a shameful death.[1] The king then had Normandy and all Maine in his sovereignty. Throughout all France the barons feared him as a lion. As far as Poictiers there remained not one baron whom he did not make obedient to him. Through his great power all his neighbours were submissive to him; in order that he might reign, he went to Rome that he might claim the ancient right of the country which Brenus and Belinus possessed.

When the king had made peace everywhere, he repaired directly towards the sea, returned to England, and held a festival at Westminster; in his hall, which was new,[2] he held a rich and splendid festival; many kings, earls, and dukes were there. There were three hundred door-keepers at the doors, each clothed in costly furs, or in fine stuff from abroad. These conducted the barons up the steps, instead of attendants; with the rods they held in their hands they made way for the barons, so that no waiter approached unless one of them commanded. They who carried the dishes from the kitchen and the offices, passed together through these; and these keepers of the doors arranged the drinks and the food for the utensils in which they were served, so that no glutton might seize them, nor awkward person destroy them. These ushers, who belonged to their masters, had free payment. They were put in possession of great honours, and were well maintained at court. Each had his allowance, such as was proper for the court.

The king, amidst a wonderful assemblage of nobles, heard mass in his residence. The kings of Wales were there, who should have carried the swords, and indeed they wished to plead that this was their proper office; but the Normans would not suffer it. Four earls came forward; each possessed himself of a sword, and each took care to bear it nobly. Earl Hugh[3] was so proud, that he did not deign to carry anything, for he said that he was not a servant. The king laughed at him; he was jovial; he entreated him to take his sceptre of gold, and to govern equally with himself. The earl replied, "I will take it, and will return it to you as my lord; I will carry it as long as you wish, because of the great feudal tenures which you bear of the sock, the sceptre, and the crown, of which you are the king and the right ruler; and, because of the honour that you have done me, I put myself in submission to you, I will always be your subject; but I will not, in any way, compare myself with you, of whatever parentage I may be; you are elected and blessed as king; I am your servant, and ought to be; I very willingly consent to serve you." He held the sceptre of the king a short time, with great love, in a simple manner, and, on his knees, gave it back to him. The king was much pleased with these words. It became a fief to his heirs, and to all the earls of Chester, that they ought to discharge such a service, and assist in carrying the sceptre. The king gave him North Wales,[4] and he accepted it to

[1] Elias earl of Mans did not die until 11th July, 1110; Beaugendre, pp. xxii. l.

[2] The new hall at Westminster was finished A.D. 1099. See the Saxon Chron. p. 144.

[3] The Hugh, earl of Chester, already mentioned, p. 801.

[4] This statement must be received with considerable limitation, unless the county of Chester is intended. See Dugd. Baronage, i. 34.

advance his honour. The king very often talked jestingly of the earl to his retainers, of the sword which he rejected, and of the good which it prepared for him; and the acts and bounty of the king were always turned to his advantage. The assembly which he collected will be always talked of; and of the earl also, people will always talk. The man ought to take example from him, who is elevated to-day and cast down to-morrow; he who, during his life, shows kindness, will, at all times, be most honoured; while, at him who acts meanly, men should all point with the finger, when he does it, and say, "See there, there is one of whom nothing will remain. May ruin seize upon him! He rose too high, he may well tumble down. He is of the lineage of Nero, and of Judas, that wicked traitor, and of Herod and of Cain; he does not think that an end shall come to what he can grasp. It is his custom always to watch over that which he has; he is always thinking that he will be in poverty. He puts every farthing out to interest; he makes profit of a single halfpenny. In a little while a penny may become many marks of silver. He who seeks to mount thus, often falls down."

Let us leave this; let us speak of the king. He held the festival in baronly fashion, but I have not leisure to detail all the magnificence which he displayed, nor the great gifts that he bestowed. He there knighted many noblemen. With Gifford the Poictevin, who was the cousin of the man with the beard,[1] he knighted thirty young men, and had their hair cut.[2] All had their hair cut; their lord was angry, for during a month that he remained, the king did not give them arms. He and his people had their hair cut, and they with their cut heads of hair went to court. These were the first youths who had their hair cut short. The king laughed at this, and joked about it, and construed it as a courtly act of theirs; and when the king took it in good part, his knights that had come here had their hair cut all together. Now in the court there was a general cutting; more than three hundred had their hair cut short; there was not one in the court who did not do so. In the second month of Gifford's arrival the king held this feast; he knighted these people so honourably that it will always be spoken of. With these and with others he did so much that all London was splendid. What shall I say of this feast? It was rich, more rich it could not be.

When the king had held his court the news arrived that Malcolm[3] was killed, the king who was William's enemy. Robert of Mowbray,[4] whether right or wrong, had slain this king. The battle

[1] "Od sul Giffard le Pictevin,
Ki de Barbastre ert son cosin."
Walter Gifford, the first earl of Buckingham, was the son of Osborn de Bolbec and Aveline his wife, the sister to Gunnor, duchess of Normandy, great grandmother to William the Conqueror. See Dugd. Baronage, i. 59, W. Gemet. pp. 686, 687, ed. Camden. By "the man with the beard," possibly William Rufus himself is meant; his beard is mentioned at p. 806.

[2] This allusion to the cutting of the long hair of the nobles will be understood by a reference to Ordericus Vitalis, p. 815, and William of Malmesbury, p. 693.

[3] Gaimar's Chronology is here faulty. See the Saxon Chron. p. 139; Hoveden, p. 265[b]; Simeon of Durham, col. 218.

[4] Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland; Dugd. Baronage, i. 56.

was at Alnwick; there were nearly three thousand men in number killed with Malcolm, and on both sides many noble barons were slain. Geoffrey de Gulevent,[1] with Morel,[2] a relation of his, took the life of Malcolm. When the intelligence was heard the king sent for the earl; he came to court; the king heard his speech; and according to that which he heard he was well rewarded for doing right.

The earl, this Robert of Mowbray, was enclosed by a fortification. One of his own people[3] whom he had nourished told this to the king; the vile felon told this. The earl was accused of treason.[4] There was one of those traitors who wished to kill the king with the same treason which the barons proposed, for which Waltheof was killed. Geoffrey Bainard[5] called out the old William d'Eu[6] as an evil doer, and conquered him. The earl of Northumberland had so many accusers that he would not be present at this deed. He entered within a castle upon the sea, which was called Bamborough. The king went thither with his army; then he fortified the new castle.[7] Then the king took Morpeth, a strong castle which was situated upon a hill. It was placed above the Wenpiz [Wansbeck], and was in the possession of William de Morley.[8] When he had taken this castle he went forward in the country. He caused his army to stop at Baenburc [Bamborough] on the sea. Robert of Mowbray was there, whom the king wished to take. The king remained there a long time, and he made repeated assaults; but there was little food in the castle. When the earl saw that it failed, he went[9] towards the sea by the postern gate to a ship steered by one man; this he entered with a few people, and put to sea with a favourable wind. He went to Tinemue [Tynemouth] and now thought he had escaped; but early in the morning it was told to the king, who turned the thing quite differently. He manœuvred till he took him. He neither made away with him nor killed him, but he was in prison more than twenty years,[10] and at last died there. Before he died he became a good man; no one afterwards saw any of his possessions.

[1] This individual is not mentioned by any other historian.

[2] Morel, of Bamborough, had been a fellow-sponsor along with king Malcolm.

[3] We learn from Hoveden, p. 267, that this was Morel of Bamborough, who, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, had been the earl's steward.

[4] See Dugd. Baronage, i. 57.

[5] The text given by Wright, p. 213, is as follows:—

"Neel Willame dou Malmis,
Geffrai Baignard l'en rapolout,
Willam dou Cil vencu out."

As it appears to be faulty, a few conjectural emendations have been hazarded.

[6] That William de Eu was vanquished in a duel by Geoffrey Bainard, is mentioned by the Saxon Chron. p. 142.

[7] A temporary fortress erected opposite Bamborough for the purpose of a blockade. See the Saxon Chronicle, p. 141.

[8] See Dugd. Baronage, i. 570; Camden's Brit. col. 1092.

[9] Here the details furnished by Gaimar differ from those supplied by the other historians.

[10] Ordericus Vitalis says that he was detained a prisoner at Windsor Castle for nearly thirty-four years, and there died. See Dugd. Baronage, i. 57, however, who quotes Vincent for the purpose of showing that he became a monk of St. Alban's, and died there in A.D. 1106. Gaimar's language seems partly to warrant this conclusion.

The king had now made peace everywhere, before his army proceeded towards the kingdom of Scotland. King Edgar was one of his private friends; he had received his kingdom from him in free service without tribute; and the king had freely granted him that when he came to his court he should have sixty shillings[1] daily, that he might be served with great honour, besides presents and other gifts: this was his exact allowance, as soon as he went out of his own kingdom till he came back; he and those who stayed with him had as much; his lords who were with him were six. He [William] went through all his dominion, in England and Normandy, and his heirs had also this heritage in possession; he had it all in his time. There never was a king more feared by his neighbours than was this king; he made them all obedient to him. This lord was king and duke, who acted so gloriously, because he was duke of Normandy, of which count Robert had no part; he had gone to Jerusalem, and had given it to the king, who held it afterwards as long as he lived. His brother Henry attended to it.

When he had reigned some time, and had established peace in the country, he maintained such justice and right that no one lost anything through wrong, nor was any free man maltreated or injured in his kingdom; for by his just law he had given a commandment with regard to those of free tenure, that, if they refused a lodging to any man born free they should be entirely disinherited; and meat and lodging were common to free men. All the free men who had need knew how to gain reparation. Besides this he had placed justiciaries about his country, and foresters about his forests, so that neither dog nor archers could enter them; if an archer entered them evil happened to him if he were taken, and the dogs lost their feet, none of them were spared. Men were made to drive them out in order to preserve the forests for the king. Then wandered in these woods, stags, roebucks, deer, wild boars, hares, foxes, and other wild creatures; of these there was such plenty among these forests that no man could count the thousands for all the treasure that there is at Rome. The king loved his pleasures much; they were never ended night or day; he was always happy and creating mirth. He had a red beard and blond hair; on which account, and for which reason, he had the surname of the Red King.

This noble king, through great courage, held his kingdom with honour. In the thirteenth year that he reigned, it happened, (so it pleased God,) that the king went hunting near Brokeherst [Brockenhurst]; he went to shoot; this was in the New Forest; at a place which was named Brokeherst [Brockenhurst]. He went in private, and took Walter Tirel with him. Walter was a rich man, and was from the kingdom of France. He had land and a strong castle, with everything he could wish; he had come to serve the king, and receive gifts and wages; he had a good reception, and was much cherished by the king. Because he was a foreigner the noble king loved him. The two go forth talking together, amusing themselves about many things, for Walter had begun to

[1] MS. D. reads forty shillings.

prattle to induce the king to talk; he asked him laughingly why he tarried so long. "King, when thou art so powerful, why dost thou not exalt thy reputation? Thou hast no neighbour who dares uplift his hand against thee. For if thou shouldst desire to go against him, thou couldst take all the others with thee. All are thy subjects, to thee Bretaigne, Mans, and Anjou are obedient, and the Flemings adhere to thee. The country of Burgundy acknowledges thee as king. And Eustace of Bologne can well come forward at thy need; Alan the black[1] of Bretaigne, can lead nobly in thy companies. Thou hast so many allies and great people; I marvel much that with so much attained thou dost not make war somewhere, and conquer beyond thy kingdom." The king replied, shortly, "I shall take my people as far as the mountains, then I shall go towards the west, and hold my feast[2] at Poictiers. If I live as long it shall be my fief at Christmas, which will soon arrive." "It would be a grand thing," said Walter, "to go to the mountains, then return to Poictiers, and have an entertainment there. The men of Burgundy and the French would die sad deaths if they were subjected to the English!" The king had said this in jest; Walter was treacherous and thought much of it; he kept felonious intentions in his heart, and thought within himself of a plot, which, if he should see an opportunity to perform, might make things turn out quite differently.

The king was in the thick part of the forest near a marsh. An inclination seized him to shoot at a stag which he saw go into a herd; he dismounted near a tree; he himself had his bow bent. The barons dismounted in every direction, and beckoned the others who were near. Walter Tirell also dismounted; he was very near the king; close by an alder-tree he leant his back against an aspen. As the herd passed by and the great stag came in the midst of it, he drew the bow which he held in his hand; by an unhappy fate he drew a barbed arrow. It happened that though it missed the stag it pierced as far as the heart of the king. An arrow went to his heart, but they knew not who held the bow; but the other archers said that the arrow came from the bow of Walter. There was an appearance of this, for he fled immediately; he escaped; the king fell; four times he cried out, and asked for the Corpus Domini. But there was no one to give it him; he was in a waste, far from a minster. Nevertheless a hunter took some herbs with all their flowers, and made the king eat a few of them; this he considered the communion. He was and ought to have been in God; he had eaten consecrated bread the Sunday before; this ought to have been a good guarantee for him.

So it happened that the king was dead. With him were three of his barons, who had dismounted with him. Two of these were the sons of Richard,[3] earl Gilbert, and lord Roger; these were valued

[1] Concerning this Alan the black, earl of Bretagne and Richmond, see Dugd. Baronage, i. 48, 49.

[2] The festival of Christmas.

[3] Apparently Gislebert de Tonebrigge and Roger, the sons of Richard, earl of Clare, concerning whom see Dugd. Baronage, i. 207, 208, and the pedigree at p. 209.

knights, and with them was Gilbert de l'Egle.[1] They tore their hair, and gave way to unmeasured grief; never was there such shown. Robert Fitz Heimun[2] came there; he was a rich, gentle, and noble baron. So much he loved the king, that he was filled with grief, and often said; "Who will kill me? I had rather die than live longer." Then he fainted and fell down. When he recovered, he wrung his hands; he appeared to have become so feeble and infirm that in a little while he fell again; on every side he heard great mourning. The servants and the hunters were weeping and sorrowful, when Gilbert de Aquila said, "Be silent, my lords, for Jesus Christ! Let this grief cease, it cannot recover anything; even if we mourn every day we shall never have such a lord again. He who has loved him, now let him come and assist me in preparing his bier." Then you might have seen servants coming, and hunters taking their axes. The branches were quickly cut with which they made a bier. They found two trees cut down; they were light and well dried, and were not too thick, but they were long; they prepared them by measure; with their sashes and with their breast-plates they bound the bier together, then they made a bed upon the bier, composed of beautiful flowers and of fern. They brought two palfreys well saddled, and with rich bridles; on these two the bier was laid, it was not heavy but light; they then spread a new mantle in folds like a pall. Robert Fitz Heimon enfolded it, he who loved his lord. They laid the king on the bier which the palfreys carried. He was buried in a robe of fine wool, in which the day before William de Munfichet[3] had been knighted; the grey cloak in which he was clothed had only been worn one day; he extended it over the bier.

Then barons were seen walking, weeping and dejected; they would not ride, because of their lord who was so dear to them. The young men followed weeping and bewailing much; with them were the huntsmen all together, and they cried, "Miscreant, miserable! What shall we do? what shall become of us? we shall never have such a lord again." They did not stop till they came to Winchester; here they placed the king in the minster of St. Swithun. There the barons assembled with the clergy of the city, and the bishops and abbots. The good bishop Walkelin[4] watched by the king until morning; and the monks, clergy, and abbots with him; there were many prayers and chantings for him. On the morrow they gave alms; such almsgiving no man living had seen, neither such masses nor such services will be performed for any king that were performed for him, until God come in judgment. They buried him quite differently from the manner in which

[1] More commonly known as Gislebert, or Gilbert de Aquila, concerning whom see Dugd. i. 475.

[2] Robert Fitz Hamon, Dugd. p. 406. Matthew Paris (p. 53) has preserved a story which shows that he was in the king's company on the excursion which ended thus fatally.

[3] Dugd. Baronage, i. 438.

[4] It is singular that in a matter of such notoriety Gaimar should have committed such an error. At the time of the death of Rufus, the see of Winchester was vacant, Walkelin having died on 3d January, 1098. See Florence of Worcester, p. 319.

the barons buried him after Walter shot him. Let him who will not believe this go to Winchester, where he will hear if this be true. Here I will conclude about the king.

The noble lady Constance[1] caused this history to be translated. Gaimar was employed in March and April, and all the twelve months, before he had translated about the kings. He obtained many copies and English books, likewise grammars, both in Romance and Latin, before he could bring it to an end. If his lady had not aided him, he could never have finished it. She sent to Helmeslac [Helmsley][2] for the book of Walter Espac.[3] Robert earl of Gloucester[4] had caused this book to be translated according to the Welsh books which he had of the British kings. Walter Espec had asked for it, and earl Robert sent it to him; afterwards Walter Espec lent it to Ralph Fitz Gilbert. Lady Constance borrowed it from her lord, who loved her much. Geoffrey Gaimar wrote this book; he has inserted the accounts[5] which the Welsh left out. He had before obtained, whether right or wrong, the good book of Oxford, which Walter[6] the archdeacon made; so he corrected his book properly. From the history of Winchester[7] that of Wassingburc[8] [Washingborough], an English book, was corrected, in which an account is found written of the kings, and of all those emperors who were lords of Rome who received tribute from England, of the kings who had held under them, of their lives, of their acts, of their adventures, and of their deeds, how each preserved his kingdom, which loved peace and which war. Whoever will look in this book will find as much in it as there can possibly be; and if any one does not believe what I say, let him ask Nicholas de Trailli.[9]

Now Gaimar says, if he had a warrant, he would first tell of king Henry, because if he desired to speak a little of him, and to

[1] From this and the mention which is presently made of this lady, it appears that she was the wife of Ralph Fitz Gilbert, concerning whom see the Preface, § 2.

[2] Helmsley, in Yorkshire, the residence of Walter Espec.

[3] Walter Espec, celebrated for the "founding and endowing of no less than three goodly abbies," those of Kirkham, Rievaulx, and Wardon, died A.D. 1153. See Dugd. Monast. i. 728.

[4] This Robert, earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry the First, was a great patron of literature. At his instigation Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote the History of the Britons, the work here alluded to by Gaimar.

[5] Gaimar here alludes to the additions which he had made to Geoffrey's History.

[6] This passage, expressed somewhat obscurely, means that Geoffrey of Monmouth's History is founded upon a Welsh book which he had procured from Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford; information which Gaimar gained from Monmouth's prologue to that work.

[7] This Winchester History appears to have been a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under which designation Gaimar has already cited it more than once.

[8] Said by Petrie to be Washingborough, near Lincoln, part of the honour of Richmond. A charter printed by Dugdale in his Monasticon, i. 811, shows that the monks of Kirkstede (an establishment with which Ralph Fitz Gilbert, Gaimar's patron, was intimately connected) held property in Wassenbroc by the gift of Conan, duke of Britanny.

[9] The connexion between Nicolas de Trailly and the authorities to which Gaimar has referred, is not obvious. This individual was the son of Albreda, the sister of Walter Espec, already mentioned, and witnessed his uncle's foundation charters of Rievaulx and Kirkham. Dugd. Baronage, i. 543. The time of his death is uncertain.

write the history of his life, he could tell a thousand things of him, of which David[1] never wrote: neither did the queen of Louvain[2] ever hold such a book in her hand. She caused a large book to be made, the first verse had notes for singing. David wrote well in prose and in verse, and well arranged the melody. Lady Constance caused it to be transcribed, and often perused it in her chamber; she had given for the writing a proved and heavy mark of silver. Whatever became of this book, it was well known in several places; but of the feasts which the king held, of the rural entertainments, of the conversation, of the amusements, and of the love which the king showed, more than ever was or can be shown, of his being a Christian, and blessed, the work of David says nothing. Now, Gaimar says that he will pass into silence; but if he would yet burden himself a little more, he could write verses concerning the most noble deeds. That is, he could write of the love, of the amusements, of the rural feasts, of the conversation, of the feasts, of the noble deeds, of the largesses, of the riches, of the people which he brought, and of the large presents which the king made.[3] Of all this a man might well sing; he ought to omit and pass over nothing.

Now, send for David, that, if it please him, he may continue, and let him not leave it; for if he will go on rhyming, he can much improve his book; and if he will not give himself to this, I will take his place, I will do it instead. The legend shall never go out of my custody until it be perfect. Now let us have peace, and let us make merry.

Thus far discourses Gaimar concerning Troy;[4] he began when Jason went to procure the fleece; and he finishes at this place. May God bless us! Amen.

[1] Our only information which we have respecting this author and his life of king Henry the First, is drawn from the present notice by Gaimar. See Wright's Biographia, Anglo-Norman period, p. 154.

[2] Henry the First's second queen, Adelaide of Louvain, married in A.D. 1121. She took for her second husband William de Albini, and died A.D. 1151.

[3] If Gaimar ever carried into execution his intention of writing a history of king Henry the First, this work has not descended to our times.

[4] We hence learn that prefixed to Gaimar's translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth was a history of the Siege of Troy, including an account of the expedition of Jason. This work is also lost.

END OF VOL. II.

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